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VOLUME LVIII—1929

KATHAKA UPANISAD.

TRANSLATED WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, UPSALA.

(*Continued from vol.* LVII, *page* 229.)

SECOND ADHYÂYA.

Vallî IV.

The Self-existent has opened the openings (of the body) outwards, thus does one look outwards not into the interior Âtman. A certain wise man looked backwards[149] into the Âtman with eyes turned round, seeking for immortality. (1)

The fools run after exterior pleasures, they fall into the outspread snare of Death[150]; but the wise men who have got to know immortality do not ask for the real amongst unreal things.[151] (2)

By what (one does discern) form, taste, smell, sounds, touches and carnal pleasures—by that even does one (really) understand. What else is there left ? Just *that* is it.[152] (3)

By whom one perceives both, the sleeping state and the waking state[153], having understood him to be the great, all-pervading Âtman the wise man grieveth not. (4)

He who intimately[154] knows this honey-eating[155], living Âtman to be the sovereign Lord of what has been and is to be does not shrink back from him[156]. Just *that* is it. (5)

He who formerly born from heat was in an earlier time born from the waters, who having entered the cave was seen by the living beings abiding there[157]—just *that* is it. (6)

Aditi, the manifestation of (all) gods, who copulates with the *prâṇa*, having entered the cave and abiding[157] there was born again in all living beings. Just *that* is it. (7)

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[149] Thus Professor Geldner (*rückwärts*).

[150] Literally : "into the snare of outspread Death" (*mṛtyor vitatasya pâśam*).

[151] *iha* is metrically superfluous and has been inserted by someone who misunderstood the meaning. Professor Geldner, according to my opinion, goes slightly astray in translating this verse.

[152] This verse with its prose addition *etad vai tat* has given rise to much speculation and various interpretations. Professor Sieg. *l.c.*, p. 132 *sq.*, may be right in thinking that the words *etad vai tat* also belong to the verse and that it is an Upariṣṭâd-Bṛhatî; but otherwise his elaborate explanations seem to me to be of little use. Professor Geldner, following Râghavendra, attributes the verse to Naciketas and only the last three words to Yama, but this does not seem to be very convincing. As far as I understand Yama is the speaker. That, says he, by which one discerns (we must supply *vijânâti* in the first line) form, taste etc., that is the real power of understanding (*vijñâna*). What else is there then ? *That* even (*tat* = Âtman, cf. the celebrated formula *tat tvam asi*, etc.)

[153] The formal expression is Hume's. Professor Geldner translates : *die Vorgange im Traum und im Wachen*, which is very nearly the same.

[154] *antikât.*

[155] The expression is taken from RV. I, 164, 22, cf. v. 20 ; *dvā́ suparṇā́ sayújâ sákhâyâ samânáṃ vṛkṣám pári ṣasvajâte ; táyor anyáḥ píppalaṃ svâdv áttṷ ánaśnann anyó abhicâkaśîti*, where the bird that eats the sweet fig is the Âtman, the other one Brahman.

[156] *na tato vijugupsate* cannot mean anything else, cf. *Bṛh. Âr. Up.* iv, 4 15; *Iśa. Up.* 6. This verse is wholly problematical, and the translation tentative to the highest degree. It presupposes the emendations of *jâtam* to *jâta* (thus Whitney) and of *tiṣṭhantam* into a nominative ; it also suggests that *vyapaśyata* is really a grammatical monstrosity instead of *vyadṛśyata*.

[157] One or two MSS. really read *tiṣṭhanti*, cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii, 196, n.

Jâtavedas is hidden in the fire-sticks like an embryo well borne by pregnant women. Day after day Agni is to be praised by (men) waking up early and bringing oblations.[158] Just *that* is it. (8)

From where the sun rises, and where he goes to his homestead, all gods are 'dependent' upon him, no one goes beyond it—just *that* is it.[159] (9).

What then it is here that it is there, and what it is there that it is here. From death does he go to death who here sees something different.[160] (10).

Only with the mind can this be approached; here is nothing at all different. From death he goes to death who here sees something different.[160] (11).

Of a thumb's greatness the spirit[161] abides in the middle of the soul, lord of what was and of what is to be. He does not shrink back from it.[162] Just *that* is it. (12).

The spirit, of a thumb's greatness, is smokeless like a (bright) flame; he is the lord of what was and of what is to be, the same to-day and to-morrow[163]. Just *that* is it. (13).

As water that has rained in a mountainous region runs away in the mountains, thus does he who sees differences run away in search of them.[164] (14).

Like pure water poured into pure remains the same[165], thus remains the soul of that seer who really understands, O Gautama! (15).

Vallî V.

Whosoever takes his stand[166] in the eleven-gated town[167] of the Unborn, whose mind is not false, he does not grieve and is released for ever. Just *that* is it. (1)

A swan sitting in the bright (heaven); a god sitting in the atmosphere; a priest sitting in the place of sacrifice; a guest sitting in the house[168]; sitting amongst men, sitting in the wide space[169], sitting in the *ṛta*, sitting on the firmament, born from water, from the cow, from the *ṛta*, from the mountain, a great *ṛta*.[170] (2)

Upwards he turns the expiration, inwards he throws the inspiration.[171] The dwarf[172] sitting in the middle all gods worship." (3)

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158 = *R.V.* iii, 29, 2 (with the slight deviation *sudhito garbhiṇîṣu*).

159 Cf. *AV.* X, 8, 16; *Bṛh. Âr. Up.* i, 5, 23. Böhtlingk wanted to alter *taṃ* into *tasmin*, which is far too violent.

160 Cf. *Bṛh. Âr. Up.* iv, 4, 19.

161 *Puruṣa.*

162 The words *na tato vijugupsate*, which in v. 5 (*supra*) are entirely in order, seem singularly out of place here.

163 As far as I can see we must read *iva adhûmakaḥ* and *śuvaḥ* because of the metre.

164 Cf. Roth, *S.B.* 1891, p. 88. According to Professor Stcherbatsky, *Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 68 sq., *dharma* in this verse should mean the same as in Buddhism, *viz.*, 'element.' This is ingenious but can scarcely be proved.

165 This line is metrically out of order. The emendation suggested by Delbrück *apud* Böhtlingk, *SB.* 1890, p. 153 is, however, too violent. I suppose we may simply discard *eva.*

166 *anusthâya* is difficult and not clear.

167 In *Śvet. Up.* iii, 18; *Bhagavadgîtâ* V, 13 the body is called the 'nine-gated town'; with the addition of the navel and the *brahmarandhra* it becomes 'eleven-gated.'

168 The real meaning of *duroṇa* (as well as its etymology) is still an unsolved problem.

169 This is Grassman's translation of *varasad*, which, on the whole, seems to me the best one. Taking into consideration the ἅπαξ λεγ. *nṛṣadvara* in *Ait. Br.* vii, 15 (for which *Śâṅkh Śr. S.* reads *niṣadvara*) one might feel tempted to read *nṛṣadvara-sad* and interpret it as 'sitting in the gatherings of men; *nṛṣadvara*, cf. *nṛṣadvan* (*R.V.* X, 42, 1) = *adhvara* : *adhvan*. But this is wholly uncertain.

170 This verse is *R.V.* iv, 40, 5 with the exception of *bṛhat* at the end; this, however, occurs in the Yajus texts with the exception of *MS.* Cf. also Henry, *Album Kern*, p. 9.

171 The exact meaning of this passage is not clear. Does it allude to some sort of simple *yoga*-exercise?

172 *Vâmana* is a synonym of Viṣṇu; but as Viṣṇu = *puruṣa*, *vâmana*, of course, could also be = *puruṣa* (who is, besides, *aṅguṣṭhamâtra*).

Naciketas : "When this bodily[173] human being (*dehin*) is dissolved and released from its corporeal frame what then is there left of it (*atra*) ?" [Just *that* is it].[174] (4)

Yama : "Not by breath nor by expiration does any mortal man live. They live by that other one in which those both have their foundation. (5)

"Well, I will proclaim to thee the hidden, eternal Brahman ; also how Âtman fares after having gone through corporeal death, O Gautama. (6)

"Some individuals (*dehin*) resort to a womb to become embodied (again) ; other ones go to the immoveable creation[175] according to their *karman*, according to their knowledge. (7)

"This spirit who at his heart's desire[176] is awake amongst the sleeping, who from time to time creates himself (different shapes) according to his own pleasure[177]—that is the light, that is Brahman, that even is called immortality. In it all the worlds have their support, no one goes beyond it.[178] Just *that* is it. (8)

"Just as the one fire having entered the living world has adapted itself to every different form, thus the interior Âtman of all beings, being (essentially) one, adapts himself to every form and is (still) outside. (9)

"Just as the one wind having entered the living world has adapted itself to every different form, thus the interior Âtman of all beings, being (essentially) one, adapts himself to every form and is (still) outside.[179] (10)

"Just as the sun, the eye of the whole world, is not defiled by external defects of the eyes, thus this one interior Âtman of all beings is not defiled by the unrest[180] of the world, being himself an outsider. (11)

"The one ruler is that interior Âtman of all beings who manifests his one form in many ways. The wise men who behold him as abiding in their own self enjoy entire rest—not the other ones.[181] (12)

"Eternal (is he) amongst the eternals[182], intellect of (all) intellects, who alone fulfills the desires of many.[183] The wise men who behold him as abiding in their own self enjoy entire peace[184]—not the other ones." (13)

Naciketas : [185] "'*That* is it,' thus they think, an undefinable[186] highest happiness. How can I [187] thoroughly understand it ? Does it shine or (only) reflect the light[188] ?" (14)

173 *Śarîrastha* = *śarîrin.* 174 The addition *etad vai tat* seems entirely out of place here.

175 *Sthâṇu* = *sthâvara* ; thus, correctly, Whitney, while Professor Geldner renders it less well by '*Baumwurzel.*'

176 The first line is metrically defective. I should like to suggest that we read *ya eṣa supteṣu jâgarti* (*kâmam*) | *kâmâṃ kâmaṃ puruṣo nirmimâṇaḥ* ||, and have translated accordingly.

177 The words *kâmaṃ kâmaṃ* . . . . *nirmimâṇaḥ* must, as far as I understand, mean something like *punaḥ punaḥ kâmarûpî.* Cf. the parallel passage in *Bṛh. Ar. Up.* iv, 3, 13.

178 a Cf. *Âpast. Śr. S.* viii, 4, 2. 179 9*b* and 10 *b* = *R.V.* vi, 47, 18*a*.

180 *Duḥkha* in this verse and *Sukha* in the following one do not mean 'unhappiness' and 'happiness' in the popular sense of the words. They have here the same meaning of 'unrest' and 'rest' which is their scientific one in Buddhism ; this, of course, has been proved by Professor Stcherbatsky in his eminent treatise on *The Central Conception of Buddhism.*

181 With this verse cf. *Śvet. Up.* vi, 12, and with the following one, vi, 13.

182 Whitney reads *nityo nityânâm* (thus also one MS., cf. Weber, *Ind. Stud.*, ii, 196 n.) which, I suppose, must be correct.

183 As far as I understand the first line of this verse, it tells us exactly the same thing as the later Vedânta, *viz.*, that Brahman-Âtman is *sat, cit,* and *ânanda.*

184 *Śânti* = *nirvâṇa, i.e.,* an existence unintelligible to the *pṛthagjana* but which is reality and rest, in opposition to the unreality and unrest of the mundane existence.

185 Professor Geldner undoubtedly is right in attributing this verse to Naciketas.

186 Why the metre should be against '*nirdeśyam*' (as Whitney thinks) I fail to see.

187 One MS. reads *vijânîyât* (Weber, *l.c.*, p. 196 n.).

188 I willingly admit that *vi-bhâ-* does not generally bear this meaning ; but it seems the only one to make sense for this verse and the next one. Professor Geldner's emendation *kim u bhâti na bhâti vâ* is somewhat hazardous and unnecessary.

Yama: "There shines not the sun, nor moon and stars; those lightnings shine not—how then this (earthly) fire? Him even when he shines everything shines with and by; all this universe reflects the light of his brightness."[189]

Vallî VI.

That eternal fig-tree[190] has its roots above and its branches downwards; that is the light, that is Brahman, that even is called immortality. In it all the worlds have their support, no one goes beyond it. Just *that* is it.[191] (1)

And all this world has come forth in the stirring breath; those who know this for a great fear, a raised thunderbolt, become immortal.[192] (2)

From fear of it fire burns; from fear of it the sun glows. From fear of it runs Indra and Vâyu and Death as the fifth.[193] (3).

If here one has been able to obtain enlightenment even before the dissolution of the body[194] then one is fit for embodiment in the heavenly worlds.[195] (4)

As in a mirror thus in the Self, as in a dream thus in the world of the Fathers; as seen reflected in water thus in the world of the Gandharvas, as in Shadow and Light thus in the Brahman-world.[196] (5)

Having considered the separate existence of the senses and the rise and setting of them separately manifesting themselves the wise man grieves not. (6)

Higher than the senses is mind, higher than mind is intellect; higher than intellect is the great Âtman, higher than the great one is the unmanifested[197] (7)

Higher than the unmanifested stands Spirit, the all-pervading, without qualities. That man who has come to know him is released and goes to immortality.[197] (8)

His form is not openly visible, none whatsoever beholds him with the eye. One can imagine[198] him with the heart, with wisdom, with the mind. Those who know that become immortal.[199] (9)

When the five organs of knowledge together with the mind are brought to a standstill and the intellect no more moves they call that the highest state.[200] (10)

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189 Cf. *Muṇḍ. Up.* ii, 2, 10: *Śvet. Up.* vi. 14. The first line is metrically very incorrect.

190 The *aśvattha,* of course, is the *Ficus religiosa*; but the idea of the tree with its roots above is undoubtedly taken from the banyan-tree, the *Ficus indica.* Cf., however, Hill *Bhagavadgîtâ,* p. 236 sq.

191 This verse together with connected material from the Upaniṣads has been dealt with by the late Professor von Schroeder in an accomplished paper published in the *Festschrift E. Kuhn* (1916), p. 59 sq. Cf. with this verse *Śvet. Up.* iii, 9; *Mahânâr. Up.* X, 20; *Bhagavadgîtâ* XV, 1.

192 This verse is fairly unintelligible. In *a kiṁ* should be omitted on metrical reasons.

193 Cf. *Taitt. Up.* ii, 8, 1.

194 With the words *prâk-śarîrasya visrasaḥ,* cf. 5, 4 *supra.*

195 There are different readings, but the best one is undoubtedly *svargeṣu lokeṣu* as suggested by Böhtlingk. Whitney reads with the Vulgata *sargeṣu lokeṣu*; Professor Geldner reads *sarveṣu lokeṣu*; one MS. has *sarveṣu kâleṣu* (Cf. Weber. *Ind. Stud.* ii, 196 n.)

196 Metrically this verse is entirely hopeless, though we can, no doubt, trace fragments of old Triṣṭubhs in it. Thus in the first line we might easily read *yathâ svapne tathaiva pitṛloke*; and the last line also seems to contain the reminiscence of a *Triṣṭubh-pâda.* The words *parîva dadṛśe* look fairly suspicious, but I do not know how to amend them.

197 These two verses are somewhat different from 3, 10-11 *supra.*

198 *abhi-kḷp-* here must mean this, as has already been assumed by Professor Geldner (and partly already by Böhtlingk.)

199 With this verse cf. *Śvet. Up.* iv, 20 and iii, 13; *MBh.* V, 1747. Professor Geldner reads *enam* instead of *etad,* which seems scarcely necessary.

200 Cf. *Maitr. Up.* vi, 30.

This immoveable holding of the senses they understand as ascetic practice[201]. Then one becomes concentrated[202]. *Yoga* verily is the origin and the absorption (into Brahman)[203] (11)

It is not possible to find him by speech or mind or even with the eye. Otherwise than from one saying 'he exists' how could it be understood ?[204] (12)

Only by the words : 'he exists' is he to be understood and by the real essence of both[205]; when he has been understood by 'he exists' then his real essence becomes clear. (13)

When all the desires abiding in his heart are getting untied then mortal man becomes immortal, in himself[206] he attains Brahman.[207] (14)

When in this world all the ties of the heart become severed then mortal man becomes immortal. Thus for the instruction. (15)

Hundred and one are the veins of the heart ; one of them passes out at the top of the head. Going upwards by means of that one, one reaches immortality. The other ones are for departing in all directions.[208] (16)

The Spirit with the greatness of a thumb, the interior Âtman, always abides in the heart of men.[209] That one should with firmness draw out from one's body like a reed from a (sheath of) *muñja*-grass.[210] That one should know as bright and immortal ; that one should know as bright and immortal. (17)

When Naciketas had obtained this knowledge, taught by Death and the whole of *Yoga*-regulations, he found Brahman and became free from passion[211] and immortal. And so does another one who comes to know the highest soul.[212] (18)

Let it (or him ?) help us both together ; let it be of use to us both together ; let us together exercise our strength ; let our studies bring us both glory ; let us not become enemies.[213]

Om ! Peace ! Peace ! Peace !

201 This is the sense of the word *yoga* that, in *ZDMG.* lxv, 846 sq., I have pleaded for in accordance with Indian sources. My suggestion has later on been fully endorsed by Edgerton, *AJPh.*, xlv, 39 n.

202 *apramatta*. *Yoga*, as we well know, is defined as *cittavrttinirodha* (*Yogasûtra* i, 2) 'the restriction of the fluctuations of mind'.

203 *prabhavâpyayau* was entirely misunderstood by Böhtlingk. Whitney's 'beginning and end' does not tell us very much. Professor Geldner translates : *denn Yoga ist Entstehen einer neuen (Innenwelt) und Vergehen (der Aussenwelt)*. However, in *Sat. Br.* X, 5, 2, 14 *svâpyaya* undoubtedly means 'absorption in one's self' and Śaṃkara on *Śvet. Up.* vi, 10 quite correctly explains *brahmâpyaya* by (*brahmaṇy*) *ekîbhâvaḥ*. Thus it must mean also here 'absorption' (*viz.*, in Brahman). But the Universe is also created by the *yoga* of the Creator. Thus *yoga* is the ruling principle of the Universe.

204 Only Professor Geldner seems to me to have correctly interpreted the second line.

205 This is far from clear ; but 'both' must mean Brahman and Âtman, whose real essence is identical.

206 *atra* ; *& in diesem (Leib)* according to Professor Geldner.

207 This verse = *Bṛh. Âr. Up.* iv, 4, 7.

208 This verse = *Chând. Up.* viii, 6, 6.

209 On this line cf. Windisch, *S.B.* 1891, p. 165. Kern, *S.B.* 1891, p. 87, suggested *hṛdi saṃnivisṭaḥ*, we might just as well read *hṛdaye nivisṭaḥ*.

210 This comparison is fairly frequent, cf. *A.V.* iii, 23, 2 ; *Śat. Br.* iv, 3, 3, 16 ; *Kauś.S.* 33, 2 etc. These two lines are identical with *Śvet. Up.* iii, 13 *a-b*.

211 Böhtlingk suggested *vijaro* instead of *virajo*, which seems a happy conjecture, though perhaps not wholly convincing.

212 On the late origin of this verse cf. Whitney, *l.c.* p. 112.

213 'Both' must mean teacher and pupil. These words occur also at the end of the *Taittirîya Upaniṣad* and *Taittirîya Âraṇyaka*.

HINDU AND NON-HINDU ELEMENTS IN THE KATHA SARIT SAGARA.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from vol. LVII, page 196.*)

7. Bodhisattvas in Hinduism.

Again, in *The Story of Jîmûtavâhana's Adventures in a Former Birth*, the hero (p. 139) "goes to the Wishing Tree (to be noted later on)" and says to that tree: O god, thou always givest us the desired fruit, therefore fulfil to-day this one wish of ours. O my friend, relieve the whole world of its poverty. Success to thee; thy art bestowed on the world that desires wealth." And "the Wishing Tree, being addressed in this style by that self-denying one [Jîmûtavâhana], showered much gold on the earth, and all the people rejoiced."

Here Jîmûtavâhana, as will be explained later on, is addressing the spirit in the tree, rather than the tree itself, and we have incidentally the earliest known instance of the Pagoda Tree, so dear in later centuries to the Anglo-Indian caricaturist. But the interesting point in the above quotations lies in the words that follow: "What other compassionate incarnation of a Bodhisattva, except the glorious Jîmûtavâhana would be able to dispose even of a Wishing Tree in favour of the needy? For this reason every region of the earth became devoted to Jîmûtavâhana, and his stainless fame was spread on high." In these words we find Sômadeva, the Brâhmaṇ, expressing a Buddhist sentiment in Buddhist phraseology.

By his time Mahâyâna Buddhism was thoroughly established, and in many ways largely mixed up with Hinduism. Sômadeva seems to have caught an echo of it. Mahâyânism had accepted the Vaishnava Hindu doctrine of Incarnation and had set up the theory of the Bodhisattva, a being, who, though he became entitled by the sanctity of many lives to attain *nirvâna* (by Sômadeva's date, a heaven), remained alive as a god to help the seeker after Release from Rebirth. The life of the Bodhisattva was a life of self-sacrifice for others, and he was subject, like all human beings, to transmigration and incarnation. So in the expression "compassionate incarnation of a Bodhisattva" we have a typical Mahâyânist statement expressed in Mahâyânist (Buddhist) fashion, and used in a story by a Brâhmaṇ writer. The whole incident and the language in which it is conveyed is Buddhist in a high degree.

IV. Old Indian Customs.

1. Polyandry.

Closely connected with the old Indian life are the customs of that day, and to them certain noticeable references are made in this Volume. Among them is one to polyandry on p. 13, where in the main story Nârada, the ancient hermit, appears to the king of Vatsa to give him some good advice regarding his infatuation for his wife, Vâsavadattâ. As a hint of the advantages of a second wife, he instances the well-known story of Draupadî and her five Pâṇḍava husbands, which provides an opportunity to Mr. Penzer for a long and important note (pp. 16 ff.). According to the *Mahâbhârata*, the marriage of Draupadî to all the five Pâṇḍava brothers at once was so undoubtedly polyandrous and so against Vedic and Hindu ideas that an elaborate excuse is framed for it. Supernatural history is evoked to show that the five brothers "originated in a single divine being, and therefore the marriage of one woman to them all at the same time was not really polyandrous." Earlier instances are quoted in support. So polyandry was in truth a custom of the early days, which the orthodox Brâhmaṇs had to gloss over as best they could.

Polyandry still exists in India among populations which are either non-Aryan or of non-Aryan origin. Were then the Pâṇḍavas in fact of Aryan origin? Or was polyandry once a Hindu or Aryan custom? The story of Draupadî does not seem to have been studied from this point of view.

2. Nose-Cutting for Adultery.

It has always been and still is a common practice for an injured Indian husband to cut off the nose of an adulterous wife. At p. 88 it is stated in *The Story of Dêvadâsa*, in the most

matter of fact manner that "Devadâsa for his part cut off the nose of that wicked wife." He had caught her *flagrante delicto* himself. Every conceivable form of punishment has been employed in the world in such circumstances, but this particular method has been found in Mexico and Peru. This does not, however, presume connection between the Indian and the Central American custom, and the fact of such distribution need not disturb us, as the idea might well have arisen spontaneously out of the mere exasperation of men against unfaithful wives. Cutting off noses as a punishment for evil doing is not confined to cases of adultery or to women in this volume, and is again alluded to on pp. 60, 61 and 65, where the noses of robbers are cut off as a fitting punishment for such malefactors.

Indian princes and notables have at all times married by some form of marriage women of all degrees, an instructive story of the views of Sômadeva's time towards unfaithful wives of humble or low origin is to be found in *The Story of Devadatta* (pp. 129 ff.), where Devadatta, son of Jayadatta "a certain petty monarch", is married regularly to the daughter of Vasudatta, a merchant of Pâṭaliputra (Patna). She was therefore of a lower grade socially than her husband and Devadatta's comments on finding her unfaithful are noteworthy: "How can a female crow leave the male crow to take pleasure in a cuckoo ? . . . . Of what importance is a woman as valueless as straw ? (p. 131)." However, when the unhappy woman learns that she has been found out, "her heart afflicted by the misfortune of her unchastity having been discovered, in its agony, broke," and "she departed this life as unmourned as if she had never lived (p. 132)."

3. Forms of Marriage.

I dwelt on the forms of marriage occurring in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* in the Foreword to Vol. I, and I propose to add somewhat to my remarks now. The Gândharva form, *i.e.*, irregular marriage by mutual consent, occurs twice in this Volume. On p. 5 a prince finds a water-borne maiden in a basket, and "marries her on the spot by the Gândharva ceremony of marriage." Here we have the kind of marriage that Aryan princes entered into with unknown girls. In this case the girl was a "merchant's daughter," who "dwelt on the bank of the Ganges in a city named Mâkandikâ."

Again, in *The Story of Vidûshaka*, the hero, who was (p. 58) "a virtuous Brâhmaṇ [of Ujjayinî], the bravest of the brave," marries an immortal maiden at her personal request (p. 66): "the noble Vidûshaka, when the Vidyâdharî [magic-holding immortal] Bhadrâ addressed him this style ['for your sake I am here, and so, handsome hero, I surrender myself to you : marry me'], agreed that moment and married her by the Gândharva ceremony."

Of regular marriages there are several instances. At p. 69 the girl of misfortune, Duḥkhalabdikâ, marries the king of Kachchhapa in full form. The next instance is notable. "A sky-roaming Vidyâdhara [immortal]" is (p. 141) cursed by Śiva, is born in Vallabhî as a mortal son to Madhâdana, a merchant, and is named Vasudatta ; but as a mortal he is married regularly to Manovatî, a Vidyâdharî and so immortal. She had been wandering in the Himâlayas. By him she has a son, Hiraṇyadatta, who also lives to be married regularly (p. 148).

In *The Story of Jîmûtavâhana*, which is a continuation of the last tale, the hero, "honoured by the king of the Siddhas [semi-immortals of the Eastern Himâlayas] received in regular usage the hand of Malayavatî (p. 150)," who in a former life had been closely connected with Manovatî. But in this story the different 'lives' are so mixed up that it would require a genealogical tree to make out the relationship. In the long *Story of the Golden City*, at p. 231 occurs another regular marriage of the true Indian type. The hero Śaktideva "arrived at home and told the story [of his wanderings] to his wife Vindumatî, and with her consent he married that Princess Vindurekhâ."

In another long story, *Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta*, which Mr. Penzer tells us has parallels in German and Sicilian fairy tales, "a great Brâhmaṇ, named Govindasvâmin, living on a great royal grant of land on the banks of the Yamunâ" has the two sons named above. Of

these, Aśokadatta has many adventures as a man of measureless daring. Among these is his regular marriage with Madanalekhâ, daughter of the king of Benares (p. 204). Later on he marries (p. 206) Vidyutprabhâ, the daughter of the king of the Râkshasas (demons), apparently regularly, though this is not precisely stated.

In the last instance I have noted, *Devadatta the Gambler* (p. 234) is thus addressed by another Vidyutprabhâ : "Illustrious Sir, I am the maiden daughter of a king of the Yakshas [immortals], named Ratnavarsha, and I am known by the name of Vidyutprabhâ, ... You are the Lord of my life. So you see my affection : marry me." And then it is recorded that "when she said this, Devadatta consented and did so." But by what ceremony is not stated, though I fancy it must have been Gândharva.

4. Children-Marriage.

The beginning of *The Story of the Golden City* runs (p. 171) thus : "There lived long ago in a city called Vardhamâna [Bardhwân] the ornament of the earth, a king, the terror of his foes, called Paropakârin," and he had a daughter named Kanakarekhâ, the Golden Gleam. Kanakarekhâ was growing up, and being in no hurry to be married, said so. Thereupon her father addressed her in terms that no doubt reflect the feeling of Somadeva's day towards the marriage of girls (pp. 172–173) : "How can sin be avoided unless a daughter is given in marriage ? And independence is not fit for a maiden who ought to be in dependence on relations. For a daughter, in sooth, is born for the sake of another and is kept for him. The house of her father is not a fit place for her except in childhood. For if a daughter reaches puberty unmarried her relations go to hell, and she is an outcast and her bridegroom called the husband of an outcast." The speaker, her father, is dubbed by the author, "the discreetest of men (p. 172)."

Child-marriage was, of course, well established by Somadeva's day, but it is well to look into its origin. In quite early days the Brâhman priest was the divine interpreter to the vest number of the Indo-Aryans, initiating the boys into Hinduism and all its rites by education and the girls by marriage. For the girls, marriage was thus their actual initiation into Hinduism, and this interpretation of marriage led to its performance while they were still very young, before puberty, and eventually to the child-marriage of both sexes. It led further to the prohibition of marriage to all widows except the childless. That is to say, only childless widows could undergo true initiation, and later on, but long before the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara,* even this was prohibited in the case of the orthodox.

5. Gambling.

On p. 231 ff. we have the story of *Devadatta the Gambler.* Gambling as a vice has been ineradicable in India and the Far East from all historical time, and it has entered into the religious and semi-religious ritual everywhere. There is much evidence of it in *The Legends of the Panjab.* It does not seem to have been a vice that awoke aversion in Somadeva's time, for he introduces Devadatta merely as a gambler of the hopelessly reckless type by way of prelude to a story having another bearing altogether, in which Devadatta prospers mainly as the result of miraculous help out of the trouble his gambling got him into.

Mr. Penzer takes the opportunity for a useful, though by no means exhaustive note on Indian gambling. He, perhaps naturally, confines his remarks to India and Burma, though the latter country is not racially connected with India. Among the Burmese and Shans, both Far Eastern races connected with the Chinese, gambling is quite as ancient and confirmed a vice as among the Hindus, and one would like to know how much the ancient introduction of Hinduism and Buddhism among that alien population has affected its addiction to gambling, ceremonially at any rate.

6. Feeding Brahmans.

I now turn to customs that are peculiarly Hindu, but firstly I would notice that, in this collection of stories made by a Brâhman, there is not much of direct Hindu sectarian teaching.

In this Volume I have only noticed one instance of inculcating the advantages of looking after Brâhmaṇs. In *The Story of Somaprabhâ*, the heroine, who is the daughter of an immortal married to "a great merchant named Dharmagupta" of Pâṭaliputra (Patna), is herself an immortal —"an heavenly nymph." She has made up her mind not to be married to a mortal, but is nevertheless is married to the hero Guhachandra. He is afraid to treat her as his wife, but "being only consumed by that grief, and losing his taste for all enjoyment, he made a vow and feasted Brâhmaṇs everyday. And that wife of his, of heavenly beauty, observing strict silence, used always to give a fee to those Brâhmaṇs after they had eaten (p. 41)." Then one day an aged Brâhmaṇ "came to be fed," and in the end he put everything straight for Guhachandra and his "heavenly wife." The moral, of course, is—Feed Brâhmaṇs.

7. The Sacredness of the Cow.

This popular Hindu idea also does not force itself on the reader of this Volume, but on p. 230 in the course of the curious *Story of the Golden City*, the degradation of a Vidyâdharî, the bearer of magic power and an immortal "by being born in a family of fishermen" is attributed to an unwitting offence against the sacredness of the cow. "Long ago, in a former birth, I was a certain Vidyâdharî and now I have fallen into the world of men in consequence of a curse. For when I was a Vidyâdharî I bit asunder some strings with my teeth and fastened them to lyres, and it is owing to that that I have been born here in the house of a fisherman. So if such a degradation is brought about by touching the mouth with the dry sinews of a cow, much more terrible must be the result of eating cow's flesh." Here the teaching is direct enough, and the reference to eating cow's flesh is explained by an incident on pp. 228–229.

The name of the heroine of the above story was Vindumatî, the immortal wife of Śaktideva, a mortal, and in the course of the story occurs the following incident. "One day, as he [Śaktideva] was standing on the roof of his palace, he saw a Chaṇḍâla [outcaste] coming along with a load of cow's flesh, and he said to his beloved [Vindumatî] : 'Look, slender one, how can this evil doer eat the flesh of cows, those objects that are the object of veneration in the three worlds.' Then Vindumatî, hearing that, said to her husband : 'The wickedness of this act is inconceivable, what can we say in palliation of it ? I have been born in this race of fishermen for a very small offence owing to the might of cows, but what can atone for this man's sins' ?" Then she tells the story above alluded to as to how she came to be born as a fisherman's daughter. Here again the teaching is obvious. Nevertheless, the introduction of the incident does not come naturally into the story, and it is possible that it is an interpolation. But whether it be so or not, it clearly shows the state of feeling in the days of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*.

On pp. 24 off Mr. Penzer has a long and valuable note on *The Sacred Cow of the Hindus*, and says : "There is considerable doubt as to whether the practice [of cow worship] dates from historical or prehistorical times in India." Its worship among the Iranian Aryans of Persia dates from the very earliest times. And then he remarks : "The Vedic Indians were a nation of meat eaters, the chief food being the ox, sheep and goat. The slaughter of the ox, however, was always regarded as a kind of sacrificial act, and therefore peculiarly appropriate for the entertainment of guests. It also played a part at wedding festivals." And there I leave this important Indian question, merely remarking that Mr. Penzer does not, in his note, go much beyond India.

8. Birth-Chamber Customs.

I will now consider some old Indian medical ideas as disclosed in this Volume. At p. 161 there is in the main story an account of the preparations made by Vâsavadattâ, the wife of the king of Vatsa for the lying-in chamber on the birth of her son. On this point Mr. Penzer (pp. 166 ff.) has a long note on the precautions to be observed in the birth-chamber. They were all aimed—as are the marriage customs—at protecting the infant from malign influences, physical and spiritual, at scaring them away, or at ensuring good luck.

Vâsavadattâ put sacred plants in the window and hung iron weapons on the walls. The sacred plants protected the room from evil spirits and the iron scared them away. Mr. Penzer shows at some length that these ideas are world wide. Vâsavadattâ went further in her precautions, for she "rendered these weapons auspicious by mixing with the gleam of jewel-lamps, shedding a blaze to protect the child. Here again Mr. Penzer shows that she used a precaution that is practically world wide. He asks what "a jewel-lamp" is, but does not answer the question definitely. Perhaps some Indian reader of this *Journal* can tell us.

9. The Cæsarean Operation.

What is known as the Cæsarean Section medically is an operation by which a child is delivered by opening the abdomen and womb in front, and has long been known in Europe —centuries before the days of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*. It takes its name from the statement that Julius Cæsar was so born. It is not necessarily fatal to the mother and the reason for it is that the ordinary passages for the child are for some reason blocked. Sometimes also it has been performed in order to save the child when the mother has died just before labour.

The Story of the Golden City is a curious tale and the Cæsarean Section is more than once met with in it, and it is interesting to note the circumstances. The same immortal woman, Vindumatî, who appears in the cow story just alluded to, extracts an oath from her mortal husband, Śaktideva, to keep a promise, and then she says to him (p. 129): "In this island you will soon marry another wife, and she, my husband, will soon become pregnant, and in the eighth month of her pregnancy you must cut her open and take out the child, and you must feel no compunction about it." She is prevented by circumstances from explaining her meaning, and Saktideva meets, after the fashion of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, a "maiden of very wonderful beauty (p. 230)" named Vindurekhâ, whom he marries as co-wife to Vindumatî. She becomes pregnant, and Vindumatî (p. 231) calls on him to fulfil his promise, Vindurekhâ supporting her in the proposition, as "there is a certain object in view and there is no cruelty in it: so do not feel compassion (p. 231)."

In proof of her statement she tells the story of *Devadatta the Gambler*. He is described as a Brâhmaṇ of Kambaka and meets a "maiden daughter of a king of the Yakshas," who are immortals. She is named Vidyutprabhâ (p. 233). He is married to her, apparently by the irregular Gândharva ceremony (p. 234). She becomes pregnant, which frightens the Brâhmaṇ, who goes to an ascetic, named Jâlapâda, "in a state of terror." And then occurs a very curious episode (p. 234): "The ascetic, desiring his own success, said to him: 'My good sir, you have acted quite rightly, but go and cut open the Yakshî, and taking out the embryo, bring it quickly here.'" The Brâhmaṇ is naturally upset, but "the Yakshî Vidyutprabhâ of her own accord said to him: 'My husband, why are you cast down? I know Jâlapâda has ordered you to cut me open, so cut me open and take out the child, and if you refuse, I will do it myself, for there is an object in it.' Though she said this to the Brâhmaṇ, he could not bring himself to do it. Then she cut herself open and took out the child and flung it down before him, and said: 'Take this, which will enable him who consumes it to obtain the rank of Vidyâdhara [an immortal]!'" She then explains that her action has released her from being a Yakshi, and enabled her to become what she originally was, a Vidyâdharî. Devadatta takes the child to Jâlapâda, who devours it for his own ends, *i.e.*, to become a Vidyâdhara. We now see the object of the whole action. However, in the end he over-reaches himself, and it is Devadatta that becomes "King of the Vidyâdharas with Vidyutprabhâ as his wife."

After this interlude *the Story of the Golden City* runs on. and (p. 236) Vindurekhâ induces Śaktideva, however reluctant, to cut out her child, and "he seized it by the throat with his hand; and no sooner did he seize it than it became a sword in his hand, like a long hair of Good Fortune seized by him with an abiding grasp." He becomes thereby a Vidyâdhara and Vindumati, perhaps naturally, disappears. However, in the end, he again meets her with Vindurekhâ in the Golden City, and he also meets her sisters and marries the lot.

Mr. Penzer tells us in a valuable note (p. 229) that the Cæsarean Operation is quite well known in cases where the woman dies in labour, both in Bengal and Bombay ; and so it may be that Somadeva has taken advantage of a known, and to him a wonderful, practice to adorn a folktale. It will be observed that in the above instances both the women concerned were said to be immortals, and that the object of the operation was to find a way to immortality on the part of mortal husbands.

10. Marvellous Cures.

At p. 2 is found *The Story of the Clever Physician.* A king, Mahasena, is afflicted with "an abscess in his vitals" because he had been obliged to send tribute to another king. His physician, in order to cure him, "said falsely : 'O king, your wife is dead,'" and "owing to the violence of his grief the abscess burst of itself," and all goes well thereafter.

At pp. 36-37 we find another story of the same kind in *The Story of Vihitsena,* where king Vihitsena of Timirâ has a wife Tejasvatî, of whom he is very fond. He gets "a lingering fever with diminishing intensity," and so he is forbidden the queen's society. This worries him nearly to death. So his ministers conceal her, and with her consent, "said to the king : 'The queen is dead.' While the king was tortured with excessive grief, in his agitation that disease in his heart relieved itself."

In a footnote to p. 2, Mr. Penzer gives similar instances in real life and in story, East and West, drawing attention to many similar cases noticed in the late Great War in relation to sight and hearing. The physiological causes of such cases are very recondite, but here again Sômadeva may be drawing on facts to adorn a tale.

11. Skull-wearing.

In the story of *Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta* (p. 196), their father, the Brâhmaṇ Govindasvâmin meets "a skull-bearing Saiva ascetic," who tells him the future of his sons. In the Foreword to Volume I, I pointed out that the wearing of skulls was a very old non-Aryan custom going back to the very dawn of civilisation, and no doubt in the Śiva-worship of the Himâlayas it was a relic of pre-Aryan days.

On p. 90 of this Volume "skull-bearing worshippers of Śiva" in the main story are associated with the humbugging, rascally class of ascetics (*yogîs*), as indeed they often are; *e.g.*, the Aghorîs.

12. Nudity.

In *The Story of Phalabhûti,* queen Kuvalayâvatî, a witch, is going through black magic rites, and is found by her husband (p. 98) "engaged in worshipping the gods, stark naked, with her hair standing on end" and so on, as in orthodox black magic ritual, in order that her husband "might obtain prosperity."

On this Mr. Penzer (pp. 117 ff.) has a long and arresting note on Nudity in magic ritual all the world over. It is an indecisive note, and the origin of the custom is obviously still in doubt. But in India in Somadeva's time it was a common observation of the ways of *yogîs,* who went about habitually naked ; and among one sect of the Jains it was the sect custom, going back to very early days. Indeed, the founder of the Jains, contemporaneous with Buddha, enjoined nudity as a religious practice. The naked Jain ascetics were called *digambara,* sky-clad, and it is to be noticed that "stark naked" in Tawney's translation of this text is in the original "having the cardinal points as her only garment." Lallâ Yogîsvarî, the Kâshmîrî teacher of Śaivism, was also charged with going about naked, and no doubt did so as a purely religious practice, for she was very far from being a witch.

In the text above quoted, at any rate, old Indian custom seems to have been in Sômadeva's mind, when he framed his description of the witch-queen's rites, combined perhaps with the folk-custom he observed around him in the practice of black magic. The subject seems to be worth further investigation.

(*To be continued.*)

HARAPPA IS THE VEDIC HARIYUPIA.

BY BINODE BIHARI ROY VEDARATNA.

RAI BAHADUR RAMAPRASAD CHANDA says, "The Archæological discoveries at Harappa in the Punjab and at Mohen-jo-Daro in Sind have pushed back the monumental history of India from the third century B.C. to at least the beginning of the third millennium B.C. by one stroke . . . . Nothing as yet discovered affords any indication that the builders of the prehistoric cities at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro were akin to the Rig-Vedic Aryas. On the other hand the civilisation of those builders appears to be of a non-Vedic type." (*The Indus Valley, etc.*, pp. 1, 2).

Sir John Marshall says, " Who the people were, who evolved it, is still an open question, but the most reasonable view seems to be that they were the pre-Aryan (probably Dravidian) people of India known in the Vedas as the Dasyus or Asuras, whose culture was largely destroyed in the second or third millennium B.C. by the invading Aryans from the north." (*The Modern Review*, May 1926, p. 600.)

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji says, " They appear to Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji and myself as having been non-Aryan and in all likelihood Dravidian." (*The M. Review*, March, 1925, p. 356.)

I think these relics belong to the Aryan civilisation. In ancient times, when the Aryans inhabited the Sapta-sindhu region and the Panjab, perhaps they erected these two cities on the God-made-land (*Deva nirmita desha. R.V.*, III. 33, 4 ; and *Manu Samhitâ*, 2 ch. 17), *i.e.*, on the alluvial land on the bed of the Sindhu samudra.

In Vedic times, there was a city named Hariyupia, where a battle was fought between Chayamana's son King Abhyavarti and Varashikha's sons, in which Indra fought on the side of Abhyavarti and killed Varashikha's sons, who were stationed on the east and west of Hariyupia (*R.V.*, vi., 27, 5).

Another battle was fought between Chayamana's son Kavi and the great Aryan invader Sudas (*R.V.*, vii., 18, 8), near the river Paruṣṇi (Râvi). In this battle Indra was on the side of Sudas, and killed Kavi.

From this I infer that Chayamana's sons Abhyavarti and Kavi were kings of Hariyupia one after the other, and fought the two battles against the invaders. The city of Hariyupia was perhaps on the side of the river Paruṣṇi (Râvi). This Hariyupia is probably the modern Harappa, which is on the eastern side of the Râvi. Perhaps, too, in the battle with Kavi, Indra demolished the city of Hariyupia or modern Harappa, and made a new city for Sudas (*R.V.* vii. 20, 2) elsewhere.

This Sudas was a contemporary of the king Trasadasyu, son of king Purukutsa (*R.V.* vii. 19, 3), and Yadu and Turvasu (*R.V.* vii. 19, 6 ; iv. 30, 17). King Trasadasyu reigned in the fifth millennium B.C., as I infer from calculation. In his time there was a sea on the east of Prayaga (*Manu Samhitâ*, 2 Ch., 21-22) ; that sea is now to the south of Diamond Harbour. I presume, therefore, that, king Abhyavarti and his brother Kavi possibly reigned in Harappa or Hariyupia in the fifth millennium B.C.

Abhyavarti was an emperor (*R.V.* vi. 27, 8). Bharadvaja Rishi received from him cows and other things as offerings. I can, therefore, safely infer that Bharadvaja Rishi was his priest and Abhyavarti was an Ârya of the Prithu dynasty (*R.V.* vi. 27, 8) ; so we see that in the fifth millennium B.C. Hariyupia or Harappa was the capital of an Arya emperor, and Sudas fought there with the Aryas (*R.V.* vii. 83, 1).

So I can safely suggest that the city of Hariyupia or Harappa was a seat of the Aryan civilisation in the fifth millennium B.C. and not of a non-Aryan.

MALABAR MISCELLANY.

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

(Continued from vol. LVII, p. 31.)

VII. The Malabar Christian Copper Plates.

The St. Thomas or Syrian Christians of Malabar, who form a very remarkable community with a history going back at the latest[1] to the time of Cosmas Indicopleustes, *c.* 535 A.D., have had at least four sets of copper-plates on which were recorded the religious, social and commercial privileges granted at different times to two of their leading men and a church by two 'Emperors' of Malabar and a king of Vêṇâd now included in Travancore. They are :—

I. The Thomas Cana plates.[2] (Two plates ; both missing since A.D. 1544.)
II. The Quilon Tarisâ Church plates, fascicle 1. (Three plates ; last plate missing.)
III. The Quilon Tarisâ Church plates, fascicle 2. (Four plates ; first plate missing.)
IV. The plate of Iravi Korttan. (Still extant.)

An analysis of these documents is given below :—

I. THE THOMAS CANA PLATES.

Date.—A.D. 345, according to Malabar tradition[3].

Donor.—Chêraman Perumâḷ,[4] according to Malabar tradition ; Cocurangon,[4] according to a Portuguese version in a MS. volume[5] in the British Museum, dated 1604.

Donee.—Thomas Cananeo,[6] a merchant prince. (Not the Apostle Thomas, nor a bishop as some old writers have supposed.)

Purport.[6] (1) Thomas is given the title of Cocurangon Cananeo, which probably means the Chera Emperor's Merchant. Cf. Iravi Korttan's title in his plate below, No. IV.

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1 Their own tradition is that their church was founded by St. Thomas the Apostle himself in the first century. But, unfortunately, no documentary evidence can be produced in support of such high antiquity. The St. Thomas legends, too, both Malabar and foreign, appear to belie the hope hitherto centred in them. See Joseph's 'St. Thomas in South India,' *Indian Antiquary*, 1926, pp. 221-23.

2 These four muniments are named here after the donees to whom they properly belong. Sets II and III are usually known as the Sthâṇu Ravi plates and Set IV the Vîra Râghava plate, from the names of the kings in whose reigns they were engraved.

3 I think the traditional date 345 A.D. is perhaps correct. For in my estimate the plates of Thomas Cana were in 1544 A.D. more than a thousand years old. Portuguese records say that they were crumbling when handed over to the Portuguese in that year. The Quilon Tarisâ Church plates, fascicles 1 and 2 (Sets II and III above), about 1100 years old, are now more or less in that condition. So, taking the Thomas Cana plates to have been of the same age in 1544, we get (1544—1100=) 444 A.D. as *roughly approximating* the actual date of the plates.

The plate of Iravi Korttan (Set IV above), about 600 years old looks brand new. And the Cochin Jewish plates (a set of two) about 850 years old are now as good as new.

4 Chêraman Perumâḷ and Cocurangon are very often wrongly taken as proper names. But they are nothing more than Malayâḷam common nouns meaning a Chêra king. Cocurangon is a Portuguese corruption of Kô Chêrakôn, meaning as it were His Majesty the Chêra Emperor.

There is a Chêraman Perumâḷ among the famous Śaivite saints of South India, who is provisionally assigned by some to the eighth-ninth century A.D. It is at present impossible to say whether he is or is not identical with the donor of the Thomas Cana plates.

5 The catalogue mark of the volume is *Brit. Mus. Addl. MSS.* 9853, *Relação da Serra, de 1604.* Thomas Cana's plates are dealt with in pp. 525-536 of the volume. Certain indications in the passage introducing the Portuguese version in this volume have led me to suppose that the version in question was based on an impression or a transcript of the original plates. But Dr. Barnett informs me in his letter of 18th January 1926 that "As far as I have observed, the *MS. Add.* 9853 contains no copy of the plates of Thomas, either in impression or transcript." It may be elsewhere, and is yet to be discovered. The original plates, too, have to be discovered somewhere in Portugal.

6 See the English translation of the Portuguese version in the British Museum, given in Mackenzie's *Christianity in Travancore*, Trivandrum, 1901, pp. 60, 61. Also *JASB.*, 1910, pp. 441-444. Another Portuguese version with some details omitted is in *Da Asia* de Diogo Do Couto, Decada Duodecima, Parte Ultima, pp. 283-285 (Lisboa, MDCCLXXXVIII). Mackenzie's translation appear also in the *Travancore State Manual*, vol. II, 139. See also *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LVI, 1927, pp. 125-27.

(2) He is given also the city of Cranganore and a jungle close by, which he converts into a town with a church and 62 houses.

(3) He is granted the privilege of using seven kinds of musical instruments, a palanquin or an elephant as a vehicle.

(4) 'Dignity' is conferred upon him—probably the title of ***mâppiḷa***[7], son-in-law to the king.

(5) Besides, he and his posterity, associates and relations as well as the followers of his faith, *i.e.*, all Malabar Christians, are granted five kinds of taxes.

Place.—The document was executed while the king was in Carnellur (=Cranganore).

II. QUILON CHURCH PLATES, FASCICLE 1.

Date.—*Circa* 880 A.D.[8]. The fifth year of Sthâṇu Ravi, as the document says.

Donor.—Ayyan,[9] king of Vêṇâd, which was roughly the southern portion of modern Travancore.

Donee.—The Tarisâ (=Orthodox Christian) Church built at Quilon in Travancore by Sabrîśô, a merchant[10], who re-founded[11] the city of Quilon in 825 A.D.

Purport.—(1) Four women of the Îḻava[12] caste together with their eight children and one family of the washerman caste are given to the church for menial service.

(2) These low caste people are exempted from paying certain specified rates and taxes.

(3) The church is made the custodian of the steelyard and weights and the '***kappân***',[13] all of which previously belonged to the king of Vêṇâd.

(4) The Îḻavas and the people of the washerman caste given to the church are allowed to go into the Quilon fort and the Christian streets in spite of their being members of two polluting castes.

(5) The right of trying the cases of these people is reserved for the Quilon Church.

(6) All these have been granted at the instance of Sabrîśô.

Place.—Quilon in Travancore.

III. QUILON CHURCH PLATES, FASCICLE 2.

Date.—*c.* 880 A.D. ; later than the previous set of plates (Set II).

Donor.—Ayyan, king of Vêṇâd. (See Set II.)

Donees.—(*a*) The Quilon Church (of Set II).

(*b*) The Quilon Jews (probably their authorized leaders).

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7 See the next topic in this 'Miscellany.'

8 This date is arrived at on the probable assumption—supported by linguistic and palæographic evidence as well as Malabar Christian tradition—that the Sthâṇu Ravi in whose reign the document was executed, is the same as another Sthâṇu Ravi a contemporary of the Chôḷa king, Âditya I, the utmost extent of whose reign could be only thirty years from A.D. 877–907. (Smith : *Early History of India*, 1914, p. 463.)

9 A full account of all the four documents mentioned here as well as of the well-known Cochin Jewish plates is given in my Malayalam book *The Malabar Christian Copper-Plates,* Trivandrum, 1925.

10 Many writers have mistaken this merchant for the bishop Mar Sapor, whom he brought in his ship to Quilon along with another bishop, Mar Prodh, in 825 A.D., or a little later. These prelates, who died in Malabar, have been regarded as saints by the St. Thomas Christians. But at the Synod of Diamper, 1599, they were branded as Nestorian heretics by the Portuguese.

11 The Quilon or Malabar Era is counted from this event. In the Quilon Church plates, fascicle 2, Sabrîśô is referred to as the person 'who founded this city' of Quilon.

12 Îḻavas means people from Ceylon. These Ceylonese immigrants to Malabar are known as Tîyas in British Malabar, and Chêkôns or Chôvans (=servants) among the Malabar Christians. The Chêkôns were in 'military service' under the Malabar Christians, as some Portuguese writers say. Barbosa, 1510, gives a description of this caste under the name Ceivil-tivar, *i.e.*, Chovan-Tîyar.

13 Marignolli, 1348 A.D., says that the Quilon Christians were in his days "the masters of the public weighing office." (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, III, 216.) By Afonso D'Alboquerque's time (A.D. 1504) they had lost the privilege of "keeping the seal and the standard weight of the city" of Quilon. (*Commentaries of Alboquerque*, Second Voyage of India, trans. by Birch, I, p. 15.)

Kappân may perhaps be the seal mentioned above. See Eng. *chop* from Hind. *chhap*, stamp.

(c) The Maṇigrâmam, *i.e.*, the authorized leaders of the indigenous Christians of Quilon who had been there when Sabrîšô came, some time before his re-founding of the city in 825 A.D.

Purport.—(a) *Grants to the Church.*

(1) One family of carpenters, four of Veḷḷâḷas (=the agricultural caste of Sudras), and two of another caste. (The plate is damaged at this place.)

(2) Extensive lands within specified boundaries.

(3) The right of trying the cases of the people living in the above area.

(4) Protection of the Church and lands by the Vêṇâd militia called the six-hundred,[14] and the Jewish and the Maṇigrâmam leaders.

(5) Fee for weighing with the steelyard and weights of Set II.

(b) *Remuneration to the Jewish leaders* [15]—(See (c) below).

(1) Remission of certain dues, as well as collection of certain others (specified).

(2) The privilege of assessing customs duty on dutiable goods.

(3) The right of co-operating with Government officials in fixing the prices of goods and in all other business of the king (presumably commercial).

(4) Seventy-two other privileges (mostly social). Only the privilege of bringing, on an elephant, water for ceremonial purification is specified. The rest are indicated by an *et cetera*. All the seventy-two must have been already enumerated in a previous document, and therefore well-known at that time.

(5) The privilege of keeping in custody the daily collection of customs duty.

(6) The right of withholding the above money and the weighing fee already referred to [(a), 5], until wrongs done to them are redressed.

(7) The right of trying their own cases.

(8) The privilege of occupying the town of Quilon as tenants.

(c) *Remuneration to the Maṇigrâmam leaders*[16]—

The same as that to the Jewish leaders [(b) (1) to (8)].

Place.—Quilon, as in the case of the previous set.

IV. IRAVI KORTTAN'S PLATE.

Date.—1320 A.D.,[17] according to Kielhorn.

[14] This body of men is allowed no remuneration in the document for the protection they are expressly asked to afford to the new church and the lands, while the Jews and Christians are liberally rewarded. This is perhaps because protection forms part of their duty as soldiers.

[15] Many writers have mistaken the provisions of this document and confused the grants to the church with the remuneration to the protectors—the Jewish and indigenous Christian leaders.

[16] A lithic inscription in the present Jacobite church in Quilon says that in 1637 A.D., the portion of this document from 'purificatory water on an elephant' up to the end of it was caused to be transcribed. This was done perhaps by the then ancestors of the present Maṇigrâmam people of Quilon. They are now Hindus, a low class of Śûdras, not Christians as before. When the secession took place is not known.

[17] Mr. K. N. Daniel, in the *Ind. Ant.* for 1924, pp. 185-196, 219-229, 244-251, has endeavoured to establish that this plate is of 230 A.D. since according to him the Cochin Jewish plate record of Bhâskara Ravi is of the sixth century. But his arguments for this date are not convincing for the following reasons.

(1) He takes the astronomical details given in the Jewish plate record, the Tirunelli plate and the Perunna lithic record of Bhâskara Ravi to be *positively* correct. Astronomical details in inscriptions should be taken only as *provisionally* correct until and unless corroborated by collateral evidence of a decisive nature.

(2) Another unwarranted assumption of his is that Bhâskara Ravi lived between the end of the first century and the beginning of the fifteenth.

(3) He says that "from the style, language and palæography it is evident that the inscriptions of all the Parkara Iravi Varmars" (*i.e.*, Bhâskara Ravis) "must fall within a period of 100 years." But he has not analysed the style, language and palæography of the records and tried to lend support to his assumption.

(4) In fact he seems to be so sure of the astronomical data and of his calculations that with perfect nonchalance he throws overboard all considerations of language, palæography and other factors, all of which too—and not astronomical data alone—have to be taken into consideration.

Donor.—Vîra Râghava Chakravartti[18].

Donee.—Iravi Korttan[19] of Cranganore[20], "Lord of the City," with the grandiose title "The Chêra King's Great Merchant Supreme in the Whole World."

Purport.—(1) Iravi Korttan is given the office of Maṇigrâmam, very probably the headship of the Cranganore merchants.

(2) Several social privileges also are allowed. (See the privileges mentioned in the previous sets of plates, Nos. I to III.)

(3) He is given the monopoly of the overland and sea-borne trade.

(4) All other merchants and the five artisan classes (carpenter, blacksmith, etc.) are made subservient to him.

(5) He is allowed brokerage on all sorts of goods and also customs duty or toll.

(6) His children and grand-children and their descendants can enjoy these as a hereditable possession.

Place.—Cranganore.

VIII. On the Term Moplah.

The term Moplah has been made very familiar to the whole world through newspaper reports on the Moplah riots of 1924–25 in British Malabar. Mâppiḷa, of which Moplah is an English variant, is a title applied to the Jews, Syrian Christians and Muhammadans of Malabar. Barbosa[21] makes mention of it, and the tradition of the Syrian Christians of Malabar is that the title Mâppiḷḷa was conferred on their ancestors by Chêraman Perumâḷ. "With these privileges joined to those which Xarão Perumal had granted them, the Christians of Malavar became much more accredited, being held in such account that the name by which they are still called to-day in the kingdoms beyond the mountain of the Pande is sons of kings."—Translation by Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., from *Jornada*, folio 4*v*. Raulin translates it differently. "Vox etiam Mapula idem est in lingua Malabarica ac honestus, aut gravis," says he[22]. Some old epitaphs in the Syrian Christian churches have Mâppiḷa added to the names of males. *E.g.*, Puṇṇûsu Mâppiḷa,[23] Ayppu Mâppiḷa[23], Avirâ Mâppiḷa[24], etc. It is also even now applied to the Syrian Christians, not among themselves, but by high caste Hindus[25].

All sorts of meanings[26] have been given to the word Mâppiḷa as a title, but none of them commend themselves to me. In my opinion its fundamental sense is 'son-in-law.' The

(5) He affirms "that if we examine these dates" (*i.e.*, A.D. 526 and 571 which he has arrived at) "for five thousand years we shall not find other dates which fulfil all these requirements." He actually means that if we examine a period of 5000 years just prior to 100 A.D. (his *terminus a quo*) we shall not find two dates there which fulfil all these requirements. He ought to have made actual calculations and convinced other astronomers also.

(6) In his reconciliation table he takes some years as representing the age of Bhâskara Ravi and some others as regnal. This is irregular. Years of kings mentioned in old records are never counted from their birth.

18 This was not an emperor of all Malabar like Bhâskara Ravi. The title 'Chakravartti' (= emperor) was assumed also by the Vijayanagar kings of that time.

19 The name Iravi Kottan occurs in a lengthy lithic inscription of the eighth–tenth century, recently discovered by me in the Roman Catholic Church at Tâḷêkkâd. (See Mal. Miscellany, V and VI).

20 It will be remembered that the city of Cranganore was, centuries before this, given to Thomas Cananeo. (See Set I above).

21 *The Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, (1510), p. 156. Mâppiḷâr is plural of Mâppiḷa, the old form of which is Mâppiḷḷa.

22 Raulin's *Historia Synodi Diamperitanæ*, 1745, p. 3, subnota 1.

23 *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. IV, pp. 168, 169. The readings there are not quite correct.

24 *Trav. Arch. Series*, vol. I, p. 301. The reading should be Avirâ Mâppeḷa, not Apirâ Mânavêḷ.

25 The low caste Hindus apply the titles Mâppiḷachchan (respected Mâppiḷa), Mâḷôr (great man), Nâṇ âr (*nâyanâr*, literally leader), Tampurâṇ (master), etc., to the Syrian Christians.

26 See *Hobson-Jobson*, s.v. Moplah.

leaders of the foreign Christians, like Thomas Cana, were considered "sons-in-law," while the indigenous Śûdras were Piḷḷa'-s, that is, "sons."

This interpretation of the word and title seems most natural when we consider the old South Indian custom of kings using terms of family relationship in granting titles of dignity. For instance, Piḷḷa (Tamil Piḷḷai) means "son"; Rajput and Rauthar mean "king's son"; Uṇṇi, a Malabar caste title, means "little son"; Mûttatę, another such title, signifies "an elder"; Iḷayatę is "younger one"; Tampi, "younger brother"; Taṅkachchi, "younger sister." All these are titles of castes, except the last two, which are applied to the sons and daughters of the Travancore Mahârâjas. These children, it has to be observed, are not members of the royal family, nor heirs to the throne; that privilege being reserved for the Mahârâja's sisters' children. It is in conformity with this practice that the term Mâppiḷa[27], "son-in-law," was converted into a title of distinction.

The Jews of Malabar also have the title Mâppiḷa. Individual Jews in Cochin and Parûr (in Travancore) are addressed by other castes and religionists thus: Dôsâpḷa (corruption of Joseph Mâppiḷa), Avaṛôn Mâppiḷa (Aaron), Èliyâvu Mâppiḷa (Elijah), Môśa Mâppiḷa (Moses), etc.

The Muhammadans of British Malabar, too, have the title Mâppiḷa. Thus one of the ancient kings of the Ali Râja dynasty of Cannanore was known as Alivappan Mâppiḷa (1204–5 A.D.). Such names as Avvakkaru Mâppiḷa (Abubekker), Mammatu Mâppiḷa (Muhammad), etc., are very common.

Only individuals of these three communities—Syrian Christians, Jews and Muhammadans—of Malabar have this title, which, as usual, has become a class name also. To distinguish them apart they are as a class known respectively as Nusṛâṇi Mâppiḷa, Yûda Mâppiḷa and Jôṇaka Mâppiḷa. But the title does not seem to have been applied to any people in the Tamil country.

BOOK-NOTICES.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA, by SIR G. A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. Vol. I, pt. I, Introductory. 13½×10; pp. xviii+517, with 11 maps. Calcutta, 1927.

The great Linguistic Survey of India, of which this, though numbered I, pt. I, may be regarded as the final volume, deals with no less than 179 different languages and 544 dialects, or in all 723 forms of speech, spoken over the northern and central portions of the Indian continent, from Balûchistân to Assam and from the Pâmirs to the borders of Mysore, the provinces of Madras and Burma and the States of Hyderabad and Mysore having been excluded from the purview thereof. This momentous work, which has already earned for Sir George Grierson a world-wide reputation and a permanent niche in the temple of fame, owes its inception to a resolution proposed by the distinguished palæographist, G. Buhler, and seconded by another eminent Oriental scholar, A. F. Weber, at the Oriental Congress held at Vienna in 1886. It was not, however, till 1894 that any practical steps were taken to give effect to the recommendation of the Congress. It was decided that the survey should be primarily a collection of specimens, consisting of (1) a standard passage to be translated into every known dialect and sub-dialect, (2) a locally selected passage taken down from the mouth of the speaker in the dialect, and (3) a list of selected words and sentences. The task of collecting these specimens, and of editing and collating them, was entrusted to Sir G. Grierson, a member of the Indian Civil Service, who had already earned so high a reputation for his linguistic researches, more especially in the Bihâri dialects, that he was familiarly known among his brother officers as "The Pandit". The work commenced in earnest in 1898, and since he left India in 1899 Sir George has devoted his great abilities and wide scholarship with unflagging zeal to the completion of the task, the results of which already fill eighteen massive quarto volumes. Unlike some scholars, Sir George has never been prone to secrete information till he could publish it. His stores of knowledge have at all stages been at the disposal of others. To any inquirer who sought his opinion or help, it was at once stated without reserve or generously given, and with a promptitude that explains in great measure how he has been able to deal so efficiently with the enormous correspondence involved in the compilation of this Survey.

Excluding the languages of the Karen and Man Families, which are only spoken in Burma, and the affiliation of which is still doubtful, the

[27] It is difficult to get at the root meaning of Mâppiḷḷai. It may be from Mâṛ piḷḷai (=Maṛu pilla another son.

Survey deals with four great Families of languages, *viz.*, the Indo-European, Dravidian, Austric and Tibeto-Chinese, spoken respectively by some 232, 53, 3 and 2 millions of persons, besides the unclassed Gipsy dialects, Burushaskî and Andamanese. From the Families we descend in accordance with careful scientific classification through Sub-Families, Branches, Groups and Sub-Groups to the languages and dialects in actual use. In the volumes already published we have seen how the original conception of the survey was enlarged as the work progressed. Upon the foundation of the specimens referred to above has been built a vast linguistic fabric, strengthened, if not cemented, by historical and ethnological testimony. We have descriptive accounts of each language and dialect and of the peoples who speak them, and in respect of most of the forms of speech a more or less complete grammatical account, with a bibliography for the benefit of research workers. And last, but not least, we have suitable maps indicating, as far as this can be indicated in such manner, the areas over which the various languages are spoken at the present day.

In the volume now before us Sir George Grierson presents a general yet comprehensive summary of the results of the survey as a whole. This is prefaced by an interesting Introduction, in which he gives a historical review of previous inquiries into the languages of India, from the time of Albîrûnî down to that of Pater W. Schmidt, credit being duly apportioned to the initiative and labours of missionaries and other scholars, and just praise allotted to the splendid work of B. H. Hodgson and Major R. Leech. In spite of the individual research of so many devoted scholars, most readers will be astonished to learn that up to the year 1878 nobody had made even a catalogue of all the languages spoken in India, and that rough estimates of their number varied between 50 and 60 and 250 ! The difficulties attending the earlier stages of the survey are described with many humourous details ; and then we have exhibited in Chapters II to XVI the vast panorama of languages, classified, correlated and annotated with a wealth of scholarly and instructive description. Here we have the pith of the whole results of the Survey set forth in a systematic and masterly manner, yet in a most readable form, each chapter being replete with matter of interest. The skill with which the huge web of languages has been woven together and then spread out to view compels our admiration.

One of the most striking linguistic discoveries that followed from Schmidt's now famous researches into the affinities of the Mon, Khmer and Khâsî languages was that of the existence, at some very ancient time, of a great family of languages, now called the Austric Family, traces of which are still found from Kanâwar in the Panjâb across the north of India and through Further India across the Pacific Ocean to Easter Island off the coast of South America and southwards to New Zealand. Languages of this family extended, in fact, over an area wider than that occupied by any other group of tongues. Among the branches of languages appertaining to this family is that now known as the Muṇḍâ branch of languages, originally supposed to belong to the Dravidian Family, and first recognized as distinct therefrom by Max Muller in 1854. The present survey has revealed that languages of this branch must at some time have been spoken over a much wider area than at present ; Muṇḍâ influences are traceable in neighbouring tongues, and there is a line of peculiar forms of speech in the Himâlayan and sub-Himâlayan tracts, extending from Darjiling to the Panjâb, showing evident traces of a previously existing language of the Muṇḍâ type, which has been overlaid by the Tibeto-Burman of later immigrants. This is but one of the many instances in which the Survey furnishes indications of ethnic movements that may lead to far-reaching conclusions as to the migrations of peoples in prehistoric times. Such conclusions, however, must only be drawn with reserve, as many examples have been cited to show the danger of basing ethnological theories on linguistic facts. One of the best known cases of this perhaps is that of the Brâhûis of Balûchistân, who speak a language in essence Dravidian, but who have no physical characteristics to entitle them to be classed ethnologically with the speakers of Dravidian tongues in southern India, and the existence of whom has led to diametrically opposed theories of migration. Here, as elsewhere, Sir George maintains a characteristically judicial attitude. One of his most conspicuous qualifications for his task is the candour and fairness with which he states rival views : he has throughout set himself, and observed, the rule that the results of his work were "not to be bundles of theories, but collections of facts": to dogmatizing he never descends.

The chapters that claim the closest attention of students of northern India are those (VIII to XV) that treat of the Indo-Âryan languages, as Sir George has made the study of these peculiarly his own. Reference is made to the various theories propounded from time to time as to the so-called "original home" of the people speaking a language from which the Indo-European tongues (both *centum* and *satem*) are descended : and in this connexion Sir George enters a protest against the inexact use of the term 'Âryan', so frequently applied, in an extended sense, as equivalent to 'Indo-European.' He points out that it is really the name of one of the tribes of *satem*-speakers, as used by these people themselves : in this latter sense only has it been employed in the Survey. Whatever may have been the so-called 'original home' of the ancestors of these people—and as to this he keeps an open mind—he lays emphasis upon the importance of the generally admitted fact that an Âryan people, called the Mandas, were in possession of northern and north-western Persia about 2500 B.C., who had gods whose names we meet subsequently in India, and who spoke a *satem* language closely

connected with the ancient Vedic Sanskrit. Influenced doubtless by this evidence, he considers that the Âryans first entered Persia, whence they sent off-shoots into India and into the Hindû-kush. The speech of those who went into India became the parent of the Indo Âryan languages, and owing to its isolated position there, was more conservative and developed more slowly than the parent language left behind in Persia. The Dardic languages he would regard as descendants of the speech of other waves of emigrants, who broke off from the Erânian stock some time later, and wandered in the direction of the Hindûkush and thence descended into the Dard country. Later waves of this last emigration, when the characteristics of the Erânian languages had nearly fully developed, settled in the Hindûkush itself, and their speech ultimately became the Erânian Ghalchah languages. These are highly important conclusions; and the only question seems to be whether the presence of the Dardic languages, with their proto-Erânian affinities, and the Ghalchah tongues, with their later Erânian characteristics, cannot be accounted for by migrations through channels other than that suggested. If the movement were from Persia eastwards and north-eastwards towards the head-waters of the Oxus, it would be interesting to know what traces, if any, had been left in the tongues of tribes now living in the area to the west and north-west of the Hindûkush. When we have succeeded in deciphering the script on the ancient seals found at sites in the Indus basin, and in correlating the language represented thereby, fresh light will be shed on the linguistic history of northern India. With the development of the Indo-Âryan languages within India we are on surer ground. This important subject is succinctly dealt with in Chapter XII, in which Sir George traces the descent of the current Indo-Âryan vernaculars from the vernacular dialects of the period of the Vedic Hymns, or 'Primary Prakrits.' After what may have been a long interval we come to what have been called the 'Secondary Prakrits" the earliest record of which we get in the Aśoka inscriptions, commonly called Pâlî. At this stage we find two main divisions, Western and Eastern, and between these two what is known as *Ardhamâgadhî*, partaking of the nature of both. It is the later, or *post*-Pâlî period of this stage that is generally referred to as the age of the Prakrits. Then we have the local, 'corrupt' variations of Prakrit known as the *Apabhraṁśas*, which have had such influence on the modern vernaculars; and, finally, the 'Tertiary Prakrit' stage, or that of the modern Indo-Âryan vernaculars, a stage that was probably reached by about 1000 A.D. Concurrently with this development, we have what is known as Classical Sanskrit, itself derived from one of the Primary Prakrit dialects, but fixed in its existing form by the labours of grammarians, that may be said to have culminated in the work of the famous Pâṇini (*circa* 4th century B.C.). The influences of this classical (written) language, of Dravidian, Muṇḍâ, Indo-Chinese, Persian and Arabic, and even of European languages upon the current vernaculars are also briefly surveyed. In Chapters XIII—XV the languages of the Outer, Mediate and Inner Sub-Branches are reviewed in some detail. It will be remarked that, in connexion with their distribution, Sir George specifically disclaims any share in the theory (with which his name had been associated) put forward by Hoernle of two Indo-Âryan invasions, adding that he has "always been of opinion that it is not necessary to postulate two distinct invasions".

In his concluding remarks (Chapter XVII) Sir George gives us a retrospect of the work as a whole —the summing up of a cultured and mature mind, that rises at times to a high pitch of eloquence. He regrets the incompleteness of the Survey, in that it does not cover the whole of India and Burma, for reasons for which he personally was not responsible, rejoicing that a separate Linguistic Survey of Burma has since been undertaken; he laments the absence, also unavoidable, of reference to the important subject of phonetics; he draws attention to the value of gramophone records for purposes of both instruction and study; and he expresses his own confidence in the general accuracy of the results of the Survey. Finally he records, with characteristic warmth, his thanks to all his co-adjutors. He gives a graphic picture of the extraordinary variety of languages, some never yet reduced to writing, represented by the modern vernaculars of India, from the points of view of vocabulary, grammatical system, power of expressing ideas, etc.—a vast complex of contrasts. "And over all there broods the glamour of eastern mystery. Through all we hear the inarticulate murmur of past ages,—of ages when the Aryans wandered with their flocks across the rivers of Mesopotamia; when the Indo-Chinese had not yet issued from their home on the Yangtse-kiang; when some prehistoric Indian Teucer dared to lead his companions across the Bengal Bay to Indonesia; and perhaps when there existed the Lemurian continent where now sweep the restless waves of the Indian Ocean." Special attention should be drawn to Sir George's weighty plea for accurate study of the vernaculars, without which "the true modern India will never be known to us." "Hitherto" he writes, "scholars have busied themselves with the tongues and thoughts of ancient India, and have too often presented them as illustrating the India of modern times". How true! And what restraint in expression!

The volume contains an important Supplement (pp. 201—388) consisting of additional accounts of languages dealt with in volumes previously printed, prepared from material that has subsequently become available, among which should be mentioned specially the valuable account of Tirâhî, compiled through the agency, and with the persona co-operation of that indefatigable and distinguished scholar Sir Aurel Stein, and the detailed survey

of Gilgitî Ṣhiṇâ rendered possible by the thorough study of that language made by Colonel D. L. R. Lorimer. These two sections form notable additions to the Survey. The volume further contains a Classified List of Languages, a List of Gramophone Records (a branch of linguistic study which Sir George has been chiefly instrumental in developing), an Index of Language-Names, and eleven most useful maps, illustrating the distribution of the languages described.

Sir George Grierson is to be most warmly congratulated upon the completion of this truly great work, with which he has been continuously occupied for just over thirty years—a work that is, moreover, unique, as no such survey has yet been carried out in respect of any other country in the world : and no commendation can be too high for the manner in which he has performed his task. All interested in the scientific study of Oriental languages are likewise to be congratulated that the Survey was entrusted to one whose many qualifications combined to render him pre-eminently fitted for the work : wide linguistic attainments ; intimate acquaintance with the country concerned, its people and their character, acquired by close and sympathetic touch during 25 years' administrative experience ; a remarkable capacity for work and power of organization ; a spirit of enthusiasm that infected all who had the pleasure of assisting him ; a mind trained to assess impartially the value of evidence ; a sense of humour, that acts so often as a lubricant to the brain ; and, not the least valuable, a deep and genuine affection for the land and its people that inspired him throughout his long labour.

Sir George's eminent services have since been rewarded by the signal honour of the conferment of the Order of Merit.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGOL, a translation of DE LAET'S DE IMPERIO MAGNI MOGOLIS, by J. S. HOYLAND, with Notes by S. N. BANNERJEE, 1928. Bombay. Taraporevala Sons & Co.

Prof. J. S. Hoyland deserves the thanks of all students of Indian History for placing a translation of de Laet's well known work in their hands, for the original Latin edition has become rare and not at all at the disposal of the ordinary enquirer. The new edition is moreover all the more welcome for the annotations of Prof. S. N. Bannerjee. The work is pre-eminently a compilation, but so far from being negligible for that reason, it actually carries on, after some three centuries, de Laet's own plan, as he himself was *par excellence* a compiler. As a Director of the Dutch East India Company he was naturally interested in Indian History, and was besides an indefatigable writer. As a writer he was learned, laborious and careful to bring the information he acquired with great assiduity up to date in his time. He thus produced a book which has been highly valued by all subsequent students.

Prof. Hoyland has performed his task with skill and knowledge, and has been ably backed by Prof. Bannerjee in the matter of annotations. These have not been by any means a light matter to accomplish, for de Laet is not at all easy in his renderings of Oriental names and words. As an old annotator I can say that Prof. Bannerjee's notes are adequate and not overdone. Altogether Indian scholars can now congratulate themselves on possessing the invaluable de Laet in a form that will materially help them in their studies.

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MOUNT MERU ON ANCIENT INDIAN COINS.

I venture on a small epicycle of speculations on the so-called *caitya*-symbol found on many Indian coins from the earliest times.

As is now generally admitted, this symbol represents not a *caitya* but a mountain. At its basis is normally a waved pattern which is most naturally to be interpreted as signifying a river or lake. That at once suggests the Mountain of Heaven —the Mount Mêru of classical literature—and the divine Lake at its base. The mountain is associated on coins with other symbols—sun, moon, a tree, and on punch-marked coins also a bird and a beast, possibly an antelope. The sun and moon are obvious. The tree, however, demands explanation. Sometimes it stands on the ground at the side of the mountain, sometimes upon the mountain, and sometimes it is absent. Either then it originally formed an integral part of the design, or else it was added later to the mountain, which is equally possible : the separate and solitary tree enclosed in a square paling is a common device on coins. On either view the tree may be compared to the Iranian White Haoma [Sôma] or *gaokərəna* which grows in heaven and gives immortality, and may conceivably be meant for the *Kalpa-druma* of Indian legend. The bird I take to be Garuḍa alighting on the Mount of Heaven to carry away Indra's Sôma (*cf.* especially *Suparṇâdhyâya* xiii, 5, p. 263 in Charpentier's edition). On other punch-marked coins we find a huge bird on a tree, which reminds us of Garuḍa on the tree Rauhiṇa, a well-known mythic trait, on which see Charpentier, *Die Suparṇasage*, pp. 176, 368. The Rauhiṇa may be the "Eagle's Tree" of the Iranian *Yasht*, xii, § 17, which may possibly be the same as the Gaokərəna.—(Reprinted from *Yama*, *Gandharva*, *& Glaucus* in *BSOS.*, vol. IV, p. 714 note.)

L. D. BARNETT.

THE DATE OF BHÂSKARA RAVI VARMAN.

(A Rejoinder.)

BY T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

IN *The Indian Antiquary* for August 1927 (vol. LVI, pp. 141–143), there appears an article under the above heading by Mr. K. G. Sankar. The very same article was published by Mr. Sankar in the issue of *The Western Star*, Trivandrum, dated November 19, 1926, and my rejoinder appeared in the same paper on November 20, and Mr. K. N. Daniel's on December 14, 15, 16 and 17 of the same year. In these rejoinders we pointed out several mistakes in Mr. Sankar's article. But, for some unknown reason, he has re-published it in *The Indian Antiquary*, with all those mistakes, with the exception of the word 'plates' in "his reading is not supported by the plates" (paragraph 4 of his article), which he has corrected into 'plate' (singular) as I suggested. This, however, is the most insignificant of his mistakes.

Instead of reproducing here my original rejoinder *in toto*, I shall give below extracts from it, which will serve to point out some of the other mistakes that he ought to have corrected.

1. "Mr. Sankar says: 'Mr. T. K. Joseph . . . . told me that he was able to read the word *pandu* (*i.e.*, of old) in the original inscription, in connection with the festival instituted by Sri Vallabhan Kodai.'

"It is true that (on Saturday, 26th December 1925) Mr. K. G. Sesha Iyer, Mr. Sankar, and myself were having a talk together in the morning, on the date of Bhâskara Ravi and some other topics. But I never said in the course of our conversation that I could read *pandu* in connection with the festival. What I said was that the lithic inscription speaks of *paṇṭu koṭukkum arichi*, *i.e.*, rice that used to be given formerly or in olden times, and that therefore Vallavan Kôdai must have lived *pandu* or prior to Bhâskara Ravi, in whose reign the inscription was engraved. Vallavan Kôdai was reigning in 973 A.D., and Bhâskara Ravi in 1047–1105 according to me, or in 1073–1131 according to Mr. Sankar. So *pandu* is quite relevent and significant there" . . . .

2. "Again, Mr. Sankar says that my reading of *pandu* is *not* supported by the 'plates', *i.e.*, the fascimile of the (lithic) inscription. But the word *is* there entire and intact. Anybody who knows Vaṭṭeḷuttu can easily verify my statement." The facsimile appears opposite p. 189 of *Travancore Archæological Series*, vol. V, Trivandrum, 1925.

3. "Mr. Sankar says that 'it is agreed on all hands, with the single exception of Mr. Joseph, for reasons which he has not revealed, that the Perunna inscription and the Tirunelli plates could not be removed from each other by any long interval' . . . ."

To this I replied: "Hear my opponent, Mr. Daniel. 'That all the Pârkara Iravi inscriptions' (so says Mr. K. N. Daniel) 'belong to the same period' is 'a fact of which neither Mr. Joseph nor anybody on earth entertains any doubt.'" (See *The Western Star* of October 7, 1926). The Perunna inscription and the Tirunelli plates mentioned by Mr. Sankar are two of the Pârkara Iravi (*i.e.*, Bhâskara Ravi) inscriptions to which Mr. Daniel refers.

It is evident therefore that Mr. Sankar's statement about my being 'the single exception' is incorrect. In fact, as long ago as May 1925, I declared in my *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates* (in Malayalam), pp. 69, 70, that all Bhâskara Ravi inscriptions so far published were of the same period.

I see no reason why Mr. Sankar should have, in such an authoritative journal as *The Indian Antiquary*, repeated his old mistakes, in spite of the fact that both Mr. Daniel and myself had pointed them out quite definitely.

* * *

I shall next point out certain dates for Bhâskara Ravi Varman, given by the tradition of the Jews of Cochin, to whose leader Bhâskara Ravi granted the famous Cochin copper-plates:

1. On 6th September 1925, according to my diary, a Jew of Paṛavûr, near Cochin, told me that the Jews came first to Calicut in *Anno Mundi* (the Hebrew year) 3830, and to Cochin a thousand years later, *i.e.*, about A.M. 4830, and received the Jewish copper-plate grant still

extant. Now, we know that the starting point of Jewish chronology is October 7, B.C. 3761. Therefore A.M. 4830 corresponds to (4830 *minus* 3761=)A.D. 1069, which according to Jewish tradition turns out to be the approximate date of the Cochin plates, as well as of Bhâskara Ravi, whose name occurs in the Cochin plate inscription as the donor of the grant.

2. According to another Jewish tradition recorded by a Jew in the Annual Supplement to the Malayalam newspaper *Mitavâdi* for 1926, p. 20, column 2, Lûza, an influential Cranganore Jew, who had been murdered by the Portuguese just before they took possession of Cranganore, belonged to the thirteenth generation of the family of Joseph Rabbân, to whom Bhâskara Ravi granted the Cochin plates.

We know the Jews are very particular about their genealogy. We know also that three generations comprise a century. (See Chambers' *Encyclopædia*, 1895, *s.v.* Generation.[1]) Portuguese took Cranganore in A.D. 1505. And it is generally agreed that three generations comprise a century.

Now, thirteen generations or ($\frac{13}{3} \times 100 =$) 433 years from Joseph Rabbân, brings us to 1505. Joseph Rabbân, and hence his contemporary Bhâskara Ravi, therefore, lived about (1505 *minus* 433=) A.D. 1072.

It may be objected that there is no reason why the two traditions referred to above should be correct in their statements. Certainly I admit that tradition may or may not be correct, and I grant for the present that the above traditions may *not* be correct. But it must be noted that these presumably incorrect traditions agree in assigning Bhâskara Ravi to about A.D. 1069—1072, or in round figures to about A.D. 1070.

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Let us now consider another Jewish date for Bhâskara Ravi. I got two MS. volumes of old Jewish songs in Malayalam, one on the 7th and the other on the 13th November 1926. They contained two corrupt texts of a song in three parts, describing Joseph Rabbân's riding on an elephant in procession to the Cranganore synagogue, taking the copper-plate grant with him. That song contains a chronogram. Here is a translation of the first verse, and of the portion containing the chronogram.

PART I.

Verse 1.

1. In the presence of God, praise !
2. In the city of Kôta , where everything is available,
3. Cheers and cymbals are in front.
4. He[3] has found favour with three kings.[4]
5. Elephants and men and the king[5] come together.
6. (Text corrupt.)
7. While he comes, after receiving such favours,
8. Let us sing to Joseph Rabbân. (Nine verses more in Part I.)

PART II.

Verse 1.

1. In world-famed Vañchi[6], from the exalted monarch,[7]
2. He received favours such as the crown,[8] the daytime lamp,[9] and walking cloth.[10]

[1] "GENERATION, a single succession in natural descent, the children of the same parents; in years three generations are accounted to make a century."—*Chamb. Encyc.*, 1895, vol. V, p. 129.

[2] Kôta is the same as Tamil Makôtai, Cranganore. [3] He, *viz.*, Joseph Rabbân.

[4] The three kings may be Bhâskara Ravi, his heir apparent, and another prince of the same house.

[5] The composer of the song regards Joseph Rabbân as a king of the Jews.

[6] Vañchi is Tiruvañchikkuḷam (properly, Tiru Añchaikkaḷam), Bhâskara Ravi's capital. It is very near Cranganore.

[7] The exalted monarch is the Perumâḷ, who was overlord of all Malabar.

[8] Thomas Cana, the great leader of the Christians of Malabar, is said to have received a crown from Chêramân Perumâḷ, *i.e.*, the Chera king of Cranganore, in A.D. 345.

[9] Lamp lit by day on festive occasions.

[10] Cloth spread on the way for privileged persons to walk along without touching the ground.

3. He filled the city with money gladly scattered under head and foot[11]—
4. He, the chief subject of the crowned king.[12] (3600 *arivitarê, i.e.*) Sprinkle 3600 rice grains!

Verse 2.

1. In the year *arivitarê*, from him according to everybody's desire.
2. He got the copper-plate beautifully engraved.
3. You shall have an elephant if you describe the coming of Śrî Ânandan.[13]
4. See the royal Śrî Ânandan come riding on the back of an elephant;[14]
5. See the virtuous Śrî Ânandan come riding on horseback.
6. Under a green umbrella, behold! women received him and he entered the synagogue.

(Nine more verses follow in Part II. One verse in Part III.)

According to the song, *arivitarê* is the year in which the Cochin Jewish copper-plate was engraved (Verse 2, line 1). But the previous line has '3600 *arivitarê*.' Sprinkling of rice grains, betel leaves and other things on auspicious occasions, is an old Malabar custom; but there is no limit to the number of rice grains to be so sprinkled. So we may infer that the composer of the song put in the number 3600 to indicate the date.

The date, therefore, may be taken to be '3600 *arivitarê*.' And since the Jews of Malabar have been, and are, using the Hebrew year, month and date in all their documents and even in their ordinary letters, we have to suppose that the year indicated by '3600 *arivitarê*' is the Hebrew year, known as *Annus Mundi*. About A.D. 1070 was the date we got from the two Jewish traditions already laid under contribution. A.D. 1070 corresponds to A.M. 4831. So if there is any truth at all in the traditions and the song, we have to get something like 4831 out of '3600 *arivitarê*,' or about 1231 out of '*arivitarê*' alone.

Two courses are open to us. We can give *arivitarê* either the Hebrew value or the Indian value of the *kaṭapayâdi* system. This is the value according to the Hebrew system:—

A	=	aleph	=	1
Ri	=	resh	=	200
Vi	=	vau	=	6
Ta	=	tau	=	400
Rê	=	resh	=	200
		Total		807

In the Hebrew system the values of the several letters are simply added together as in the Roman system (MDCLVI = 1000 + 500 + 100 + 50 + 5 + 1).

The value of the chronogram *arivitarê* according to the Indian system followed in Malabar also is 26420, obtained by substituting for the letters the corresponding numerals and reading the figures from right to left, or *reversing* them as usual in the Indian system.

A	ri	vi	ta	rê	
0	2	4	6	2	= 26420, when *reversed*.

[11] The poet means that the money scattered by Joseph Rabbân thickly covered the ground and even buried the crowd.

[12] The crowned king is Bhâskara Ravi. There were crowned kings and uncrowned kings in Malabar. According to the unpublished Sloane MS. (No. 2748A, British Museum, London, Portuguese text, dated 1676 or after), "the kings who wear the crowns are the following: the king of Cochim, the king of Thanor, the king of Charipalicurà, the king of Parapulle, the king of Charaillon, the king Tilluchur Coille, the king of Coullaõ, the king of Ballango, ... the king of Cranganore. Only the king of Cochim may wear the royal crown in all the kingdoms of Mallivar as Emperor and Supreme Lord of them."—(Folio 2v. Translation kindly supplied by the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S. J., of Darjeeling.)

It is as the rightful heir and descendant of Bhâskara Ravi said to be the last Perumâḷ, or overlord, of Malabar that the king of Cochin can wear the royal crown as emperor or supreme lord.

[13] Śrî Ânandan here is Joseph Rabbân, to whom, according to Malabar Jewish tradition, Bhâskara Ravi gave the name Śrî Ânandan Joseph Rabbân. Śrî Ânandan may be translated 'he who is happy in prosperity'.

[14] Riding on an elephant was in olden days a special privilege of kings and great men.

But we want a number close to 1231, and both 807 and 26420 are far away from it.

Now, there is a way of dropping one of the digits of 26420 by taking only *arivitaṛ* which has in Malayalam much the same meaning as *arivitaṛê*. And the number represented by *arivitaṛ* is 6420.

A ri vi taṛ } = 6420, when *reversed*.
0 2 4 6 }

6420 too is nowhere near 1231.

How then are we to interpret the chronogram so as to get something like 1231 ? It is indeed a great pity that we have no interpretation of it handed down to us by old Jewish writers. Neither does any Jew of the present day know how to interpret it.

I cut the Gordian knot by altering *arivitaṛ* into *yarivitaṛ*. I do so for this reason. The author of the song must have split the year number (which he could very well express as a whole) into 3600 and *arivitaṛ* because he wanted to indicate the month and date also. And if we write *ar-i-vi-taṛ* and read it in the Hebrew fashion we get *tarvi-iar*, wherein we have *iar* standing for the Hebrew month Iyar, and *tarvi* standing for the date. It is the *y* of this *Iyar* that I put in, and alter *arivitaṛ* into *yarivitaṛ*.

Now, *yarivitaṛ*, which is the *reversed* form of the Hebrew expression for the month and date, represents 1246.

{ Ya ri vi taṛ }
{ 1 2 4 6 }

And 1246 is very near 1231, something close to which number we were in search of.

So '3600 *yarivitaṛ*' stands for (3600 + 1246 =) A.M. 4846, which corresponds to A.D. 1085. As we already presumed, *tarvi* indicates the day of the month Iyar. The Hebrew letters Tau, Resh and Vau, of which *tarvi* is made up, stand respectively for 400, 200, and 6, the vowels not being usually written. Of these numbers, 6 alone can represent the day of a month, which never has 200 or 400 days.

Thus, I suppose that the number and the chronogram of the Jewish song give us for the Cochin plates of Bhâskara Ravi the 6th day of the month Iyar of the Hebrew year 4846, corresponding to A.D. 1085.

It may be pointed out here that by altering *arivitaṛ* into *yarivitaṛ* in line 1 of verse 2 the sense is not affected at all. In the previous line, the last one of verse 1, *arivitaṛ* need not be altered.

* * *

Now, one very remarkable fact about this date, A.D. 1085, for the Cochin Jewish plates is that we get the very same date if we take A.D. 1060, which Messrs. L. D. Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai and K. N. Daniel got by careful astronomical calculation, as the date of the Perunna[15] inscription of Bhâskara Ravi.

This Perunna inscription is of the (2+12) 14th year of Bhâskara Ravi, whose initial regnal year must therefore have fallen in A.D. 1047. The Cochin Jewish plates, which were engraved in the (2 + 36) 38th year of Bhâskara Ravi, must therefore be of A.D. 1085.

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Add to these pieces of evidence those of palæography and language. In my *Malabar Christian Copper-Plates*, Trivandrum, 1925, p. 71, I have shown that in point of language the Cochin Copper-plates and other inscriptions of Bhâskara Ravi are of the period A.D. 875 to 1218, and added a footnote (No. 18) to the effect that the late Mr. L. D. Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai's date, *circa* A.D. 1000, for Bhâskara Ravi may turn out to be correct. Palæography too points to *circa* A.D. 1000 for Bhâskara Ravi.

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To sum up the arguments so far, we have—

(1) A Jewish tradition pointing to *circa* A.D. 1069 as a date for Bhâskara Ravi.

(2) Another Jewish tradition leading us to *circa* 1072.

15 Perunna is a village in Central Travancore.

(3) A Jewish chronogram, which can be so interpreted so as to yield A.D. 10⁸˜ for a set of copper-plates of that king.

(4) A possible date (A.D. 1069) astronomically arrived at, which would lead us to the same A.D. 1085 for the above plates.

(5) Linguistic and palæographic evidence, which points to a period including the above dates.

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Of course, an opponent can legitimately object that the traditions may be wrong, the chronogram and its interpretation may be wrong, the astronomical data that led to A.D. 1060 may be wrong, and my linguistic and palæographic estimate may be wrong. Very well. But all my wrong things, quite independently of one another, agree in pointing to about A.D. 1069—1085 as the date of Bhâskara Ravi.

That, indeed, is strange evidence, and at the same time strong evidence—evidence as strong as, if not stronger than, any already accredited historical assertion has to support it.

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On the other hand, Mr. Daniel's date, 6th century A.D., for Bhâskara Ravi, has only a single argument—the astronomical one—to support it. And if Mr. Daniel were to concede—as I have done in the case of the date A.D. 1060, and as everybody should do—that the astronomical data from which he derived his dates, *may* be wrong, his whole fabric would fall to the ground. For his dates have nothing else to support them. He does not even attempt to show that the language and palæography of the Bhâskara Ravi inscriptions are of about the sixth century.

Mr. Daniel speaks of " very sure astronomical data for calculating the dates." (*Reprint* of his article, p. 14.) *Pace* Mr. Daniel and Mr. Sankar, one cannot be so confident of astronomical data found in old records. Epigraphists know of a large number of inscriptions in which astronomical data are wrong in some particular or other. *Errare est humanum.* And authors of inscriptions, ephemerides and calendars are but human.

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I have already in the course of a long, unfinished controversy (which lasted for about a year) between Mr. Daniel and myself in a Travancore Malayalam paper, and in *The Western Star* of 27th July, 1926, pointed out the most serious defects in his argument. Some of them are enumerated below.

(1) Instead of taking the astronomical data as provisionally correct, he regards them as *positively* correct.

(2) He confines himself to the period from A.D. 100 to 1400, and searches for dates there, and there alone. We know there were Perumâḷs (or overlords like Bhâskara Ravi) in Malabar even before A.D. 100. And he gives no reason why he confined himself to the period from 100 to 1400. How did Mr. Daniel divine that Bhâskara Ravi lived in 100 to 1400 A.D.?

(3) He says, on p. 17 of the *Reprint* : " I need hardly say that if we examine these dates for five thousand years we shall not find other dates which fulfil all these requirements." Of course, we shall not, if we examine these dates (*i.e.*, A.D. 526, 1060 ; 571, 666) for five thousand years. But I suppose Mr. Daniel actually means that if we examine a period of five thousand years just prior to A.D. 100, we shall not find two dates there which fulfil all these requirements. That is a very bold prophesy. So we can legitimately suggest to him to extend his calculations to the period of 5000 years declared by him *ex cathedra* to be sterile of suitable dates. In fact, after reading my criticism in *The Western Star* of 27th July 1926, Mr. Daniel did search for dates in the above period of 5000 years.

(4) For reconciling the various Bhâskara Ravi inscriptions he takes some of the years mentioned in them as denoting the king's age. There is no warrant for this. For it is the regnal year that is invariably mentioned in ancient Malabar records, and not the king's age. Can Mr. Daniel quote instances in which the age of a king is mentioned in Malabar inscriptions for the purpose of indicating the time of engraving them ?

(5) Then, again, Mr. Daniel takes some years as expired and some as current. (See his Reconciliation Table). We may take all as current. When people speak of, say, the 13th year, they do not mean the 14th.

Take for instance the 14th and 13th years of Bhâskara Ravi (Nos. 2 & 3 in the Table), in both of which Jupiter stood in Makaram. The following diagram will indicate the regnal years and their portions included in the Jupiter-in-Makaram year.

J. in Makaram

13th (regnal year) 13th | 14th (regnal year) 14th.

We see from this that Jupiter could be in Makaram both in the 13th regnal year *current* and in the 14th regnal year *current*.

(6) Mr. Daniel has thrown overboard all considerations of the language and palæography of the Bhâskara Ravi inscriptions. That is a serious mistake. In ascertaining the date of a genuine inscription the proper course, adopted by the generality of scholars, is to consider its linguistic and palæographic aspects first. For, if the record is not spurious, there is no possibility at all of its being engraved in language and characters different from those of the actual time of writing. Whereas astronomical details mentioned in it may go wrong in some particular or other.

Yet Mr. Daniel has preferred astronomical evidence to linguistic and palæographic, and even there he has inexplicably limited himself to an arbitrarily chosen period, *viz.*, "nearly 1400 years from the end of the first century to the beginning of the fifteenth." (*Reprint*, p. 15).

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Let us now pass on to some points raised by Mr. Sankar. He takes the Perunna inscription of the (2+12) 14th year of an unnamed king as relating to Bhâskara Ravi's predecessor Indu Kôtai. On the other hand the late Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, Mr. K. N. Daniel and myself have attributed it to Bhâskara Ravi himself. My reasons for doing so are—

(1) Almost all the inscriptions of Bhâskara Ravi use the formula 'Xth year opposite the *second* year' to express *his* regnal year, while those of Indu Kôtai use 'Xth year opposite the *fifth* year' for the same purpose. The Perunna inscription referred to above, which is palæographically similar to, and is inscribed among, the Bhâskara Ravi inscriptions on the walls of the same temple in the village of Perunna, uses the Bhâskara Ravi formula 'Xth year opposite the *second* year'.

(2) The Jewish chronogram, as interpreted by me above, yields A.D. 1085 for the Cochin plates of Bhâskara Ravi. Calculating from the astronomically possible date A.D. 1060 for this Perunna inscription, which we, in an earlier part of this paper, assumed to belong to Bhâskara Ravi, we got the very same date A.D. 1085 for the Cochin plates of Bhâskara Ravi.

Therefore, in all probability, the Perunna inscription above referred to belongs to Bhâskara Ravi's reign.

Another untenable contention of Mr. Sankar is "that 1st March 1116 A.C. satisfies the data of the Tirunelli plates in all respects" because 8th Mîna fell on 1st March, which was a Wednesday, and the asterism Uttara Phâlguni ended on that day shortly after daybreak, allowing for an error of 24 minutes at the most.

But Mr. K. N. Daniel says (in *The Western Star* of 16th December 1926) : The "*parahita* system was exactly the astronomic system of the twelfth century. We can therefore by no means allow an error and bring the required asterism to the daybreak of 8th Mîna."

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What then is the date of Bhâskara Ravi? I have already shown that the initial year of his reign was A.D. 1047, and that he gave the famous Cochin copper-plate grant to the Jewish leader Joseph Rabbân in A.D. 1085. In my opinion he reigned at least till A.D. 1105, which according to the late Mr. L. D. Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai (see *infra*) is a possible date for the Tirunelli plate, No. 2, of Bhâskara Ravi, although Mr. K. N. Daniel discards it (A.D. 1105 corresponding to Kali 4205) as wrong. (See *Reprint*, p. 15.)

It was not impossible for a Malabar king of olden times to reign (1105 *minus* 1047) 58 years or even longer. We know of South Indian kings who did actually reign more than

fifty years. For instance, the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla reigned for more than 62 years, and his son and successor, Dantivarman, reigned more than 51 years. (See Dubreuil : *Ancient History of the Deccan*, Pondicherry, 1920, p. 28.)

We may perhaps assume that Bhâskara Ravi came to the throne in A.D. 1047, in his 16th year, was crowned about two years later in his 18th year, and died when he was about 75. The following table will indicate what I consider the dates of the principal events of his life.

Date (*A.D.*)	*Regnal year.*	*Event.*
1031	....	Birth.
1047	1st	Accession.
1048	2nd	Coronation.
1060	14th (2+12)	Perunna inscription engraved.
1085	38th (2+36)	Jewish plates granted.
1105	43rd (wrong)	Tirunelli plate No. 2, engraved.
1105 or after	....	Death.

* * *

It will be observed that I have taken the astronomical data and the regnal year (14th) of the Perunna inscription (of 1060) to be quite correct, while I have taken the data of the Tirunelli inscription to be very nearly correct, and the regnal year (43rd) to be quite wrong.

As for the date A.D. 1105 for the Tirunelli inscription, Mr. Daniel says (*Reprint*, p. 15) : " There are two other dates given by Dewan Bahadur Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai. They are Kali 4205 " (=A.D. 1105) " and 4216. This is surely due to an oversight on the part of this eminent scholar. In fact he himself admits it in a reply to a letter of mine on this point."

On the other hand Dewan Bahadur Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai the author of *Indian Chronology*, to whom I referred the matter while the controversy on the date of Bhaskara Ravi was going on between Mr. Daniel and myself for about ten months from 23rd June 1925, in the Malayalam newspaper *Nava Bhârati* of Tiruvalla in Travancore, told me in his letter dated Fort St. George (Madras), 11th August 1925:—

" I have *not*[16] written to Mr. Daniel admitting that my date A.D. 1105 for the Tirunelli plate was wrong. I still think March 1, A.D. 1105, is the correct date and I adhere to what I last said about the position of Jupiter, *viz.*, that according to Sûrya Siddhânta Jupiter was in Tula, though according to modern astronomy he would be in Vrischika."

Mr. Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai's lamented death took place shortly afterwards (on 10th September 1925), and so he had no opportunity to say more on the question in reply to Mr. Daniel, who with the support of some local astronomers (quoted in our controversy) maintains that A.D. 1105 is wrong.

What is wrong with the date 1105 is, according to Mr. Daniel and his three supporters, the position of Jupiter. The inscription says that Jupiter was in Tula, but Mr. Daniel and his trio of supporters hold that Jupiter was in the first half of the next sign, Vrischika. (See our controversy, sections 169 to 179.) Let astronomers decide.

* * *

If, however, Jupiter was actually in Vrischika, we have to take the inscription to be wrong in that particular. But by no means can we take the record to the sixth century as Mr. Daniel has done. If, like Mr. Daniel, one were to ignore language and palæography, the surest of our bases, and rely entirely and solely on astronomical data assumed to be perfectly correct, one could, on the strength of astronomical calculations, take Bhâskara Ravi to, say, the 10th, 50th or 100th or any other millennium before the Christian era. No one need limit oneself arbitrarily to the period A.D. 100 to 1400, as Mr. Daniel has done, but every one is at liberty to fish for suitable dates in the vast ocean of time.

One may object that though language and palæography are sure bases, the study of those aspects of inscriptions has not yet been systematically made. Very well. Then begin at once to make that study, setting aside astronomical calculations for the time being.

16 *Not* was underlined twice by Mr. Swâmikaṇṇu Pillai.

THE EMPIRE OF ORISSA.

BY PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

(*Continued from vol. LVII, p. 239.*)

II. Purushottama (1470--97.)

The death of Kapilendra in 1470 was followed by a war of succession. Firishta states that two of the sons of Kapilendra named Maṅgal Râi and Ambar Râi were rival claimants for the throne and Ambar Râi sought the alliance of the Bahmanî Sulṭân Muḥammad III, who had succeeded his elder brother Niẓâm Shâh on the 30th July 1463. At the time of his accession Muḥammad was in his tenth year, and therefore at the time of the death of Kapilendra his age could not have been more than eighteen. The *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* assigns, perhaps more correctly than Firishta, another reason for the interference of Muḥammad Shâh Bahmanî in the affairs of the Orissan empire. According to this authority, "In this year the Queen-Mother, Makhdûmah Jahân, died, and in A.H. 875 (A.D. 1470) the Sulṭân assumed the reins of government.

"In the midst of these affairs a messenger arrived from Teliṅgânâ and informed the Sulṭân that the Râya of Orissa, who was the principal *râya* of Teliṅgânâ was dead.

"The Sulṭân was rejoiced to hear this news, and resolved upon the conquest of these dominions: accordingly he held a council of war with his nobles and ministers. Mâlik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî, who was one of the favourites of Humâyûn Shâh, said:—"With Your Majesty's permission I will undertake this duty." The Sulṭân invested him with a special robe of honour, and despatched him with some of the other nobles in that direction."[1]

On many different occasions the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* has proved itself to be far more reliable than Firishta where Bahmanî history is concerned. This is specially the case in Bahmanî genealogy. Firishta's version may therefore be regarded as unreliable. Muḥammad III could not have taken much interest in the campaign as he was too young, but his nobles found this to be a fitting opportunity to revenge themselves for the numerous defeats they had suffered at the hand of Kapilendra, *e.g.*, the battle of Devârkoṇḍâ, the invasion of the metropolitan district or Bidar etc. It is quite possible that at this time the Musalmans also interfered in the succession to the throne of Orissa; but the principal cause of the Musalman invasion was the weakness of the empire of Orissa at this particular moment.

Before proceeding with the narrative of the campaign, we should pause to consider the condition of the Eastern districts of the Indian Peninsula at the time of Kapilendra's death. The Bahmanî Sulṭâns had grown stronger for the time being, upon the attainment of majority of Muḥammad III, but the Yâdava or Vodeyar dynasty of Vijayanagara was fast approaching extinction. There are reasons to suppose that the emperor Virûpâksha was alive in 1478, at least eight years after the death of Kapilendra in 1470.[2] The Śâḷuva chief Narasiṁha may have obtained the supreme power even in the life time of Virûpâksha II, but at the time of Kapilendra's death he was clearly still a subordinate. Narasa Nâyaka seems to have been serving under Śâḷuva Narasiṁha at this time. Like the Musalman generals and nobles of Muḥammad III Bahmanî, the commanders of Virûpâksha II also considered the death of the strong ruler of Orissa and the dissensions among his sons to be a very fitting opportunity for the reconquest of the districts in the Tamil and the Telugu country wrested from the Vijayanagara empire by the founder of the Sûryavaṁśa dynasty. Prof. S. K. Aiyangar considers that "Sâḷuva Narasiṁha's first service to the empire was the beating back of this enemy right up to Rajahmundry where the Bahmanî Sulṭân, Muḥammad, found him strongly entrenched in one of his campaigns."[3] Now we are in a position to judge how it became possible for Śâḷuva Narasiṁha to be present on the banks of the Godâvarî in 1474-75 when Muḥammad III besieged the strong fort of Râjamahendrî

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXVIII, p. 285.

[2] *Epi. Ind.*, vol. VIII, App. II, p. 15, Quoting *Epi. Carn.*, vol. V, pt. I, p. 448, No. 153.

[3] *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, Madras, 1919, pp. 7-8.

During the Civil war between the sons of Kapilendra the Bahmanîs obtained a chance of regaining control over the hill districts of Telingana. When the Musalman advance into the coast-land of Telingana barred the way of Orissa into the Southern Telugu and Northern Tamil districts, then Sâḷuva Narasiṁha found it a comparatively easy job to reoccupy these districts and to include them once more in the empire of Vijayanagara. The history of these two different wars of Orissa with two of the greatest monarchies of Southern India must be studied separately.

The real cause of the Bahmanî invasion of Orissa in 1470 has been already quoted from the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir*. Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahrî, who had obtained the command of the expedition, defeated the Orissan army somewhere in the Northern Telugu country and advanced upon Râjamahendrî. Firishta says that in 1471=876 A.H. Ambar Râi a cousin of the king of Orissa complained to Muḥammad III Bahmanî that the throne of Orissa had been usurped by a Brahman (?) named Maṅgal Râi, the adopted son of the king[4], *i.e.*, Kapilendra. We know definitely from the calculations of the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti that the first year or the second *aṅka* of the reign of Purushottama coincided with 1469-70. This calculation is based on two inscriptions in the *jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannâtha at Puri[5]. Therefore the king of Orissa in 1471=876 A.H. could not have been a Brâhmaṇa. The Maṅgal Râi, mentioned by Firishta, if he had real existence, must be another son of Kapilendra.

Firishta continues to state that Muḥammad III Bahmanî was extremely desirous of obtaining some part of the dominions of Orissa on the Eastern coast, specially Râjamahendrî and Koṇḍapalle. Firishta agrees with the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* in making *Niẓâm-ul-Mulk* Ḥasan Bahrî the Commander of the expedition against Orissa. He then states that Ambar Râi joined Ḥasan on the borders of Orissa. Ḥasan defeated Maṅgal Râi and placed Ambar Râi on the throne of Orissa. Ḥasan, then, proceeded to capture Râjamahendrî and Koṇḍapalle[6]. There is no mention either of the Brâhmaṇa Maṅgal Râi or of Ambar Râi, the cousin of the late king of Orissa, in the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir*. This book states directly that after the defeat of the Orissan army Nizam-ul-Mulk Hasan Bahri captured Râjamahendrî and marched to the south-west against Koṇḍaviḍu. This is more natural as being the seat of an Orissan Viceroy. Koṇḍapalle is not mentioned in this work. Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan besieged and captured Koṇḍaviḍu and several other forts in the neighbourhood. This is the first stage in the wars of Muḥammad III Bahmanî with Purushottama.

Before we proceed to consider the second stage we must take into account the expansion of Vijayanagara under Sâḷuva Narasiṁha. Even during the life time of Virupâksha II, Sâḷuva Narasiṁha had captured the South Arcot district. By 1474 he was in the possession of the entire eastern coast-land as far north as Râjamahendrî when he met the Bahmanî army manœuvring against Purushottama of Orissa. The details of Sâḷuva Narasiṁha's capture and conquest of the southern districts of the empire of Kapilendra are to be found in the *Sâḷuv-abhyudayam* of Râjanâtha Ḍiṇḍima. In the fourth canto it is stated that when Sâḷuva Narasiṁha marched against the king of Kaliṅga, the latter came out at the head of his army, but was defeated and retired to his city, where, later on, he was besieged and compelled to surrender[6a]. This statement is entirely unreliable, as we can prove from Musalman histories that there was no chance for Sâḷuva Narasiṁha to meet Purushottama on the field of battle at any time between 1469–70 and 1474–75, when we meet Purushottama and Sulṭân Muḥammad III Bahmanî in the neighbourhood of Râjamahendrî. Both Firishta and the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* make it sufficiently clear that Râjamahendrî and

[4] Brigg's *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India,* Calcutta, 1909, vol. II, p. 487.

[5] *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pp. 482-3. [6] Brigg's *Rise of the Muhammadan Power,* vol. II, pp. 487-88.

[6a] *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 91. This MS. proves the comparative unreliability of Indian literary works. specially Sanskrit mediæval works, in matters historical.

Koṇḍaviḍu were in the possession of the Bahmanî Sulṭân up to 1474 from the time of the death of Kapilendra. The record in Musalman histories of the presence of Sâḷuva Narasiṁha on the Godâvarî in 1474-75 proves definitely that during the first four or five years of his reign Purushottama lost all control over the southern provinces of his father's empire, and this was the period during which Sâḷuva Narasiṁha extended the North-Eastern Frontier of the Empire of Vijayanagara as far as the Godâvarî. The story of the war between Purushottama and Sâḷuva Narasiṁha as given in the *Sâḷuv-abhyudayam* appears to be entirely imaginary.

We now return once more to Firishta. In 1474 Bhîmrâja, an Oṛiyâ, who was originally a dependant of Muḥammad III Bahmanî, captured Koṇḍapalle and sent messengers to Purushottama or, as he is called, " The Râya of Orissa," asking him to recover the districts of Telingana now lost to him. Purushottama arrived with 10,000 horse and 8,000 foot and drove out Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Bahrî from Râjamahendrî. Muḥammad III Bahmanî marched against Purushottama in person. Upon his arrival Bhîmrâja took refuge in the fort of Koṇḍapalle, and Purushottama re-crossed the Godâvarî. Muḥammad III Bahmanî left Khwâjah-i-Jahân Maḥmûd Gâwân Gilânî with the heir-apparent, Prince Maḥmûd, at Râjamahendrî and marched with twenty thousand horse in pursuit of Purushottama. Firishta asserts that in A.H. 882 (= A.D. 1477) Muḥammad III penetrated into the heart of Orissa, as far as the capital and ravaged the country. It is further stated that he intended to send for Maḥmûd Gâwân and occupy the country permanently. On hearing this Purushottama is stated to have sent repeated embassies to open negotiations and to have purchased peace by delivering twenty-five elephants belonging to his father. Muḥammad III Bahmanî is said to have retired with these presents.[7]

These statements of Firishta it is necessary to receive with great caution. In the first place, if Muḥammad III had really retired after receiving twenty-five elephants from Purushottama then he must have been compelled to do so by some other power. No victorious Musalman army has ever let off any defeated Hindu Prince at such a small price. Firishta's story reminds one of the retreat of Seleukos Nikator from India after receiving five hundred elephants from Chandragupta Maurya as the cost of the four fertile provinces of Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and the Paropanisadæ. Muḥammad III's intention to occupy Orissa vanishes immediately. No indemnity of war is demanded, and the retreat begins immediately after the receipt of the elephants. Let us now return to the comparatively sober account of the *Burhân-i-ma'âṡir* :—

" In the midst of these affairs the Sulṭân was informed that the perfidious Râya of Orissa, with a large force of foot and horse, had invaded the territories of Islâm. Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî, who was situated as a barrier between the country of the infidels and the territories of Islâm, owing to the numbers of the enemy's force, was unable to cope with them, hastened towards Wazîrâbâd. The Sulṭân ordered his army to be assembled in all haste at the town of Malikpur, near Ashṭûr, on the bank of a tank, which was one of the innovations of Mâlik Ḥasan Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Baḥrî. According to orders they flocked there from all parts, and in a short time an immense force was assembled; and the Sulṭân marching with them in due time arrived near the fortress of Râjâmundrî (Râjamahendrî). From that innumerable force the Sulṭân picked out 20,000 men with two horses each, and leaving the Minister Khwâjah Jahân in the royal camp in attendance on the prince (Maḥmud Khân) he himself with the picked troops proceeded to Râjâmundrî . . . .

" When they arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Râjâmundrî, they saw an immense city, on the farther side of which the infidel Narsiṁha Râya with 7,00,000 cursed infantry and 500 elephants like mountains of iron had taken his stand. On this side of the river he had dug a deep ditch, on the edge of which he had built a wall like the rampart

7 Brigg's *Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, pp. 494-96.

of Alexander, and filled it with cannon and guns and all the apparatus of war.[8] Yet notwithstanding all this army and pomp and pride and preparation, when Narsiṁha Râya heard of the arrival of the Sulṭân's army, thinking it advisable to avoid meeting their attack, he elected to take to flight.

"When the Sulṭân became aware of the flight of the enemy he appointed Malik Fatḥ-ullâh Daryâ Khân with several other *amîrs* of his conquering army to go in pursuit, and in slaughtering and plundering to strive their utmost. Daryâ Khân, accordingly, with his division pursued the infidels as far as the fortress of Râjâmundrî, and laid siege to it. The Sulṭân also followed him with all speed and raised his victorious standards at the foot of the fortress . . . . Orders were given to the army to surround the fortress, and with cannons, guns, arrows and all the engines of war to reduce the besieged to extremities and deny them the necessaries of life.

"It had nearly arrived at that stage that the face of victory was reflected in the mirrors of the desires of the royal troops, when suddenly the commander of the fortress cried for quarter. The Sulṭân in his exceeding mercy and kindness took pity on these unfortunate people, pardoned their offences and gave them a written promise of quarter. The governor of the fortress riding on an elephant of gigantic size went to pay his respects to the Sulṭân. He made his obeisance and was enrolled among the Turkî, Tilangî and Habshî slaves.

"The Sulṭân with some of the nobles and great men went out on the summit of the fortress, and signified his wish that the rites of the faith of Islâm should be introduced into that abode of infidelity. He appointed to the charge of the fortress the same person to whom it had been formerly assigned."[9]

Comparing the accounts in these two Musalman histories we find that only four points are common to them ;—

(i) That Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Baḥrî had been driven out of the flat plains of Teliṅgânâ below the *ghâts* by Purushottama Deva of Orissa;

(ii) That the Sulṭân Muḥammad III Bahmanî took the command of the campaign against Orissa in person ;

(iii) That Râjamahendrî was besieged ; and

(iv) That the Hindu commandant of Râjamahendrî had to capitulate.

The disagreements are many in number. According to Firishta the name of the Hindu commandant of Râjamahendrî is Bhîmrâja, but he is said to have retired to Koṇḍapalle. There is no mention of Koṇḍapalle and the retirement of Bhîmrâja to that place in the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* ; nor is there any mention of the stationing of the Khwâjah-i-Jahân and Prince Maḥmûd Khân at that place. The *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* is also silent about Sulṭân Muḥammad III's sack of Purushottama's capital, Kaṭak, and his devastation of Orissa. We have now to decide on the respective merits of Firishta and the *Burhân-i-Ma'âṣir*. The latter mentions one incident about which Firishta is silent, *e.g.*, the presence of Śâḷuva Narasiṁha in the neighbourhood of Râjamahendrî. There are events recorded in the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* which prove without doubt that Śâḷuva Narasiṁha is the same person as that mentioned as Narsiṁha Râya in connection with this campaign. Immediately after the campaign of Orissa, Muḥammad III Bahmanî decided to attack the empire of Vijayanagara. The people in the district of Koṇḍaviḍu had broken out in open rebellion in A.H. 885 (= A.D. 1480) and thrown themselves on the protection of Śâḷuva Narasiṁha ; "So the Sulṭân on hearing the news, in the month of Ramaẓân in the above mentioned year (November A.D. 1480) ordered his army to be assembled ; and marching with it towards The Kingdom of Vijayanagar, in due time arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress of Kondâvir, and encamping there, completely surrounded it[10]."

8 This is one of the instances of the use of artillery in India before the first invasion of India by Bâbur.

9 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 288.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 289.

Therefore in A.D. 1480 Koṇḍaviḍu was included in the empire of Vijayanagara and the Bahmanî campaign of that year was directed against Teliṅgânâ and not the Tamil or Kanarese districts. This being so, it is much more likely that Śâḷuva Narasiṁha was present on the Godâvarî near Râjamahendrî in the campaign of 1474-77. We are not in a position to ascertain whether the Śâḷuva Chief was present on the banks of the Godâvarî as an ally of Purushottama of Orissa or as a third party in the struggle. The omission of Śâḷuva Narasiṁha's part in the war of 1474-77 in Firishta's work proves its comparative unreliability when compared to the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir*. Śâḷuva Narasiṁha had added the eastern coast-land of the Indian peninsula to the empire of Vijayanagara after the death of Kapilendra in 1470 and the subsequent Musalman conquest of the delta of the Godâvarî. He had showed no resistance when Purushottama reoccupied the delta of Godâvarî, but when Muḥammad III started to recover it, it was clearly to his interest to be present near the seat of war, because his own territories were contiguous to that of the king of Orissa. The statement in the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* about the Bahmanî campaign of 1480 proves clearly that the country to the south of the Kṛishṇâ was included in the empire of Vijayanagara because the *talukâ* of Narasarâopet, in which Koṇḍaviḍu is now situated, lies immediately to the south of the lower course of the Kṛishṇâ. The war of 1474-77 was, then, clearly for the possession of the Kṛishṇâ-Godâvarî Doâb. Purushottama had evidently given up all hopes of the southern districts of his father's extensive empire, and therefore there could have been no cause of enmity between the king of Orissa and the general or emperor of Vijayanagara. Virûpâksha II was still living, yet the out-lying provinces of the Hindu empire were in the possession of Śâḷuva Narasiṁha. As the *de facto* king of the eastern coast Śâḷuva Narasiṁha had to be present at or near Râjamahendrî when Muḥammad III launched his great campaign against the king of Orissa in 1474. The object of the Bahmanî Sulṭân was the reoccupation of the Godâvarî-Kṛishṇâ Doâb, which he had conquered immediately after the death of Kapilendra. Was it the object of the Śâḷuva Chief to help the Hindu king of Orissa, or was he there simply to defend his own dominions ? In view of the statement of the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* that Śâḷuva Narasiṁha retired without fighting it seems probable that when he found it unnecessary to engage the Musalmans for the defence of his own dominions he retired to a safe distance, leaving his common enemies to fight till exhaustion. Muḥammad III's invasion of Śâḷuva Narasiṁha's territories in 1480 may be construed in two different ways. In the first place it may be taken to be in revenge for the part played by Śâḷuva Narasiṁha in the campaign of 1474-77, or in the second place it may simply be a continuation of that campaign for the conquest of the whole of the Doâb from the Hindus. It appears that it was not to the interest of Śâḷuva Narasiṁha to ally himself with any of the contending parties because both were his natural enemies. It is more probable that Purushottama had to fight his battles without any help from the only Hindu power in Southern India which might have helped him. The campaign of 1474-77 ended in the total loss of the Godâvarî-Kṛishṇâ Doâb to the kingdoms of Orissa and Vijayanagara apparently owing to the impossibility of a coalition among the Hindu powers. But we must not put our faith in any of the grandiloquent tales narrated by Firishta about the sack of Cuttack and the submission of Purushottama. The campaign against Orissa was suddenly brought to an end on account of the necessity of a vigorous campaign against Śâḷuva Narasiṁha, and Mâlik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Baḥrî was left in charge of the conquered provinces. The Bahmanî campaign of 1480 against Koṇḍaviḍu was followed by another against Malûr[11]. Muḥammad III Bahmanî may or may not have resided for three years at Râjamahendrî as stated by Firishta[12], but this is certain, that no further campaign against Purushottama was attempted by the Bahmanîs.

[11] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 289.

[12] Brigg's *Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, p. 497.

The scene on the political stage now changes swiftly. The murder of the great Musalman general and statesman Khwâjah-i-Jahân Maḥmûd Gâwân Gilânî, on the 5th April 1481,[13] was followed by a paralysis of aggressive Musalman policy, and the death of Muḥammad III Bahmanî, on the 26th March 1482[14], was followed by the sudden dismemberment of the Bahmanî Empire. The long reign of the weak and imbecile Maḥmûd was a record of total disunion and incapacity of the Musalman leaders. The attitude of Purushottama can be explained partly from Firishta's narrative of the conspiracy of the Deccani party at the Bahmanî Court against Maḥmûd Gâwân. Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Baḥrî forged a letter purporting to be a communication from Maḥmûd Gâwân that he was tired of Muḥammad III Bahmanî and ready to join the Râya of Orissa[15], *i.e.*, Purushottama. The latter, if Firishta's account is true, was then still an object of fear to the Bahmanî Sulṭân. We do not know what happened to the Godâvarî-Krishṇâ Doâb immediately before and after the murder of Maḥmûd Gâwân. According to Firishta the Hindu renegade Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Baḥrî was permitted by Muḥammad III Bahmanî to govern the Doâb by a Deputy, his own son, Malik Aḥmad[16]. The story related by Firishta may or may not be true, but it is evident on the face of it that it was necessary for the old traitor Ḥasan to be at Court in order to mature the plan for the murder of his patron Maḥmûd Gâwân. As soon as Maḥmûd Gâwân is murdered and Muḥammad III Bahmanî is dead the actors on the stage, who have occupied it so long, vanish never to re-appear. After the murder of Malik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Baḥrî, his son Malik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Aḥmad retires to the south-western part of the Bahmanî Empire, where he is busy carving out an independent kingdom for himself.

Immediately after his accession Maḥmûd had to undertake a campaign in Teliṅgânâ before the murder of Mâlik Niẓâm-ul-Mulk Ḥasan Baḥrî[17]. The result of this campaign is not known, but the very silence of the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* proves that it was unfavourable. Sulṭân Maḥmûd Bahmanî could not proceed eastwards from Varangal. This possibly indicates a re-occupation of Teliṅgânâ by Purushottama. Within six years of the death of Sulṭân Muḥammad III Bahmanî, Godâvarî-Krishṇâ Doâb had been re-occupied by the troops of Orissa, and Purushottama was in possession of Koṇḍaviḍu, so much coveted by the Musalmans, and the Guntur district. This is proved definitely by two inscriptions, one discovered at Koṇḍaviḍu dated 1488-89, = the Jovian year *Kîlaka*[18], and the second at some unknown place in Teliṅgânâ, published in 1827 in the *Transactions of the Literary Society of Madras*, dated Śaka 1412, the year *Saumya*, Karttika Śukla 15 Sa (*nau*), = Saturday, November 7th, 1489[19]. There can not be any doubt about the fact that Koṇḍaviḍu and Ongole[20] had passed out of the possession of Śâḷuva Narasiṁha when he was the recognised Emperor of Vijayanagara.

(*To be continued.*)

[13] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 291.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 292.

[15] *Rise of the Muhammadan Power*, vol. II, p. 506.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 498.

[17] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 306.

[18] Sewell, *Sketch of South Indian Dynasties*, p. 48; Chakravarti, *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1800, p. 183; the Śaka year 1411.

[19] *Epi. Ind.*, vol. XIII, pp. 155-58.

[20] The places mentioned in the grant of Śaka 1412 are situated in the Ongole Taluka of the Guntur district.

PLOSIVES IN DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI AYYAR, M.A., B.L.

THOUGH Dravidian is, next to Indo-Âryan, the most important language-group in India possessing an independent culture[1] not much inferior to the Indo-Âryan and rightly claiming an indubitably great past history, which has yet to be vastly explored, little or no attention is paid to-day to the study of its philology. Admirable and scholarly as the monumental work of Caldwell (published about half a century ago) may be, much of its contents needs modification and revision in the light of modern linguistic research. It is to be hoped that, on the one hand, the labours of European scholars of Dravidian, like Profs. F. Otto Schrader and Jules Bloch, and, on the other, the new-born interest in linguistics evidenced in India by the organization of research departments in the Universities, will be productive of beneficial results in the field of Dravidian philology.

I propose in this article to deal with the forms and variations of the important class of sounds called plosives as they appear in Dravidian, the changes they undergo in combinations and further with the general laws underlying these changes. I shall draw my illustrations from, and confine my observations to, the four more prominent Dravidian languages (*i.e.*, Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kanarese).

The plosives (so called because in their articulation the exit of the current of expiration of air occurs with an explosion resulting from the removal of a temporary stoppage in one of the super-glottal passages) have been analysed and classified with remarkable nicety by recent phoneticians. There are two distinct movements involved in the articulation of plosives : (i) the formation of the stoppage, and (ii) the removal of the same. The process entails a certain amount of muscular tension of the vocal organs, which varies with the nature of the sound. Before the science of phonetics had made the enormous progress that it has to-day, it was the practice to classify the plosives only in a broad manner as tenues and mediæ on the one hand, and on the other, as the different varieties depending on the place of sound-production and the organs coming into play. Recent progress in the science of phonetics has discovered new and more subtle distinctions based on (i) the degree of muscular tension involved in the sound-production, and (ii) the position, and the amount of vibration of the vocal chords. As these distinctions are important in the study of Dravidian plosives, we shall briefly refer to them here. Generally speaking, these factors, namely, the degree of muscular tension and the amount of vibration of the vocal chords almost always go together in inverse proportion, though exceptional cases might arise.[2]

Prof : Jespersen has arranged the series as follows[3] :—

(1) *Strongly aspirated tenues*, where the vocal chords are widest apart, the air-stream from the lungs gathers behind the stoppage so strongly that a strong explosion is heard on the stoppage being removed. Muscular tension is at its maximum here. Vocal chords remain without vibration for a short interval after the explosion. The position of the vocal chords in Dravidian is that indicated by Jespersen as ∈2 only.

(2) *Weakly aspirated tenues* differ from the above only in that the vocal chords begin to vibrate for the succeeding sound much sooner than in the above variety often immediately at the moment when the stoppage is removed.

(3) *Sharp tenues*, where there is no interval at all after the explosion, and before the vocal chords begin to vibrate for the succeeding sound. Almost a metallic clang is heard in the production of this sound.

(4) *Voiceless mediæ*, where the vocal chords, remaining much closer than for (3) above, still do not vibrate, and further the muscular tension is much lower.

(5) *Half-voiced mediæ* differ from (4) above only in that the muscular tension is a little lower still, and the vocal chords begin to vibrate slightly before the explosion.

[1] See Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's recent work on *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (Calcutta University), pp. 40–42.

[2] See Otto Jespersen's *Elementarbuch der Phonetik*, p. 90.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 85–90.

(6) *Pure mediæ*, where the muscular tension is at its minimum and the vocal chords do not cease to vibrate at all.

Dravidian plosives have hitherto been classified as belonging to the two broad varieties, namely tenues and mediæ only; but as a matter of fact, examples of all the above mentioned six varieties occur in Dravidian.

Class (1)[4] is heard in the careful enunciation of doubled or long plosives occurring finally in base-forms and derivative forms, *e.g.*,

Tamil—*poṭṭu* (mark); *pattu* (ten); *śoppu* (small case).

Telugu—*prakka* (near); *nippu* (fire); *natti* (stammer).

Malayalam—*viṭṭə* (having left); *chakka* (jack-fruit); *tatta* (parrot).

Class (2) is found in the sounds of doubled or long plosives occurring initially in the second components of *samasas* in Tamil and Malayalam, *e.g.*,

Tamil—*kâṭṭùppuli* (tiger of forest); *vîṭṭuttandəi* (old man of the house).

Malayalam—*ôṭippôi* (ran away); *mêśakkâl* (leg of table).

Class (3) is the value of initial plosives in all the Dravidian dialects and in intervocal plosives in Malayalam and Telugu. The metallic clang, characteristic of the French sounds, is absent in the Dravidian, however.

Initial. Tamil—*kappəl* (ship). Malayalam—*kaṭəl* (sea).
Telugu—*kâni* (but). Kanarese—*tumbitu* (filled).

Intervocal. Telugu—*paluku* (word). Malayalam—*châṭi* (jumped).

Class (4) *i.e.*, the voiceless mediæ are very common intervocally in Malayalam colloquial. Indeed careful Malayalam speakers give this value to all intervocal plosives and often to nasal plosive combinations also, *e.g.*, Malayalam: *kuḍ̥il* (hut); *vanḍ̥i* (cart); *kunḍ̥ə* (pit); *paṉḏ̥ə* (ball); *panḍ̥ə* (ago), etc.[5]

Class (5) is a variety of sound often heard in Malayalam nasal plosive combinations, *e.g.*, *chənḍa* (drum); *eŋgil* (if), etc.

Class (6) is the value given to all Tamil intervocal plosives and to all Tamil plosives in combination with nasals (both being represented in spelling by the symbols for surds). Further, initial Telugu surds assume this value when they are immediately preceded by words with final vowels of the *druta* class.

(1) A broad classification of the Dravidian plosives, according to the place of sound-production and (2) the vocal organs coming into play would stand thus:

Lip with lip.	Teeth with blade.	Upper gums with tip of tongue.	Palate. Front.	Palate. Middle.	Palate. Back.
p, b	*t, d*	*ṯ, ḏ*	*k^y, g^y*	*ṭ, ḍ*	*k, g*

I shall briefly comment on the characteristics of these Dravidian sounds.

(1) *ṯ* and *ḏ* alveolar sounds with tip of tongue touching the upper gums. These are found in Tamil and Malayalam only, and even here only doubled or in combination. Tamil *R*+*R*[6] gives rise to *ṯṯr* or *ttR*, as in the causatives of *mâRu*, *peRu* etc. = *mâṯṯRu*, *peṯṯRu*, etc.

[4] Evidently, the final position being one of the most emphatic positions of a word, the surds occurring in this position (though followed by supporting vowels often frail in character) are brought out with the maximum tension. The exit of breath after the explosion is, in Dravidian, not so strong as in the typical Danish sounds given by Jespersen; nevertheless, a fairly noticeable breath does follow, partially depriving the immediately following enunciative vowel of its sonority.

[5] This variety can be conveniently differentiated from the rest, in representation, by placing, as Prof. Jespersen has done, a small circle below the sonant symbol.

[6] The origin of the alveolar *t*, *d*, in Tamil-Malayalam is due to (*a*) the *trilling* (what Marouzeau calls *tremblotement*) of an older *r* (which may have been cerebral or alveolar), resulting in the incorporation of the alveolar plosive; and (*b*) the assimilative process whereby a dental *t* or *d* is converted into an alveolar by another alveolar sound as in Tamil *śenḏru* (*śel*+*tu*); or an alveolar *l* or *r* is converted into the alveolar plosive as in *naṯpu*, etc.

(2) *t* and *d* have much the same value ordinarily in Dravidian as in Sanskrit. Intervocally, they tend, often in rapid speaking, to assume the values of fricatives, *e.g.*, Mal. *vâtil* is pronounced often *vâðil*. In Sanskrit words like *âtman*, *patmanâbhan*, *t* is adopted with the value of *l* in Malayalam, as *âlmâvə*, *palpanâbhən*.

This has been ascribed to the influence of the Vedic pronunciation of final Indo-Âryan *t* as *l*, which was popularised in Malayalam-speaking areas by the Nambûdiris. See *post*.

In Telugu and Kanarese by a process of regressive assimilation, initial surds have assumed the values of sonants, *e.g.*,

Telugu. (hump) *gûnu*. (bunch) *gola*.
Tamil. *kûnu*. *koləi*.

(3) *ṭ* and *ḍ* : These cerebral plosives, along with other linguals are very characteristic of Dravidian. It has been postulated by Grierson and Sten Konow that the Indo-Âryan borrowed these sounds from Dravidian. In native Dravidian words, these sounds never occur initially.

(4) *k* and *g* [7] : These are very unstable sounds, except initially or when doubled, in all the four Dravidian languages. Intervocally, they tend to become fricatives in Malayalam and Tamil. Their instability is evident in changes like the following illustrated from Malayalam. *E.g.*, *makən* > *mahən* > *maəən* > *mən*.

(5) *p* and *b* are not unstable usually, but, in the colloquial, *b* has turned into *v* and *m* occasionally, as in Tamil *pâvam* (from *pâbam*), *kôvam* (from *kôbam*) and as illustrated by Tamil *pâmbu* appearing in Kanarese as *pâvu*, and as in Malayalam alternative forms *kâṇbân*, *kâṇmân*, *kâṇuvân*.

(6) *kʲ and gʲ*: Palatal varieties of *k* and *g*, *i.e.*, the values given to these latter in the proximity of palatal vowels, *e.g.*, Tamil *vâḷəkkʲây* (plantain) ; *vaigʲəi* (river Vaigai).

(7) *ch* and *j* : These are not plosives, as their classification in vernacular grammars would lead us to think, but are really affricates. The theory of the affricates has only been recently propounded.

We shall next consider a peculiar law regarding plosives described by Caldwell as specially Dravidian and prominently seen in Tamil. This law styled by Caldwell as " The convertibility of Surds and Sonants " is stated by him thus on page 138 of his work :— *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p*, the first unaspirated consonants of the 1st, 3rd, 4th and 5th *vargas* are always pronounced as surds (*i.e.*, as *k*, *t*, *ṭ*, *p*,) at the beginnings of words and whenever they are doubled. The same consonants are always pronounced as medials or sonants (*i.e.*, as *g*, *d*, *ḍ*, *b*) when single in the middle of words . . . . and so imperative is this law, and so strictly is it adhered to, that when words are borrowed from languages in which a different principle prevails, as Sanskrit or English, the consonants of those words change from surds to sonants or *vice versa* according to their position, *e.g.*, Sans. *danta*, a tooth, becomes in Tamil, *tandam*. Caldwell further says that " there are distinct traces of the existence of this law in all Dravidian dialects ; but it is found most systematically and most fully developed in Tamil and Malayalam."

The law is certainly true of Tamil in all its aspects as shown by the following instances :— *kûḍu* (cage) ; *vîḍu* (house) ; *śâdəm* (cooked rice) ; *gôbâlən* (Gopalan) ; *śaŋgərən* (Sankaran), etc.

We have, however, to examine if the law is in any way so characteristic of all the other Dravidian dialects as to be described as distinctively Dravidian, as Caldwell seems to suggest.

It is true that in the representation of the inter-vocal plosives of many words in Telugu and Kanarese which have corresponding forms in Tamil, the spelling shows the sonant variety, as for instance in Telugu *idi* (this), *pâḍu* (ruin), *poga* (smoke) corresponding to similar Tamil forms with surd symbols to represent sonants, but at the same time there is a sufficiently large number of forms in Telugu and Kanarese where the inter-vocal surds, as shown by

[7] An ancient *k* has changed into *ch*, *ś* and *h* in various dialects : Brâhûi *ka*, *to die* represents an ancient type. The form *śa* found in Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese, Kui etc., goes back to *ka* : *śa*, *to die* < *ya* < *çya* < *çæ* < *χa* < *ka* ; Kui has an alternative *ha* : *ha* < *χa* < *ka*,

the pronunciation and by the phonetic spelling, retain their purity. Indeed the number of such native forms containing pure inter-vocal surds is so large in these languages as to exclude altogether the possibility of any general law of convertibility, as in Tamil.

Telugu—*kôṭa* (fortress) ; *pâṭu* (song) ; *tâṭîñchu* (to flutter) ; *nâṭu* (to plant) ; *pâka* (hut) ; *peṭuku* (unpleasant), etc. Numerous inflexional endings and verb-forms in Telugu and Kanarese show inter-vocal surds.

Kanarese—*kûṭukoḷḷiri* (sit down).

With regard to those forms in Telugu and Kanarese which show by their spelling and pronunciation the sonant variety as distinct from the corresponding Tamil forms, which give the surd-symbols but the sonant sounds, the explanation is easy. There is a law applicable (in varying degrees) to all groups of languages that when a surd occurs inter-vocally, the sonority of the vowels is partially or wholly shared by the surd itself which consequently tends to become sonant. The history of many languages illustrates this, *e.g.*, in many Old English words and also in the development of the Romance languages from late Latin.

We see therefore that the help of a distinctive Dravidian law need not be invoked for explaining the change of surds into sonants in Telugu and Kanarese. That such a Dravidian law does not exist is further shown by the presence in Telugu, Kanarese and the ruder dialects of numerous forms with pure inter-vocal surds.

Then we come to Malayalam. Gundert, Kittel and Caldwell have all maintained the existence of the law of convertibility in Malayalam exactly as in Tamil.

Two circumstances seem to have coloured their judgment in this matter :—(i) the close relationship that exists between Tamil and Malayalam has led them to ignore the differences involved in the actual pronunciation of Malayalam at the present day as distinct from that of Tamil. (ii) Dr. Gundert, who was undoubtedly a great Malayalam scholar, made his observations of Malayalam sounds from amongst the natives of the extreme north of Malabar who do not talk pure Malayalam.

Let us consider the actual facts regarding the pronunciation of Malayalam inter-vocal plosives in the Cochin State, the central portion of the Malayalam-speaking area, where the pronunciation has been admittedly recognised as the purest, *i.e.*, free from the Kanarese influence of the north and Tamil influence of the south. (i) In the Malayalam literary dialect the inter-vocal surds are pronounced with entire purity. When books are read or discourses delivered, the surds have the value either of classes II or III or IV described above. (ii) In the colloquial among the cultured classes, the inter-vocal surds do not become pure mediæ but assume the values of voiceless mediæ, *i.e.*, class IV described above. (iii) In the colloquial of the lowest classes where purity of pronunciation is hardly cared for, and where elisions, contractions, and holophrastic changes are extremely common, not only inter-vocal surds but initial surds also become sonants.

From the above, it is clear that the "language-consciousness" of the Malayalam-speaking native does not admit of any such law of convertibility as in Tamil. Spelling only confirms this view. Unlike the Tamil alphabet, and like the Telugu and Kanarese alphabets, the Malayalam alphabet has symbols for both surds and sonants, and inter-vocal surds are all represented by the symbols for surds only. If the values of the inter-vocal plosives had been only sonant at the time when the Sanskrit alphabet was taken over by Malayalam, it is at least strange why the Malayalîs, who are noted for their linguistic precision and exactness, did not represent the sonant sounds with sonant symbols. The only explanation possible is that the surds had not the value of sonants at the time of the adoption of the Sanskrit alphabet, *i.e.*, some time about or before A.D. 1000.

Historical grounds also strongly support such a view. In a paper contributed by Prof. Bloch to the *Indian Antiquary*[8] he has demonstrated, on the strength of a passage from the writings of a seventh century Sanskrit author Kumârila Bhaṭṭa, who quotes a number

8 Vol. XLVIII, 1919, pp. 191-195.

of presumably Tamil words with pure inter-vocal surds in them, that the sonantisation of inter-vocal surds in modern Tamil could have arisen only about A.D. 1200. Here is a fact, then, which definitely stands against the theory that seeks to identify Malayalam and Tamil in reference to this law of convertibility, for we know beyond a doubt that Malayalam branched off from the parent Tamil language sometime about A.D. 1000.[9]

One other factor should also have contributed greatly to preserving the pure value of surds in Malayalam. The influence of the Sanskrit language and literature on Malayalam has been, from the earliest times, more powerful than on any other Dravidian language. Though no definite evidence exists as to when this influence began to be felt in Malabar, it is clear that it must have been operating from a period considerably anterior to the time of Sanskrit influence in other parts of the Dravidian-speaking areas. This is evident from the fact that the Nambûdiri Brahmans, who carried Sanskrit knowledge into Malabar, preserved customs (known as *anâchârams*) which are peculiar to themselves and which definitely mark them off from the Brahmans of other parts of South India. Further, the peculiar Vedic values which these Nambûdiris give to Sanskrit sounds *ṭ* and *ṭ*, as *l* and *ḷ* respectively lead one to suspect that the Nambûdiri advent to Malabar may date back to a very early period indeed, possibly to the Vedic era itself. Any way, the cumulative value of these facts points to a very early Sanskrit influence in Malabar. Such a long-standing and predominant influence exerted by Sanskrit over Malayalam should certainly have counteracted any little tendency that might have existed in Malayalam to convert intervocal surds into sonants. And hence we see that even those changes that have occurred in Telugu and Kanarese (in obedience, be it noted, not to any distinctive law but to the universal linguistic principle of the change of surds into sonants when surrounded by sonorous sounds like vowels) are completely absent from the Malayalam literary dialect.

We have therefore to conclude that the law of covertibility stated by Caldwell is (1) *not distinctively Dravidian*, in view especially of the presence of pure inter-vocal surds in Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam, and (2) only applicable to modern Tamil and not to Malàyalam, which branched off from ancient Tamil about A.D. 1000.

I shall end this article with a few remarks about the values of Dravidian consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives. These combinations, *i.e.*, nasals *plus* plosives, form a characteristic feature of the Dravidian system of sounds, though all other consonant combinations are carefully avoided by native Dravidian. The conjunct nasal *plus* plosive combinations that occur in Dravidian are *ñch*, *ñj*, *ŋk*, *ŋg*, *nt*, *nd*, *n̠ṯ* *n̠ḏ*, *ṇṭ*, *ṇḍ*, *mp* and *mb*.

In Tamil, though the spellings as usual show the surds, the values of the plosives are entirely sonant. In Telugu and Kanarese numerous combinations of nasals and surds with pure surd values are found, *e.g.*, *iṇṭi* (house) ; *eṇṭu* (eight) ; *chenta* (nearness), etc.

Kanarese *uṇṭu* (exists) ; *bantu* (came), etc.

In Malayalam there is a conflict of tendencies : on the one hand, the frequency and predominance, in Malayalam, of nasals tends to sonantise the surds occurring in nasal combinations, and on the other the influence of Sanskrit pulls in the reverse way and works towards the retention of the purity of the surds for all surds in combination with nasals ; so much so that both pronunciations are heard even amongst the cultured classes of people. In careful and deliberate utterance they either preserve the purity of surds entirely, or give them the value of voiceless mediæ ; while in the colloquial, half-sonant or completely sonant values are given, *e.g.* :—

Malayalam conjunct nasal *plus* plosive (carefully uttered).	Same in rapid colloquial.
en̠ṯâ (what).	*en̠ḏ̥â* or *en̠ḏâ*.
paŋkə (share).	*paŋg̊ə* or *paŋgə*.
chan̠ṯâ (market).	*chan̠ḏ̥a* or *chan̠ḏâ*.
pâmpə (snake).	*pâmb̥ə* or *pâmbə*.

[9] See Râja Râja Varma's *Kerala Pâṇinîyam*.

MISCELLANEA.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL PROGRESS.

Excavations are being conducted with great success at Pahârpur in the Râjshâhî District, Bengal, by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle. Last year he startled the archæological world by unearthing on what was believed to be a Buddhist site, not only the stone representations of the divine Krishṇa in his boyhood, but also the image of Râdhâ Krishṇa—all belonging to the sixth or seventh century A.D. This is the earliest image of Râdhâ Krishṇa so far known. The Râdhâ cult was long supposed to be of recent date. But we have now to change our view in the light of these excavations, and it seems that the worship of Râdhâ originated in Bengal certainly as early as the fifth century.[1] This year Mr. Dikshit was fortunate enough to pick up a copper-plate inscription in the verandah of the second terrace of the exhumed temple of Pahârpur. It is dated 159, which, if taken to be a year of the Gupta era, gives the English equivalent 477–8 A.D. It records the grant of land by a Brahman Nâtha and his wife Ramî for the maintenance of the worship of the Arhats at the *vihâra* presided over by the Nigrantha ascetics, Guhanandin and his successors, at the village of Vaṭa-gôhâlî. This last apparently is the modern Goâlbhiṭâ which comprises the present site of the temple.

The find of the copper-plate grant just referred to indicates that this temple, when it was originally erected, belonged to the Jaina community and cannot possibly be later than the fifth century A.D. About the middle of the sixth century it seems to have been occupied by the Brahmanists, whose chief characteristic was religious eclectism and fusion. For, of this period we find plaques and sculptures, containing deities of the Śaivite, Vaishṇavite and Buddhist pantheons. The Śaivite and Buddhist figures from amongst these are of a general character, and cannot be assigned to any particular sect. The Vaishṇavite sculptures and plaques, however, all describe incidents from the life of Krishṇa and his elder brother Balarâma, there being not a single representation of any deity of non-Krishṇa Vaishṇavism. It seems that the Brahmanists, who were in possession of the temple from *circa* 550 to 650 A.D., were principally Krishṇaites, but were so catholic as to imbibe the general worship of Siva and Buddha. Things were, however, different, when about the beginning of the eighth century the temple came into the charge of a rather exclusive sect of Buddhist monks, who during the time of king Dharmapâla and under his patronage established a *vihâra* of their own here, as appears from seals picked up on this site.

The structure of the temple is a square in plan with re-entrant angles, and with three terraces rising one above the other, the topmost being crowned with the principal shrine. This is the first example found in India of this type of structure and of the fifth century. Its importance cannot therefore be exaggerated. Because, though the influence of India on the sculpture as on the culture of Burma, Java and Cambodia has been admitted on all hands, archæologists since the time of Fergusson were not sure that the architectural style came from India, as no instance of it was known from this country. But the excavation of the temple of Pahârpur leaves no doubt as to the Indo-colonial art and architecture being derived from India also.

D. R. B.

ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN HISTORY.

While doing research work in Ancient South Indian History, a few suggestions occurred to me, which I now put forth before you for publication in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* inviting criticism. The conclusions to be drawn from these would be momentous for the history of South India, and though evidence may be accumulated in support of the above conclusions, still I would like the suggestions to be viewed in the correct perspective by all historians and antiquaries. My tendency is to draw two major conclusions from them, namely.

1. That the kingly dynasty of Chera and the first kings following, among whom were a great many learned people, were Egyptians, who left Egypt after the 'Athan' worship introduced by Akhenaton was overthrown by his son-in-law Tutankamen.

2. In the same way the Pâṇḍyan royal family and the founder's immediate followers were immigrants to South India from Babylon, and they may be Phœnicians that settled in South India somewhere about the period when Babylon was conquered by Medes or Mittani from the north.

The suggestions are as follows :—

1. 'Athan' is invariably the distinguishing title of all Chera kings, and may this not mean, in addition to what it does mean actually, a father to his subjects, the Divine Father; thus pointing out that the settlers worshipped God not as Awon-Ra but as Athan.

2. The word 'Nambûdri', of which I have not till now come across a proper derivation, may be derived from Nammuria, Mammuria, Nammuri, Mammuri, the honorific title for Egyptian kings and learned men, also scribes: *vide* Tel-El-Amarna Letters.

3. The word Murugan, the name of the South Indian Tamil God, is the same as the Babylonian Murdoch or Merodoch. The phonetic sound has changed like this :—Murdoch, Murhoch, Murha, Muruga, Murugan.

Temples to this God are found in Tiruchendur, Tiruparankundram, Kunnackody (Ramnad district), Palni, Swamimalai (Tanjore district), Tiruttani (North Arcot) near Tirupatti. The traditions fix Tiruchendur, the place where the God fought with the Asura, Tiruparankundram, where he married, Palni, where he became an ascetic, and so on. One safe conclusion to be drawn from these is that Tiruchendur is the

[1] See also in this connection my paper entitled 'the Antiquity of the Name of Râdhâ' contributed to the 'English Section' (pp. 54–6) of *Vasanta-rajata-mahôtsava-smāraka-grantha*.

first place where the settlers landed and had to fight the king of the land before they were allowed to settle. The subsequent places of worship, which lie north, are all later settlements by these people when they were able to advance into the heart of the country. Temples to this God are invariably built upon rocks and small hills, and the fact may be due to the cause that these people, being only a handful in the midst of a hostile population, may by fires lit on the tops of the hills summon assistance if they are at any time put to straits. That this God Murugan came to be woven into Aryan Mythology under the sobriquet of Subrahmanian is another tale which will be described in a subsequent letter.

I imagine these suggestions are entirely new, and I invite your views and those of all your readers thereon. S. K. VATSA.

[NOTES.—1. The evidence seems too slender for the conclusions.

2. The philology and the phonetics alike seem to be of a new species, which must be accepted with caution. Discussion may clarify.—JOINT EDITOR.]

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE BHAGAVADGITA.

The Editor has reviewed in the April 1928 issue of the *Indian Antiquary* an English Translation of the *Bhagavadgîta* by Prof. Edgerton of Chicago. He has pointed out the difficulty of correctly translating philosophical treatises of the Hindus into English, and has referred to *ślokas* 16 and 17 of chapter XV as an example. The word *Purusha* appears to have given trouble to Prof. Edgerton as well as to Dr. Barnett. Dr. Barnett translates the word by its common equivalent, 'male,' whereas Prof. Edgerton finds 'Soul' more suitable. May I suggest that in translating works like the *Bhagavadgîta*, the *Bible* and the *Koran*, one should approach such great works with a desire to get at the spirit of the teachings, before one commences translating the thoughts and not merely the language into another language. The *ślokas* under discussion speak of matter and the spirit pervading it, as well as of the Supreme Spirit. *Purusha* may be happily translated by the word 'entity,' thus :

"Two entities make up this world,—one, the perishable and the other, the imperishable. The perishable are all the created things and the imperishable is the spirit that is in them. || 16 ||

"Another Exalted Entity there is, called the Supreme Soul. It is the Supreme Lord, Unchangeable, who permeates the three worlds and supports them. || 17 ||" N. K. BHATTASALI.

[NOTE.—It should be pointed out perhaps that Pratâpa Chandra Rây (*The Mahabharata, Bhîshma Parva*, 1891) translated the word *puruṣa* in *śloka* 16 by 'entity.' This word, however, is not free from ambiguity. Others have sought to convey the meaning intended by 'soul', 'spirit', 'energy', 'person', etc. Monsieur E Sénart (*Les Classiques de l'Orient*, vol VI, p. 146) avoids the difficulty by retaining the Sanskrit word—C.E.A.W.O., JOINT EDITOR]

BOOK-NOTICES.

ST. THOMAS THE APOSTLE AND INDIA, by PROF. JARL CHARPENTIER, Upsala, in *Sartryck wi Kyrkohistorisk Arsskrift*, 1927.

This is a valuable review by that very careful writer, Prof. Charpentier, of the vexed question of the Indian career of St. Thomas, which so greatly interests readers of this Journal. The Professor feels "bound to answer in the negative" the question: "Did St. Thomas ever visit South India?" He is sceptical of the visit of the Apostle to Upper India, though "the problem seems somewhat different if we turn to North West India and the neighbouring parts of the Afghan Kingdom." His remarks and criticisms are well worth the serious study of all who are investigating the legends of St. Thomas in India.

R. C. TEMPLE.

JOURNAL OF THE BOMBAY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. I. No. 1. March, 1928.

We welcome the *Journal* of yet another learned Society in India with all the greater alacrity for showing us that learning is taking an ever-increasing hold on the Indian peoples. This time it is that of the Bombay Historical Society, which was founded so lately as 1925. We note that it will deal more especially with Bombay and Western India, and that it has been started on somewhat ambitious lines. Its success, however, should be none the worse for that, as unless the aim is high accomplishment cannot be much.

The first issue commences with an article by that well known historical writer, the Rev. H. Heras, S.J., on the decay of the Portuguese power in India, and is in fact a critical study of the documents from an interesting point of view; for it is by way of being an examination of "two accusations laid down against the Jesuit policy in India: first, that they were uncompromisingly intolerant, and then that they turned hostile to the Governments." We agree that "both points of view are worth studying," and having drawn attention to them, we will leave it to students to form their own opinion of Father Heras' arguments.

The next article is a most useful one by Dr. Balkrishna on materials for research at Bombay, in the course of which the writer has some severe, but not undeserved, criticisms of Dr. S. A. Khan's methods of writing history. Another paper by Prof. N. Venkataramanayya on the place of Virakurcha in the difficult Pallava genealogy is of great interest to those who would unravel that tangle. Also under the head of "Queries," there is a note on Dona Juliana Dias da Costa at the Court of Aurangzeb's successors, which is interesting, but the writer might have added the *Travels of Peter Mundy*, vol. II, to the list of his authorities.

Altogether the new *Journal* is both useful and valuable, and we wish it long life. R. C. TEMPLE.

HINDU AND NON-HINDU ELEMENTS IN THE KATHA SARIT SAGARA.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page 11.*)

13. The Possession of Sons.

The possession of sons may be described as the main desire of a Hindu, man or woman. It goes back to the very dawn of Âryan civilization in the country, when the duty of propitiating the ancestral spirits or compelling them to look after the family devolved on the father and made him the family priest, who conducted the ritual for its dead. This knowledge of all-essential rites he passed on to his son. Hence the importance of a son to every Hindu father of a family and his wife. To the ordinary Hindu a son is invaluable because he alone can perform the death ceremonies that ensure the parents' Release from Rebirth. With such an incentive the folklore that has gathered round the birth of a son must obviously be unlimited.

Accordingly one is not surprised at strong expressions used by Queen Vâsavadattâ, wife of Udayana, king of Vatsa, in the main story, when (p. 129) her husband sends her a poor Brâhmaṇ woman to look after. The Brâhmaṇ woman is starving, but she has twin infant sons : "When she saw that the woman, though poor, had two children, she thought : 'This is exceedingly unfair dealing on the part of the Creator. Alas, he grudges a son to me, who am rich, and shows affection to one who is poor. I have not yet one son, and this woman has these twins.'." Further on we read in the same story (p. 135) : "The Queen Vâsavadattâ beheld from her palace a certain woman of the caste of potters coming with five sons, bringing plates, and she said to the Brâhmaṇ lady Piṅgalikâ, who was at her side : 'Observe, my friend, the woman has five sons and I have not even one as yet. To such an extent is such a one the possessor of merit [from works in a former birth], while such a one as myself is not'." But Mr. Penzer points to like expressions both in Magyar and Sicilian folktales, so it is possible that the old Indian Âryan idea dates back to pre-migration days.

13-a. Prophecy.

Vâsavadattâ is naturally not without prophecies that she shall bear a son. The prophet in her case is the Ṛishi Nârada, who says (p. 128) : "So she, having propitiated Śiva, shall bear a son, who shall be a portion of Kâma [the God of Love] and shall become the Emperor of all the [immortal] Vidyâdharas." So (p. 136) "the queen quickly determined upon performing a vow, and when she had taken a vow, the king and his ministers and the whole kingdom, also, took a vow, to propitiate Śiva. And after the royal couple had fasted for three nights, that Lord was so pleased that he himself appeared to them and commanded them in a dream : 'Rise up ; from you shall spring a son, who shall be a portion of the God of Love, and owing to my favour shall be a king of all the Vidyâdharas'. . . . And in the morning the king and queen rose up, and after delighting their subjects with the taste of the nectarous story of the dream, kept high festival." Here we have several folktale *motifs* in one short statement : prophecy and its fulfilment in a dream as the result of a vow.

Earlier in the story (p. 25), when, by a trick, Vâsavadattâ has been abducted and her palace burnt, her husband solaces himself with the prediction : "From this queen shall be born a son, who shall reign over all the Vidyâdharas. This is what the hermit Nârada told me, and it cannot be false. Moreover that same hermit warned me that I should have sorrow for a time." From which it will be observed that Nârada behaved very like a modern fortune-teller.

Moreover, in the matter of prophecying we are introduced to a characteristic Indian scene (pp. 90-91). Udayana, king of Vatsa, is attacked by Brahmadatta, king of Benares. "In the meanwhile those spies, commissioned by Yaugandharâyaṇa, assuming the vows of skull-bearing worshippers of Śiva, reached the city of Benares. And one of them, who was acquainted with the art of juggling, exhibited his skill, assumed the part of a teacher, and the others passed themselves off as his pupils. And they celebrated that pretended teacher, who subsisted on alms, from place to place, saying : 'This master of ours is acquainted

with past, present and future.' Whatever the sage predicted in the way of fires and so on, to those who came to consult him about the future, his pupils took care to bring about exactly : so he became famous. He gained complete ascendancy over the mind of a certain Râjput courtier there, a favourite of the king, who was won over by the mean skill of the teacher. And when the war with the king of Vatsa came on, the king Brahmadatta began to consult him by the agency of the Râjput." Terrible and disastrous to himself was the result. Here we have seen a case of fraudulent fulfilment of a prophecy, a situation of which the above instance of securing the fulfilment of prophecy by vows and dreams is but a variant. However, one suspects that here Somadeva, like the licensed clown in a Burmese State *pwè* or theatrical performance (often a passion-play), was really trying to convey a practical warning to the Kashmîrî queen, for whose delectation his tales were recounted, or perhaps was enjoying a slap at those wandering *yogîs* of his time that were humbugs, as many of them at the present day.

13-b. Supernatural Birth.

Going back to the story of Vâsavadattâ and the prophecy, we are introduced to its miraculous fulfilment : "A certain man with matted locks came and gave the queen Vâsavadattâ a fruit in her dream. Then the king of Vatsa rejoiced with the queen, who informed him of that clear dream, and he was congratulated by his ministers, and supposing that the god of the moon-crest [Śiva] had given her a son under the form of a fruit, he considered the fulfilment of his wish not far off (p. 136)." A son is then duly born. Here we have an instance of supernatural birth, a wide subject, which, as Mr. Penzer points out in a footnote, has been exhaustively discussed by many searchers.

13-c. The Wishing Tree.

In the story of *Jîmûtavâhana's Adventures in a Former Birth* we have much simpler methods. Jîmûtavâhana is described as the son of Jîmûtaketu, king of the immortal Vidyâdharas on the "great mountain named Himavat," and "in his house there was a Wishing Tree, which had come down to him from his ancestors, called by a name which expressed its nature, 'The Giver of Desires.' And one day, the king Jîmûtaketu approached that Wishing Tree in his garden, which was of divine nature, and supplicated it : 'we have always obtained from you all we desire : therefore give me, O god, who am now childless, a virtuous son.' Then the Wishing Tree said : 'O king, there shall be born to thee a son who shall remember his past births, who shall be a hero in giving and kind to all creatures. (pp. 138-139)." So from the mere words of the Wishing Tree Jîmûtavâhana was born, and not only that, he remembered his former births.

This last point is in itself sufficient to give his birth a miraculous character, as it is an essential part of the doctrine of rebirth that so long as a child is in the womb it remembers its former births, and resolves to so conduct itself in its next life as to acquire release from further transmigration. But directly it is born, recollection of the previous existences disappears and it loses all memory of its resolution. However, Jîmûtavâhana does remember his former births, and he relates that in the course of one of them (p. 146) : "I am the son of a merchant named Mahâdhana, that dwells in Vallabhi and I was gained by my father by the blessing of Śiva," who commanded him "in a dream, being pleased with him." Here again a son is simply granted in a dream by a god pleased with worship.

I do not go into the question of the Wishing Tree myth here, as it has been developed already in the previous Volume, but I shall revert to it later on, showing that it was not the tree, but the spirit in the tree, that was worshipped.

14. The Sworn Brother.

In *The Story of Vidûshaka*, the hero, a Brâhmaṇ, solves the mystery of the Princess Duḥkhalabdikâ, all of whose husbands died a sudden death as soon as they reached her marriage chamber, by finding that their deaths were caused by a Râkshasa, whose arm he

cuts off (p. 71). Thereafter the hero wanders on till he reaches the city of Kârkoṭaka, where he hears "a proclamation by beat of drum: 'Whatever Brâhmaṇ or Kshatriya wishes to-morrow morning to marry the king's daughter, let him spend a night in her chamber (p. 73)'." Vidûshaka offers to do so (p. 74), and there he meets the same Râkshasa, and is proceeding to slay him, when the Râkshasa explains why he acted thus (p. 74): "My name is Yamadanshṭra and I had two daughters . . . . , and Śiva laid on me this command: 'Thou must save the two princesses from marrying any one who is not a hero.'" So Vidûshaka refrains and explains that it was he who cut off his arm in the first case. "Whereupon the Râkshasa Yamadanshṭra, out of friendship chose him as a Sworn Brother, and when Vidûshaka accepted his proposal he disappeared."

Mr. Penzer makes no remark on the Sworn Brother, but there is generally still a ceremony connected with the situation, including at times the letting and drinking of each other's blood. It is worth investigation.

15. The Ring of Recognition.

In *The Story of Vidûshaka*, again, the Brâhmaṇ hero's immortal Vidyâdharî wife, Bhadrâ, finds it advisable to leave him for a while, because the Vidyâdharas are angry with her for having a mortal husband. She "providently gave him her ring and then disappeared at the close of the night (p. 68)," but "before she left she assigned as a place of meeting, the mountain of the rising sun." So he goes to find her, and eventually comes to a beautiful lake on the mountain. There he meets a number of women "with golden pitchers in their hands" coming to draw water, and they tell him that the water is for Bhadrâ, a Vidyâdharî. Then (p. 76) "one of these women said to Vidûshaka: 'Noble sir, please lift this pitcher on to my shoulder.' He consented, and when he lifted the pitcher on to her shoulder, the discreet man put into it the jewelled ring he had before received from Bhadrâ . . . . When Bhadrâ saw it she recognised it (p. 77)." So she had him fetched to her, "for he is my husband."

The *motif* here is common in European folktales, and Mr. Penzer apparently thinks, in a footnote to p. 76, that it is Indian in origin, but the idea of giving a token to a departing friend is so natural to an illiterate population that it might well have arisen naturally wherever stories have been told.

16. Auspicious Marks on the Body.

In *The Story of Unmâdinî*, the daughter of a merchant of Śrâvastî is offered by her father to the king with these words (p. 7): "'King, I have a daughter who is a very pearl; take her if she finds favour in your eyes.' When he heard that, the king sent some Brâhmaṇs, his confidential ministers, saying to them: 'Go and see if that maiden possesses the auspicious signs or not.'" But they report falsely and the king eventually dies.

Here we have a very common Indian superstition, and Mr. Penzer has a interesting note on it. But the idea seems to be as much non-Hindu as Hindu, and it would be interesting to trace it further than Mr. Penzer has gone. He, however, hints that he will write again about it in a later volume. It may help him to note that the value of the White Elephant in Burma lay more in the auspicious marks the animal bore than in its colour, which was anything but white. Also the Dalai and other leading Lamas of Tibet are chosen solely for their 'marks.'

But at p. 162, when, in the main story we read of the newly born infant of Queen Vâsavadattâ that "he was marked on his soft feet with umbrellas and chowries, as if the fortunes of other kings had abandoned their badges in his favour," we are in the presence of mere poetic hyperbole.

17. The Divinity of Horses.

In *The Story of Vidûshaka*, king Âdityasena of Ujjayinî has "an admirable horse (p. 56), ... with a curl on its breast [a case of an auspicious mark]." The king loses his way, so "seeing no other way out of his difficulties, as he knew what the horse had been in a former

birth, he got down from his saddle, and prostrating himself before that excellent horse, said to him : 'Thou art a god . . . . take me by a pleasant path.' When the horse heard that, he was full of regret, remembering his former birth, and mentally acceded to the king's request, for excellent horses are divine beings."

As Mr. Penzer well remarks, war horses among Âryans were always objects of worship from Vedic days. To the present day the cavalry horse is everything to the Indian *sawâr*.

18. Invisibility of Divinities.

In the story of *Jîmûtavâhana's Adventures in a Former Birth*, on p. 143 we read : 'He [the Śavara, a savage] saw a young lady of wonderful beauty riding upon a lion to worship Śiva . . . . and the Śavara, when he saw her. being overpowered with wonder, reflected : 'Who can this be ? If she is a mortal woman, why does she ride upon a lion ? On the other hand if she is divine, how can she be seen by such as me ? ' " She turns out to be Manovatî, an immortal Vidyâdharî, who marries the mortal hero.

But have we not here an allusion to a very important principle in the Hindu religion, which is indeed the basis of Śâktism ? The Supreme Brahman, as represented by Śiva, is unknowable, unapproachable, invisible and entirely inactive. It is his spouse (Śakti), who is one with him, that is active and approachable. She it is who is the source of divine grace, and so more important to mankind than Brahman (Śiva) himself. A careful reading of the above incident, as it develops in Mr. Penzer's, or rather Tawney's, pages, seems to confirm the idea that Somadeva had had the well-known Śâktic beliefs of his day in his head in creating it.

19. Hindu Theft Tales.

On pp. 175-176 in the tale of *Śiva and Mâdhava*, Mr. Penzer gives the first of what he calls " thieving stories " in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*, where one of the thieves assumes the ways and garb of a " rascally ascetic." These stories are worth investigation, because stealing in a particular way is still in India a matter of serious study by certain classes, and is not looked upon as shameful. It is more than a matter of mere interest to trace out the antiquity and development of this frame of mind.

20. Red Powder.

In *The Story of Vidûshaka* (pp. 58-59) the hero contrives that the king of Vatsa shall make a great entry into Ujjayinî. He has a tremendous reception. "The queen made high festival until the end of the day, until such time as the people of the city and the sun were red as vermilion." Here Tawney's note is : " probably they sprinkled one another with red powder, as at the Holî Festival." He may be right, but the well-known use of red powder at the Holî Festival is purely ritual and has a ritual significance. In the above case—which reads like mere poetical hyperbole, as the sun is drawn into it—the use of the powder is ascribed to a sudden joy of the populace. 'Red powder' requires preparation, and it is doubtful if it could be produced in sufficient quantities on no notice, and in this case no notice could have been forthcoming. If, however, Tawney is right, we have here a new explanation of its use, which is well worth further enquiry.

V. Folklore.

1. The Poison Damsel.

In the main story the king of Benares, Brahmadatta, is attacked by the king of Vatsa, and we have an account of the method of fighting. In the course of the description we read at p. 97 : "Thus the minister of Brahmadatta, Yogakaraṇḍaka . . . . sent poison damsels, as dancing girls among the enemy's [the king of Vatsa's] hosts." This statement sets Mr. Penzer on an important quest, with the result that at pp. 311 ff. he produces his most valuable *Appendix on Poison Damsels*, about whom much is not known. Mr. Penzer, *more suo*, goes in detail into the question : What was the Poison Damsel ?

We heard much of the iniquity of the use of poison gas in the late Great War, but the use of poison in war in other directions was a very old practice. In India it was in use in ancient times and is enjoined in the *Code of Manu* (the *Manava-dharma-śâstra*), and antidotes are provided in the *Suśruta-saṁhitâ*, a medical work of the first century A.D., where the poisoning of water, of stone-slabs, landing-stages and desert country, and of hay, fodder and food-stuffs is mentioned. All such practices seem to have been treated as ordinary incidents in warfare, but in Europe poisoning in war has been universally condemned by all authorities, which accounts for the wrath that proceedings commenced by the Germans caused in the Great War.

Also in surveying historical instances recorded of the use of poison in war and politics, we should take into consideration the ignorance of the medical aspect of poisons everywhere until quite recently, as they cause doubt as to the accuracy of the records, and in India the widespread of poisonous plants and substances easily procurable. Further, many dastardly acts of undoubted poisoning have been recorded all the world over.

The Poison Damsel was obviously one of the methods of attacking an enemy, and Mr. Penzer cleverly traces her in Europe to the days of Chandragupta, the Mauryan Emperor in India in the fourth century B.C. Aristotle was credited with helping Alexander the Great, Chandragupta's elder contemporary, in his campaigns, and incidentally with saving him from the Poison Damsel. The idea was subsequently spread over Europe by a pseudo-Aristotelean work, the *Secretum Secretorum.* Next, Chandragupta himself, through his minister Châṇakya, was believed to have been saved from another Poison Damsel. This last incident is gathered from the *Mudrârâkshasa*, as is also the belief that the poisonous person could poison only once. It may be noticed, too, as a memento of the morals of the times, that though he saved Chandragupta, Châṇakya passed the Poison Damsel on to a doubtful ally, Parvataka, whom she duly slew.

What was the Poison Damsel? How did she poison? Here Mr. Penzer's research is of great value. In the *Pariśishṭaparvan* we learn that she was "fed on poison from the time of her birth," so that by the time she was given to Parvataka in marriage, her perspiration was so poisonous that the mere taking of hands at the marriage ceremony poisoned him (p. 285). Mr. Penzer then points out that, without going into the question of whether the Poison Damsel was known in the nearer East, it was the *Secretum Secretorum*, a work of even date with Somadeva, that spread the belief in her in Europe. It was alleged, no doubt apocryphally, that it contained the secret communications of Aristotle to Alexander the Great, and it had a great vogue. In this work, Alexander is warned against the gifts from "the king of India" of a "beautiful maiden whom they had fed on poison until she was of the nature of a snake (p. 291) and could kill by her perspiration." In Hebrew and Arabic texts occurs the same idea (p. 291), and the *Secretum Secretorum*, in some shape or other, was translated into every European literary language.

The Poison Maiden seems always to have had the same characteristics :—bred on poison from birth, she grew into a beautiful girl, whose very touch was poisonous. Gradually antidotes were evolved. The original antidote, of doubtful date and origin, was the magic circle, out of which neither snake nor Poison Damsel can go, but must suddenly die in the attempt (p. 295). Meanwhile the story got into the *Gesta Romanoram* and thence everywhere, and various methods of communicating the poison became popular in story—by the fatal look, the poisonous breath, by intercourse, and so on. All these Mr. Penzer examines most carefully with many a fascinating tale. But, as a remarkable fact, it does not appear that the Poison Damsel communicated her poison by means of disease.

Mr. Penzer's own view of the whole idea is that it is "merely the creation of the story-teller, who derived the idea by what he saw around him"—the poisonous herbs and their uses, and the ways of the snake-charmer and his method of gradual inoculation with snake-poison (p. 313). And with this remark, Mr. Penzer concludes one of the most informing appendices he has yet written to this work.

2. Magic.

In this Volume the wide subject of Magic turns up in many forms, but I do not propose to treat it except as it occurs in relation to Vidyâdharas and white magic, Witches and black magic, and Witches' spells. I will also give separate notes on Magic knots and Magic circles.

2–a. Vidyadharas and White Magic.

There are many references in this Volume to the Vidyâdharas, a class of immortals (or shall we say Fairies ?) endowed with magic powers. Indeed, the term *vidyâdhara* means really 'the supporter or holder of knowledge,' *i.e.*, magic knowledge, and the same sense of magic knowledge is attached to the fairy. There are also several instances in the Volume of the fall of Vidyâdharîs (female Vidyâdharas) for some crime from immortality to temporary mortality as a punishment by the gods, in which cases they are married to mortals and bear them children. Vâsavadattâ, the wife of the king of Vatsa, is such a *vidyâdharî* in the main story.

There is a great deal about Vidyâdharas in *the Story of the Golden City* (pp. 181 ff.), and in a sub-story, that of *Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta*. To these stories there are parallels in both German and Sicilian tales. During the adventures of Aśokadatta, who is described as a young Brâhman from the banks of the Yamunâ (Jumna), we read (pp. 196 ff.) that after his brother, Vijayadatta had become a Râkshasa or Demon through his own recklessness (p. 198) he has a series of wonderful adventures and goes in search of "the golden lotus" (p. 209). He then finds (p. 210) that he is himself in reality a *vidyâdhara* by descent, having been born in human form 'owing to a curse,' and he is informed by Kauśika, "the spiritual guide of the Vidyâdharas," who had descended from heaven by divine command "for the purpose, that he and all his family are really Vidyâdharas, and that "the curse of you has now terminated." He says further : "'So receive these sciences (white magic), which belong to you, and which you must share with your relations. And return to your own proper dwelling, taking with you your relations.' Having said this, the spiritual guide bestowed the sciences on them." So it seems to be clear that, to the old time Brâhman, Magic was a supernatural science, not learnt, but simply supernaturally bestowed by the gods or immortals on favoured mortals.

In this way, both Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta, who had become a Râkshasa, became Vidyâdharas—the Râkshasa being evidently a lower class of immortal—the Demon lower than the Fairy. They behaved like Fairies : they travelled through the air to Benares, to their parents (p. 210). Incidentally Somadeva is here in error, as Benares is not on the banks of the Yamunâ, or even near them. Aśokadatta had in the meanwhile married (as a second wife, the first being a mortal) the daughter of the king of the Râkshasas, and she, too, became a Vidyâdharî. Finally he secured the golden lotus.

We next come to another version of the communication of magic powers. The brothers, Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta, are asked for their stories. Vijayadatta relates his with the Râkshasas, and says (p. 211) : "What follows and how we were released from the power of the curse and thereby recovered our (white magic) sciences, all this my elder brother (Aśokadatta) will relate to you." Clearly then White Magic was inherent in the Vidyâdhara. Aśokadatta then tells his tale (pp. 211-212), which is worth recounting as showing how White Magic was believed to have come among Brâhmans. "Long ago we were Vidyâdharas, and from heaven we beheld the daughters of the hermits bathing in the Ganges near the hermitage of Gâlava (a son or pupil of Viśvamitra), and then we fell suddenly in love with them and they returned our affection. All this took place in secret, but their relations, who possessed heavenly insight, found it out and cursed us in their anger : 'May you two wicked ones be born, both of you, to a mortal woman, and then you shall be separated in a marvellous manner : but when the second of you shall behold the first arrived in a distant land inaccessible to man, and shall recognise him, then shall you have your magic knowledge restored to you by the spiritual preceptor of the Vidyâdharas, and you shall again become Vidyâdharas, released from the curse and reunited to your friends.' Having been cursed

in this way by the hermits, we were both born in their land, and you shall know the whole story of our separation. And now by going to the city of the king of the Râkshasas, by virtue of my mother-in-law's magic power, to fetch the golden lotuses, I have found this young brother of mine. And in that very place we obtained the science [*prajñapti*] from our preceptor, Prajñaptikauśika, and suddenly becoming Vidyâdharas, we have quickly arrived here." Thus Aśokadatta spoke, and then that hero of various adventures delighted at having escaped the darkness of the curse, bestowed on his parents and his beloved, the daughter of the king, his wonderful sciences of many kinds, so that their minds were suddenly awakened and they became "Vidyâdharas." In the end the released Vidyâdharas fly up to heaven, leaving the mortal, Pratâpamukuṭa, king of Benares, on the earth.

Here we have some remarkable facts. Immortal fairies are cursed by mortal hermits, and in pursuance of that curse become temporarily mortals, born to human mothers—a case of rebirth without death : the whole case seeming to be an illegitimate extension of the theory of Rebirth. And it is to be observed that White Magic, being a quality of the immortal Fairy, was communicated by mere bestowal, suddenly.

Returning to the main story, we find that when Vâsavadattâ was about to bear a son, "her ladies-in-waiting attended upon her, like the sciences that grant desires [white magic] come in bodily form [as fairies] to show their respects to the future king of the Vidyâdharas conceived in her." This is on p. 137, and on the next page we read : "There is a great mountain named Himavat, the Father of the Mother of the World [*i.e.*, of Ambikâ=Pârvatî, the wife of Śiva], who is not only the chief of the hills, but the spiritual preceptor of Śiva, the home of the Vidyâdharas, the king Jîmûtaketu." Here then we have the home of White Magic lying in the greatest of the Himâlayas : an idea still very much alive in Koot Hoomi and other modern notions as to the magical mysteries attributed to Tibet and the Tibetans.

In the long and somewhat similar tale, *The Story of Vidushaka*, (pp. 54 ff.), Vidûshaka, a Brâhmaṇ of Ujjayinî, has an immortal wife, the Vidyâdharî Bhadrâ, whom he finds in the land of the Vidyâdharas, and when he relates to her his adventures to find her, she says to him (p. 78) : "My husband, I care not for my friends, nor for magic powers : you are my life," and so on. Replies Vidûshaka : "'Then come with me to live in Ujjayinî, my beloved, leaving all this heavenly joy.' Bhadrâ immediately accepted his proposal and gave up all her magic gifts (which departed from her the moment she formed the resolution) with no more regret than if they had been straw." Here we have quite a different story. The Vidyâdharî, on becoming a mortal's wife on earth, gives up her rights as an immortal. Somadeva is apparently a little uncertain of his traditions, or it may be that he got the two stories from different sources.

(*To be continued.*)

WILLIAM IRVINE AND MAHARAJA AJITSINGH.

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWARNATH REU.

WILLIAM IRVINE was born on the 5th July 1840, at Aberdeen. He joined the Indian Civil Service in A.D. 1863, at the age of 23, and retired in 1888, at the age of 48. After this, in England, he commenced writing his history of the decline of the Mughal Empire entitled *Later Mughals*. This work is in two volumes, and covers the century from the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 to the capture of Delhi by the English in 1803. But the author died in 1911, leaving the work unfinished and, though the first draft was revised from time to time, only chapters II to VI, section 24, could be published in his life-time, and to these he gave his finishing touches. Chapter I (Bahadur Shah), and chapter VII (from the fall of the Sayyid brothers in 1720, to the death of Rustam Ali Khan in February 1725), bear marks of his revision and corrections, though not in a complete or final form, as even in them he left many gaps to be filled up, and query marks for verification or correction. Beyond this his draft remained unrevised.

Thus the burden of completion of the book, after Irvine's death, devolved upon the well known Mughal historian Jadunath Sarkar, who, having ably edited the book, got it published.

The above lines will give an idea of the work *Later Mughals*, which is thus the fruit of the combined effort of two learned scholars, namely Messrs. Irvine and Sarkar; more presumably so, is the subject of our enquiry, falling, as it does, under chapter VII of the book.

In the following paragraphs we reproduce section 29, chapter VII, vol. II, of the book, headed "Murder of Ajit Singh by his Son."

"We shall conclude this section with the death of Rajah Ajit Singh. Tod admits that the bards and chroniclers pass over the event with a mere mention, one of them going so far as to leave a blank page at the critical point of his story. But in another part of Tod's book, we have a detailed narrative of the crime.[1] In any case, that Ajit Singh met a violent death at the hand of his second son, Bakht Singh, is admitted by the Rajputs themselves, and even by their ardent champion Colonel Tod." (Tod, I, 698, II, 88).

"According to their story, Bakht Singh after saying goodnight concealed himself in a room adjoining the one in which his parents were sleeping. When all was still he entered their room, seized his father's sword, and plunged it into him. The wife was awakened by feeling her husband's blood on her breast. Bakht Singh escaped. Ajit Singh's body was cremated on the 7th June 1724, when eighty-four wives and concubines sacrificed themselves on his funeral pyre. A dispute about the succession at once arose between the sons on the spot. On the 25th July 1724, Abhai Singh, then between twenty-one and twenty-two years of age, obtained through the intervention of Samsam-ud-daulah the title of *Rajah Rajeshwar*, with the rank of 7,000 *zat* (7,000 horse), and was allowed to depart for Jodhpur to take possession of his father's succession. (Tod, I. 699, K.K. 974, Khush-hal 1044b.)

"The fact of Ajit Singh's murder by his son, Bakht Singh, is not denied by any one; but a divergence of opinion exists as to the incentives to the deed. Tod's informants told him that Bakht Singh acted at the instigation of his elder brother, Abhai Singh,[2] then at Dihli, and in the power of the Emperor. The murderer's reward was to be the appanage of Nagor and its five-hundred and sixty-five townships. To account for Abhai Singh's unholy desire we are told that his ambition had been stirred by the Machiavellin Sayyids, eager to wreak vengeance upon Ajit Singh for his opposition to their dethronement of Farrukh-siyar. Now let us apply some of the simplest critical tests. Can the offered reward be looked on as sufficient to impel Bakht Singh to an act of parricide? He may not have been a very clever man, but he was hardly such a simpleton as to incur the infamy of such an act, (1) for the benefit, not of himself, but of a brother, and (2) for the grant of an appanage which, by universal Rajput practice, would have been his as a matter of course whenever his father died a natural death. But coming finally to external tests, what is there left of the story? We find that its very foundation vanishes. The assassination of Ajit Singh took place in June 1724; one Sayyid had been assassinated on the 8th October 1720, and the other, after being defeated in battle and made a prisoner on the 14th November 1720, died in prison on the 11th October 1722. Obviously they could not have been in 1724 the instigators of Abhai Singh. Further, it is impossible, after even the most elementary study of the period, to ignore the fact that Ajit Singh, instead of opposing, helped the Sayyids to the utmost in getting rid of Farrukh-siyar. Tod's story is thus a mere legend, which falls to pieces directly it is examined; nor, as he admits, does his usual resource, the rhyming chronicles of the bards, afford him here any countenance. And Tod himself (II, 113) confesses that "but for that one damning crime, Bakht Singh would have been handed down to posterity as one of the noblest Princes Rajwara ever knew." Conceding the truth of even a part only of this glowing eulogy, is it not more unlikely than ever that such a paladin could have become the miserable tool of an ambitious brother, with no greater

[1] Tod, I, 699. This passage shows Tod at his weakest as an historian. His fastening of Ajit Singh's murder upon the Sayyids is a gross chronological error. Hardly less absurd is his assertion that Ajit Singh ever refused "sanction to the nefarious schemes of the Sayyids." He was their friend and partisan up to the end.

[2] Warid, 130, assigns the same reason as Tod for the murder. Cf. *M.U.*, III, 758.

incentive than the offer of an appanage already his by family custom ? Is it not rather to be believed that the father did something which the son felt was an attack on his personal honour ?

"Although coming from Muhammadan sources, there is another version (Kamwar) of the facts, which, destructive though it is of any respect for the character of the "great Ajit," is much more satisfactory than that put forward by the champion of the Rajputs. It is one that furnishes a sufficient motive for the dreadful deed, and thus satisfies better the conditions of the case. We are told that soon after Ajit Singh had made his peace and returned to Jodhpur, he fell in love with the wife of his middle son Bakht Singh and was guilty of an incestuous intercourse. Overcome with shame and touched in the tenderest point of his honour, Bakht Singh sought his opportunity of revenge. One night when Ajit Singh, drunk and stupefied, was lying fast asleep, his son stabbed him to death. As a contrast to Tod's dithyrambs, we may here give the Muhammadan view of the Râjah's character. "He was exceedingly wanting in good faith, a breaker of his oath, one who had slain unfairly many of his relations and dependants. Among his evil deeds was the abandonment of Farrukhsiyar to his fate, in spite of his relationship through his daughter; nay he took an active part in that Emperor's dethronement. In the end he attained the reward for his misdeeds.

"He who sows the seed of evil and hopes for good,
Racks his brain uselessly and imagines a vain thing."

Thus Irvine concludes his twenty-ninth section. We have to think over two main points of this opinion. Firstly, was Bakht Singh entitled to the appanage of Nâgaur with its 565 townships[3] according to the custom of the family, as Irvine alleged ? To me the supposition appears almost an impossibility, because Mahârâja Ajit Singh had twelve sons. Had each of the eleven younger princes been allowed as big an appanage as that of Nâgaur, the heir apparent, Abhai Singh, would not have been left space enough to set his foot upon, outside the gates of the Jodhpur fort even. Moreover the district of Nâgaur was not at that time in possession of Mahârâja Ajit Singh himself. Though Mahârâja Ajit Singh had occupied Nâgaur having expelled Indarsingh grandson of Rao Amarsingh in v.s. 1773 (A.D. 1716) yet in v.s. 1780 (A.D. 1723) Jai Singh, Râja of Jaipur, by order of the Emperor, came with the imperial army and put Indar Singh again in possession of Nâgaur. After this, on the accession of Mahârâja Abhai Singh to the throne, the Jagir of Nâgaur being restored to him in v.s. 1782 (A.D. 1725) he occupied it by force and in the month of Kartik of the same year, it was granted to Râj âdhirâja Bakht Singh independently. How far Mr. Irvine's writing is true, under these circumstances, may be questioned.

History tells us that being terror-stricken with the formidable trio that installed kings on the throne of Delhi according to their sweet will, Muhammad Shâh arranged, on the one hand, to get rid of the two Sayyid brothers, and on the other, with the connivance of Râja Jai Singh, of Jaipur and Bhaṇḍârî Raghunâth of Jodhpur, he overawed Abhai Singh. And through him he enticed Bakht Singh his, younger brother, with the title of Râjâdhirâja, and the State of Nâgaur, and thus prevailed upon him to murder Ajit Singh, who was now the only surviving thorn, out of the trio, aching at the Emperor's heart. Had it not been so how could the perpetrator of such a heinous crime as parricide, have got the title of Râjâdhirâja and an independent State like Nâgaur ?

The second point pertains to the histories written by the Muhammadans.

Mr. Irvine mentions within brackets the name of (Kamwar) as his authority for "another version" of the facts, which shows that the aforesaid queer ground for the murder of Ajit Singh has been borrowed by him from *The Tazkirat-us-Salâtîn-i-Chaghtaiya* of Muhammad Hâdî Kâmwar Khân.

Though the said history is not at present with us, yet in the VIIIth volume of Elliot's *History of India*, at pages 17-18 there is a reference to that work. It shows that its first part commences with an account of the origin of the Mughals, and of Chingiz Khân and goes down to the death of Jahângîr. The second part, which is said to be the more important, and

3 Tod mentions 555 townships under Nâgaur, as is proverbially known, to this day, in Mârwâr.

useful, begins with the death of Jahângîr and ends with the seventh year of Muhammad Shâh A.H. 1137 (A.D. 1724=V.S. 1781). The writer himself admits that he had written this history without any royal order, and without the assistance of any of the nobles of the time, under various hardships and difficulties. From the writings of Kâmwar Khân borrowed by Mr. Irvine it is quite evident that he was maliciously disposed towards Mahârâja Ajit Singh, for which other grounds are also not wanting, as would appear from the following :—

Firstly, this Muhammad Hâdî (Kâmwar Khân) had remained in Aurangzeb's service, when he must have well experienced the antagonism of Mahârâja Ajit Singh to Muhammadanism. Formerly the helpers of the Mahârâja had, with a view to baffle the crooked policy of Aurangzeb, made the heir-apparent, Prince Akbar, to follow the example of his father.[4] Some years after the death of Aurangzeb, Mahârâja Ajit Singh himself, having joined with the Sayyid brothers, had got the Emperor Farrukhsiyar deposed, and murdered, and had subsequently placed Rafî-ud-darajât and his brother Rafî-ud-daulah (Shâh Jahân II) on the throne, like mere tools in their hands. On the death of these Muhammad Shâh himself acquired the throne through this trio, in recognition of which he had to confer on Ajit Singh, the Subadârî of Ajmer and Gujarât. But eventually, fearing the influence of the trio, Muhammad Shâh managed, at first, to get the Sayyid brothers killed, and afterwards Mahârâja Ajit Singh. Under these circumstances there is no wonder if a Muhammadan writer of the Emperor's Court, with a view to bring a powerful Hindu Mahârâja's name to ill repute, and to screen the faults of his co-religionist Emperor, should ascribe such a foul reason for Ajit's murder. Moreover had this story not been the brewing of Kâmwar Khân's own brain, the other Muhammadan contemporary writers of the court, as also the writers of other Native States[5] would never have missed the opportunity of dwelling upon the affair at some length.

Shâh Navâz Khân (Samsam-ud-daulah) has written a history named *Ma'âsiru'-l-umarâ*, which contains history of the nobles of the Imperial Court from the time of Akbar to A.H. 1155 (A.D. 1742). It is clearly stated in this history that when the eldest son of Ajit Singh came to the court he got his father killed by his younger brother, being misguided by nobles of the court who offered him some temptation. Muhammad Shafî Wârid has written a history entitled *Mirât-i-wâridât* about which he says "from the year 1100 A.H. (A.D. 1689, V.S. 1746) to A.H. 1152 (A.D. 1739=V.S. 1796) the greater portion of what I have recorded I have myself seen, and that which I heard from trustworthy persons I took the utmost pain in sifting and inquiring into, and whatever statements I had the slightest doubt about I discarded. But from the commencement of the war of the late Sultân Muhammad Azam Shâh up to the present time (*i.e.*, from A.D. 1717 to 1739), or for twenty-two years, I have seen everything with mine own eyes." Mr. Irvine himself admits in the footnote No. 2 to page 115 of the 2nd volume of his book, that Wârid "assigns the same reason as Tod for the murder." Besides this, in the *Muntakhabu'l-lubâb* of Khafî Khân, which contains a history from A.D. 1519, up to the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shâh's reign, no such reason is ascribed for the murder of Ajit Singh, which has been very briefly noticed by that writer.[6] And this appears to be quite proper also, because the writer in order to evade reference to his co-religionist Emperor's evil doing, might have thought it proper to observe complete silence about the affair.

We fail to understand how Mr. Irvine, in the face of such reliable and authentic versions by contemporary writers, had admitted as correct the private and unauthorized history written by Kâmwar Khân.

4 After the death of Mahârâja Jaswant Singh the Emperor had seized Mârwâr, from his infant successor, Mahârâja Ajit Singh ; thereupon the Râthor Sardârs of Mârwâr had revolted. To quell them, the Emperor had sent out his son Akbar. The Râthors set him against his father promising to acknowledge him as their Emperor. (*Bhârat ke Prâchîn Râjvamsha*, vol. III, p. 209.)

5 The writers of the Rajput States of the mediæval age observed it as a sort of principle to give publicity to any weakness which they happened to notice in the affairs of another Native State. Such instances in the history of the Native States are not infrequent.

6 Khushhâl Chand in his *Nadir-uz-zamânî* has also perhaps observed the same course. This book was written about A.D. 1740.

As for parricide, the offence was not unprecedented among royal families. Kirat Singh, the younger son of Mîrzâ Rajâ Jai Singh, had poisoned the latter, at the instigation of Aurangzeb, for which he was granted the *jâgîr* of Kama. Is this event not quite on all fours with the one under discussion? Râṇa Kumbha of Mewâṛ was murdered by his son Udai Singh. Râja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur had killed his son Sher Singh. Bâgh Singh of Khetri killed his son who was adopted unto the Jagirdar of Sultana, and amalgamated that *jâgîr* in his own estate. In the house of Tîmûr such offences for the sake of power and territory had become almost a rule of the family. Similarly King John of England had got the rightful claimant, Arthur, murdered, and Richard III had got his two nephews killed. Many more such instances can be found in the world's history. The propriety of ascribing a slanderous reason for an offence, which, as shown above, has not been uncommon among princes of the land, is questionable. Moreover the idea of Mahârâja Ajit Singh's character borrowed by Mr. Irvine from the Muhammadan writers, holds no water when examined from an historical point of view. They denounce the Mahârâja as "wanting in good faith," "breaker of his oath," "who had slain unfairly many of his kinsmen and dependents," and "had abandoned Farukhsiyar." Had Ajit Singh ever broken faith with the Sayyid brothers? Had he not saved Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur in spite of his ill actions, as he was a relative, from perishing in the fire of the wrath of the Sayyid brothers?

No mention is traceable[7] in any history of Ajit Singh having killed any relative or dependent. On the other hand, Tod speaks of his loveable nature in the following words, "so much was Ajit beloved, that even men devoted themselves on his pyre."[8]

No doubt the fact remains that Mahârâja Ajit Singh had revenged himself fully for the wrongs done to him during his minority by the Muhammadans. It is therefore that a Muhammadan writer, out of jealousy, has falsely imputed such conduct to the Mahârâja, without thinking over the actual facts.

As for the dethronement of Farukhsiyar, it is evident from the autograph letters of the Mahârâja, and also from history that on the one hand the Emperor, immediately on arrival of the Mahârâja at Delhi, suspected him of his having joined with the Sayyid brothers, and on the other, Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur, in order to maintain his own position, had commenced poisoning the Emperor's ears against Ajit, in consequence of which the Emperor had thoughtlessly begun his intrigues, seeking the life of Ajit. Being pressed such circumstances, he was obliged to side with the Sayyids. A letter bearing on the subject has already been published in the May number of 1925 of the Hindî monthly magazine *Madhuri*.

The reader will judge for himself how far the faults imputed to Ajit Singh are justifiable in the light of the above facts.

In support of the foregoing we give an extract[9], throwing light on the subject, from Mr. Forbes' *Rasmala*, a history of Gujarât:—

"When Ubhai Singh from fear of the Padishah, wrote to Wukhat Singh to put his father to death, the Padishah gave him the Edur Parguna as a present."

A letter of v.s. 1784 from Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Amber addressed to Mahârâṇa Sangrâm of Mewâṛ published in the *Rasmala*[10] just after the above narrative, also goes a great way towards bearing out the above fact.

Before concluding this note, and at the same time expressing our sorrow for the death of Mr. Irvine, we would like to suggest to Dr. Jadunath Sarkar to think over the matter and to let us have his free and unbiased opinion on the subject, and also if there be a chance for the issue of a fresh edition of the book, to rectify the mistake or to add correcting notes as may be necessary.

7 There is only one instance in Ajit's history which may be cited against him. He had removed the famous Durgadâs from the administration on his regaining his authority, and Durgadâs had gone out of Mârwâṛ. But we come across such facts also in history, which show that the misunderstanding between them was not unjustifiable.

8 Tod's *Rajasthan* (1880), vol. I, p. 637.

9 *Rasmala*, vol. II, chap. 10, p. 125.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

SIR WILLIAM NORRIS AND THE JESUITS.

By HARIHAR DAS, B.LITT. (OXON.), F.R.HIST.S.

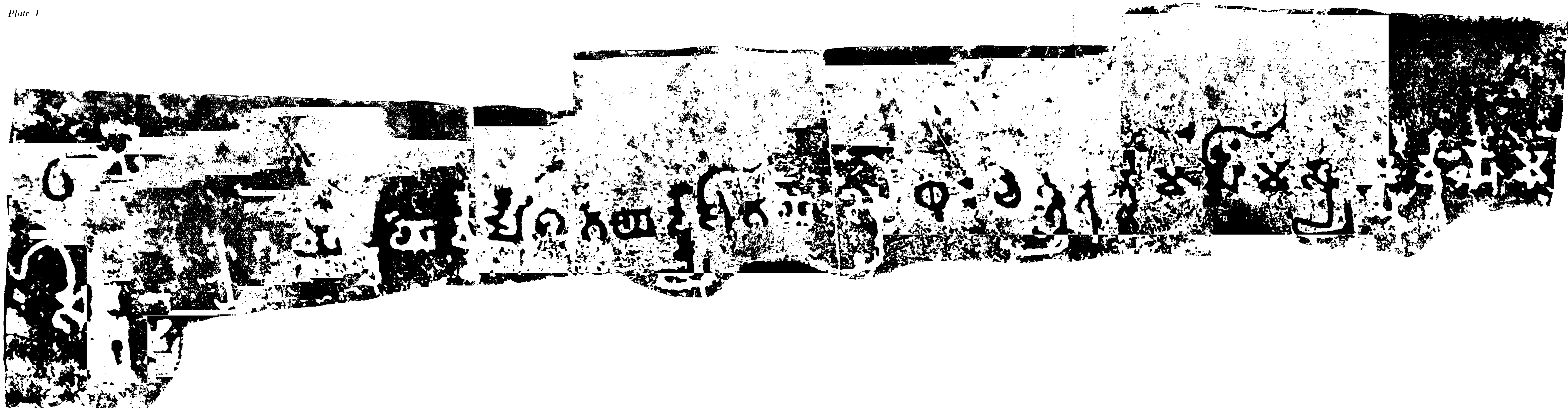
SIR WILLIAM NORRIS, while at Masulipatam, received various visitors from time to time, some of whom came to pay him their respects and to offer him assistance in preparing for his journey to the Mughal Court; others to discuss matters of commercial interest concerning the Company; while others again came to spy out his movements and intentions. Whatever might have been the object of these visitors, the Ambassador on his part showed courtesy and consideration to all. Besides Indian visitors there were representatives of other nationalities, who also came to visit him and from whom he never failed to derive some information. Towards the end of November, 1699, Sir William recorded in his Journal an interesting account of a visit from "a poore portugeeze padre as he would be thought but I thinke has more of ye merchant yn ye priest in him comes now then to dinner not knowinge where to be better provided he has been a greate traveller over India and enquiringe into ye concerns att Goa wc is ye finest settlement in India and belongs wholly to ye portugeezes: he told me ye Jesuitts had five convents there and ther incomes soe large by begginge and merchandizinge yt it exeded ye Revenues of ye K. of Portugall in India. Amongst severall other orders settled there he informed me of one that was wholly new havinge never heard of such an one in Europe viz., De Sancta providentia founded by Cajetan ye Jesuite and it is essentiall to their order to depend every day upon providence for their daily breade takinge no thoughts for it att all and wholy against their constitution to have a days provision before hand: it is a plentifull place where they are, soe I suppose want for nothinge."

On the 10th January 1700, Sir William entered in his Journal that "2 Jesuitts, one who had been resident in Suratt for 8 years ye other lately come from Europe sent to desire leave to come and make me a visitt wch I granted and they accordingly came. I industriously led them into discourse of what heathens had been lately converted to ye Christain Religion to avoide all discourse of other matters. They tell of multitudes converted on ye other end of ye Malabar Coast but wherever I goe I find very few converted on ye spott where I am. I told them I had seen St. Xavier's Tomb[1] in one of ye Jesuitts chappell att Goa who imediately asked whether they shewd me his Body and havinge told ym No, They began to tell me yt it was brought over from China uncorrupted and remained soe yett and particularly yt his ffeet were as white and fresh as when alive and his visage little alterd. In Discourse of ye many converts he had made in China they attested w greate confidence yt he had ye power given him of workinge miracles and yt he had raisd 3 from ye Deade."

Again on January 17 of the same year he wrote: "2 french ffranciscan fryers came to make me a visitt on[e] of ym had been in ye country for 17 yeares had travell over most parts and had been once att ye Mogulls Camp and Informed me y he was att least 93 yeares old wch older by 6 yeares then I had heard, yet accquainted me likewise that he had recevd Inteligence yt Sultan Eekbar had left Persia and was come in disguise into India in order to make his pretentions to ye crown att his fathers death and yt he was now att Amadavad ye Chife city of Guzoratt wch would all declare for him as likewise would ye Rasbootes [Râjpûts] of whose caste his mother was. The good ffather seemd to be a very mortifyd and Religious man and I really believe was soe: I likd his Company ye better for his speakinge ye best and most inteligible Latin of any I had mett wth yett: att his goeing away I ordered him 20 Rupees."

While Sir William Norris was at the Emperor's Camp he made the following entry in his *Journal* on the 21st December 1701:—"Directed Mr. Mills likewise to write a letter by

[1] Dr. Fryer and the Neapolitan traveller Gemelli Careri also visited the tomb of St. Francis Xavier during their visits to India. See p. 150 of Fryer's *Account*, etc.; and also p. 251 of *A Voyage Round the World*.



INSCRIPTION ON A PILLAR AT NĀNDSĀ IN UDAIPUR STATE

(Reproduction of a portion of the first line only.)

ffreedome to an Italian padre in y[e] Leschar[2] desiring him to send an account of y[e] late skirmishes and y[e] scituation of y[e] place w y[e] Empr[r] is doeing y[e] last advices mentioning he had orderd y[e] wood to be cutt down att y[e] rate of a Rupee a Tree."[3]

A NOTE ON TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF THE THIRD CENTURY A.D.

BY R. R. HALDER.

THESE inscriptions were discovered at Nândsâ[1] in the Sahârâ district of the Udaipur State by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, in February 1927. They are engraved on a big round pillar about 12 feet in height and 5½ feet in circumference, standing in the bed of a lake in the above-mentioned village. The pillar remains under water when the lake is full, but emerges in the hot season, when it becomes possible to take impressions of the inscriptions. The first inscription contains six lines of writing running vertically from the top to the middle of the pillar, while the second contains eleven lines running horizontally on the circumference. The lower portions of both the inscriptions are very much mutilated.

Unfortunately, the impressions of the inscriptions taken by the above mentioned scholar and kindly placed at my disposal for decipherment not being clear, it is very difficult to decipher them and describe their contents, until better impressions are available. The characters, however, belong to the third century A.D., and are like those of the Junâgaḍh inscription [2] of Rudradâmana. The average size of the letters is about one inch.

The purport of the inscriptions and their dates appear to be the same, though their texts do not seem fully identical. They, however, record a sacrifice called *shashṭirâtra* to have been performed by a person named Śaktiguṇaguru, and seem to have been engraved during the period when Râjpûtânâ was being ruled over by the Western Kshatrapas. To say more at present would be inadvisable.

With a view to indicating the palæographic importance of the inscriptions, a portion of the first line of the first inscription, which begins with the date, is reproduced here (see plate). In the first inscription, the date is expressed in words as well as in symbols, whereas in the second, it is given in symbols only. In both, the date is preceded by the word *kṛita*, which means 'accomplished.'[3]

The line runs thus—

Siddham Kṛitayôrdvayôrvvarṣaśatayôrdvyâśîtayôḥ 200 80 2 *Chaittrapûrṇṇamâsî(syâ)-masyâm-pûrvva(vâ)yama (yâm)* . . . . ,which means 'on the completion[4] of two centuries of years and eighty-two (of the Vikrama era), on the full moon day of (the month) Chaitra' . . . .

The letter numeral of 200 in the above date, which corresponds to A.D. 225,[5] March-April, may be said to be unique. It would read *sra* with a hooked stroke joined to its right and bent upwards. Generally, the symbol *sra* represents 100, and one hooked stroke attached to it means 200; two strokes, 300. These strokes are bent downwards, but in the case of these inscriptions only, they are found turned upwards like the fig. which is the peculiarity. The symbols of 80 and 2 are like the usual numerical figures of the period.

[2] Sir Thomas Roe's *Leskar,* meaning the emperor's camp ; Persian *laskhar,* 'army', 'camp.'

[3] The Revd. Father Hosten has very kindly suggested to the writer some probable names of the Jesuit travellers to whom references have been made by Sir William Norris. These will be incorporated in the writer's forthcoming book on the Embassy of Sir William Norris.—H.D.

[1] A village about thirty-six miles from Bhîlwârâ station on the B. B. & C. I. Ry., and about four miles from Gaṅgâpur, a town in the Gwalior State. [2] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 36 f.

[3] See Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 254.

[4] *Kṛita* cannot here signify 'completed', but has rather to be taken as a name of what is now called Vikrama years (*R. G. Bhandarkar Comm. Vol.,* p. 191 f.)—D.R.B.

[5] Since Rudradâmana's inscription is dated A.D. 151, the date of this inscription should not be very far from it.

NOTE ON ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN WAZIRISTAN AND NORTHERN BALUCHISTAN.[1]

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E.

AT the beginning of January, 1927, I started on a long-planned archæological tour along the Wazîristân border and through the whole length of Northern Balûchistân. This tour was carried out on behalf. and at the expense, of the Archæological Department of the Government of India, and kept me fully occupied until the middle of April, 1927. The object was a systematic survey, accompanied where advisable by trial excavations of such ancient sites in the border regions between India and Irân as are likely to throw light on the connexion of the prehistoric civilization which the excavations at Mohenjo-daro and elsewhere in the lower Indus valley have revealed with corresponding cultures traced westwards in Persia and Mesopotamia.

My survey began with the examination of a series of conspicuous mounds echelonned along the eastern foot of the Wazîristân hills from the vicinity of Drâband to beyond Tânk. Mr. E. Howell. C.S.I., late Resident in Wazîristân, had first directed attention to them. They proved to be composed wholly of the accumulated debris layers of ancient settlements, which in the course of occupation prolonged through ages had raised the top of those mounds to heights up to about a hundred feet above the adjacent ground. Erosion facilitated by the great aridity of the climate has caused the surface of these mounds, as well as of those subsequently surveyed in Balûchistân, to be thickly covered with pottery remains from the culture strata embedded.

Among them fragments of decorated earthenware painted, incised or ornamented in relief were found in great abundance and variety of design. The painted pottery from these sites in colour treatment and in certain of its geometrical patterns shows a well-marked affinity to the painted pottery subsequently collected from sites of the 'chalcolithic' period in Northern Balûchistân and also to that discovered by me in 1916 at desert sites of the same period in Sîstân. On the other hand the incised and relief-decorated pieces by their motifs recall ceramic ware found at certain Sîstân sites, which can be assigned to historical times preceding Sasanian rule. Having regard to the upper and lower chronological limits thus indicated, and taking also account of the fact that no painted pottery of the above kind was found at those Buddhist sites on the Indian N.-W. Frontier which can definitely be assigned to the Indo-Scythian period, the remains of those Drâband and Tânk mounds may be attributed to early historical times separating the latter period from that of the 'chalcolithic' culture.

The very willing assistance of the political authorities enabled me to extend my survey to tribal territory in both Northern and Southern Wazîristân. Interesting observations were made as regards the striking parallel which the fine military roads with their fortified camps, watch towers, etc., recently constructed for the pacification of that troublesome border, present to the Roman *Limes* systems of the early imperial times.

The remains of an ancient stronghold examined at Idak were proved by the evidence of coins and of a ruined *stûpa* to date from the Indo-Scythian period. Further north at Spînwâm there was found a mound formed by culture strata of approximately the same epoch as noted around Drâband and Tânk. Above the above point, where the Kurram River debouches from the hills, a rapid survey was made near Shahîdân of extensive remains marking a fortified site, which by the evidence of its painted pottery can also be assigned to the last named epoch.

Subsequently, proceeding *via* Razmak and the outpost of Sarwekai, I made my way under protection of tribal Wazîr headmen to the Gumal River. Remains of forts visited in the Spîn plain proved to belong to late historical times. The whole area now comprised in Wazîristân, barren as it is, presents a distinct interest to the student of the ancient geography of India. The fact of its chief rivers, the Kurram and Gumal, as well as the latter's chief affluent the Zhôb being mentioned in the famous 'River Hymn' of the Rigveda under their ancient Sanskrit names of *Krumu*, *Gomati*, and *Yavyâvatî* makes it appear very probable

[1] Reprinted, with the kind permission of the author and of the Council, Royal Geographical Society, from the *Journal, RGS.*, April 1928, with four small additions made by the author.

that this region had for some length of time been in the occupation of Âryan tribes before they descended from their hills to the conquest of the Indus Valley and the Panjâb plains.

The description which Hsüan-tsang, the great Chinese Buddhist pilgrim of the seventh century A.D. has left us of the territory of *Chi-chiang-na*, corresponding to the present Wazîristân and the *Qîqin* of early Arab history, clearly shows that in his time too, centuries before the advent of Paṭhân tribes, this territory 'under separate local chiefs but without a supreme ruler,' 'abounding in sheep and excellent horses' had already a reputation not unlike its present one.

Moving up the Zhôb valley, in Balûchistân territory, I found a series of ancient mounds awaiting exploration in the vicinity of Fort Sandeman, the headquarters of the Zhôb Agency. The prehistoric remains of two of them had first received notice in a brief account published thirty years ago by Dr. Noetling, late of the Indian Geological Department. Among them Periâno-ghuṇḍai, the 'Witches' Mound,' is the most conspicuous, rising to fully 70 feet above the adjacent river bed. Trial excavations carried out here proved that the debris deposits of ancient habitations composing the mound belong for the most part, if not entirely, to the 'chalcolithic' period. The abundant remains of painted pottery, from this site, whether exposed on the eroded slopes or excavated, are, like most of the plain earthenware, too, of a superior well-levigated clay and wheel-made. The painted pieces show almost exclusively patterns executed in black over a dark terracotta ground colour. The motifs composing the painted patterns, almost all geometrical, are remarkably varied. Throughout they strikingly recall the motifs prevailing in the prehistoric pottery discovered at desert sites of Sîstân during my third Central-Asian expedition. Many of these motifs are found also in the prehistoric pottery of Anau in Transcaspia and can similarly be parallelled from pre-Sumerian strata of certain Mesopotamian sites.

The trial excavations made at different points of the mound laid bare remains of habitations built mainly with walls of stamped clay or sun-dried bricks over rough stone foundations. Among the finds made there the numerous cinerary urns with ashes and bone fragments from cremated human bodies claim special interest. They acquaint us with the funeral customs of the period. A considerable number of smaller painted jars and cups found within them serve to show the prevailing shapes of vessels in use by the living. Terracotta figurines of animals display distinct artistic skill, while the comparative frequency with which a hooded female bust of peculiar shape recurs here as well as at other 'chalcolithic' sites explored suggests that the representation of some deity is intended. Finds of stone 'blades' and arrowheads were made throughout in the course of the trial excavations, and their association with fragments of copper implements and small ornaments, etc., of bone and stone permits us definitely to assign the painted ceramic ware of this important site to the 'chalcolothic' period of prehistoric civilization.

Painted pottery of exactly the same type was plentifully found also at two smaller mounds in this neighbourhood, those of Kaudanî and Moghul-ghuṇḍai. Finds of worked stones and of bronze fragments make it quite certain that at both mounds occupation goes back to the 'chalcolithic' period. Close to Moghul-ghuṇḍai an extensive cemetery was discovered with interesting remains dating from historical times. Here the hill side was found studded with many cairns of rough stones, each containing a few small pieces of calcined bones, fragments of coarse plain earthenware and occasionally small personal relics such as iron arrowheads, knives, bronze rings, a silver bangle, etc. The relief decoration found on one small pot and the figures engraved on one seal ring prove that these curious cairns cannot be older than the early centuries of our era.

After surveying several small sites where occupation during the 'chalcolithic' or early historical period was indicated by pottery debris, I moved south-east into the Lôralai Agency. Among a number of old mounds and other remains in the Bôri Tahsîl the once very large mound of Râna-ghuṇḍai deserves mention. Among the plentiful painted pottery covering its slopes or embedded in its 'culture strata' a good deal of fine 'chalcolithic' ware

was found, besides pieces of coarser fabric pointing to continued or renewed occupation, perhaps during early historical times.

Definite evidence of such prolonged occupation at different periods, from prehistoric down to historical times, was obtained in the course of the excavations carried out at the great mound near Dabar-kôṭ. It rises like an isolated hill in the middle of the open Thal plain to a height of no less than 113 feet, and measures nearly a mile in circumference at its foot. The great mass of painted pottery found on the slopes and excavated at lower levels displays unmistakable characteristic of the 'chalcolithic' type, and finds of cinerary urns, worked stones and small bronze objects date from the same period. The discovery in the same layers of a well constructed drain built with burnt bricks indicates the comparatively advanced stage of civilization reached. Successive strata full of charred remains point to great conflagrations which had at intervals overtaken the prehistoric settlement. Long after its complete abandonment convenient positions on the mound had again been taken up for dwellings during pre-Muhammadan times, and the objects brought to light here help *inter alia* to illustrate the great change which ceramic craft had undergone in the long interval.

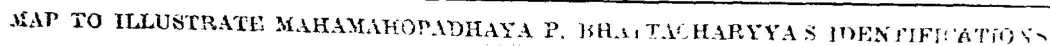
Simultaneously with the trial excavations at the great Dabar-kôṭ mound it became possible completely to clear the remains of a ruined Buddhist *stûpa* or relic tower discovered on a rocky hillock some four miles away at the entrance of the Thal plain. Its relic deposit with small gold-set jewels, pearls, beads, etc., was found undisturbed. The surviving Graeco-Buddhist carvings of the base and numerous pieces of pottery jars inscribed in Indian script and language proved that this sanctuary, the first Buddhist ruin discovered in Balûchistân, belongs to the Kushân period. The inscriptions since deciphered by Professor Sten Konow have revealed the name of the monastery attached to the *stûpa* and that of its pious founder, Shahi Yola Mira, a Kushân or Indo-Scythian chief.

At Sûr Jangal in the same valley a very interesting small settlement of prehistoric times was discovered near the dry river-bed descending from Sanjâwi. The cuttings made through the low mound there yielded not only abundance of fine ceramic ware of the 'chalcolithic' type but also a large number of stone implements such as flint blades and arrowheads. From the great quantity of flint cores, chips, etc., found there it may be concluded that the manufacture of these stone implements was being carried on for generations in this locality, the riverbed close by supplying the raw materials.

After visiting several small sites of later historical times in the hills about the Zhôb river's headwaters, I subsequently carried out a survey of numerous ruined mounds in the Pishîn basin. They attest the economic importance which this large and potentially fertile tract must have claimed at all times and which also accounts for its mention in the earliest Zoroastrian scriptures among the chief territories of ancient Irân. The painted pottery and other relics collected at those mounds indicate that most of them, though built up at first by debris deposits of prehistoric settlements, continued to be occupied during historical times. At a few sites, however, such as Krânai above the Surkhâb river, abandonment had evidently been complete since the 'chalcolithic' period. At the Sarakala mound, crowned by the walls of a ruined fort, it was of special interest to note the plentiful occurrence of ceramic ware decorated with ribbings, such as my explorations in Sîstân had shown to be particularly associated with remains of the Sasanian period. Thus here, too, there was evidence of that close cultural connexion with Irân which geographical factors have imposed upon those westernmost border lands of India since the earliest times.

My tour came to its close by the middle of April with the examination of a series of mounds towards Quetta, found similar in character to those of Pishîn. The distances which in the course of the tour had been covered by road, aggregated to a total of close on 1,400 miles. A detailed report on the results of the explorations, fully illustrated by numerous plates, has been prepared and will, I hope, be published separately before long as one of the 'Memoirs' of the Indian Archæological Department.

T I B E T
B U R M A
88° 90° 92° 94° 96° 98°
26° 24° 22° 20° 18° 16°
Darjeeling
Jainta
Rangia
Brahmaputra
Makum
Mariani
Bisa
Gauhati
A S S A M
Myitkyina
Sylhet
Silchar
Imphal (Manipur)
Mymensingh
ISHANGNAPULO
CHANPO
Thaungdut
Naba
MOHA
Bhamo
Ganges
TOLOPOTI
Agartala
Dacca
KAMOLANGKA
Ft. Aijal
Chindwin
Kindat
Comilla
Laksham
Irrawaddy
SAMATATA
Khulna
Barisal
Noakhali
Falama
Yeu
CALCUTTA
YENMONA CHOU
Thibaw
Chittagong
Alon
Chindwin
MANDALAY
Ava
Mouths of the Ganges
Pakokku
Myingyan
Palewa
Meiktila
Nyaungywe (Aungban)
Minbu
Akyab
B A Y O F
B E N G A L
Irrawaddy
Sittang
Prome
Sandoway
Kyangine
Henzada
Pegu
Bassein
RANGOON
Scale of Miles
50 0 50 100
Railways
Mouths of the Irrawaddy
90° 92° 94° 96°


MAP TO ILLUSTRATE MAHAMAHOPADHAYA P. BHATTACHARYYA'S IDENTIFICATIONS

MISCELLANEA.

SOME ANCIENT SANSKRIT VERSES USED TO-DAY.

While talking with Pandit Vidya Bhaskar Sukla, late of Farukhabad, U.P., India, I asked him one day (within the last three years) if he could furnish me with any Vedic verses which were in common use among the Hindus of the present day. He gave me the subjoined verses with the references from the Yajur Veda. I have since found that most of them appear in the Rig Veda as well, and shall therefore give the first R.V. reference in addition to that furnished me by my friend. Further occurrences of them in Vedic literature may be found in Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*.

The Panditjî likewise furnished me further with instructions respecting the use of these verses, which I append with as great accuracy as I can from my notes; but I regret to say that I cannot be absolutely sure of their being exact. I am told that the use of these verses is as follows:

When sickness, etc., come to one who knows the *grahas* (nine in all, *i.e.*, Sunday to Saturday together with Kêtu and Râhu) he should make a *chauk* on the floor; cover the space with rice or other grain, and set up a *kalaśa* (vessel of clay, copper, or brass) full of water. He should then perform the *ahavan*, writing above the *kalaśa* "Reverence" to the particular deity invoked, scatter rice toward the *kalaśa*, and offer water, flowers, and sandalwood. Then he should worship, lighting a *ghî* light, after which he should repeat the verse for the day the prescribed number of times. The ceremony is completed by the sprinkling of water from the *kalaśa* on the people of the house. If it be impossible to complete this ceremony on the day it is begun, it may be completed on the next day, after worship and prayer. It must, however, be performed within the time indicated in the *chaughay a*.

The following are the verses for the days as given in the Vedic text, though they were not always accurately quoted by the Pandit. It will be noticed that the verse for Thursday is lacking. No doubt some reader can supply it ;—

अकृष्णेन ॥ अकृष्णेनरजसावर्तमानो-
निवेशयन्नमृतम्मर्त्यञ्च ॥ हिरण्येनसविता-
रथनादेवोयातिभुवनानिपश्यन ॥ ४३ ॥

Y. V. 33:43 Sunday.

इमन्देवा ऽ असपत्न ‌ँ सुवद्ध्वम्महतेक्ष-
त्रायमहतेज्यैष्ठ्यायमहतेजानराज्ज्यायेन्द्र-
स्येन्द्रियाय॥ इमममुष्यपुत्रममुष्यैपुत्रमस्यै-
विशऽएषवोमीराजासोमो स्माकम्ब्राह्मणाना

ँ राजा ॥ ४० ॥ 9:40 Monday.

अग्निर्मूर्द्धा । दिव ः ककुत्पतिं ÷ पृथि-
व्या ऽ अयम ॥ अपा ँ रेता ँ सिजिन्वति
॥ १२ ॥

Y. V. 3:2 Tuesday. R.V. VIII, 44 : 16.

उद्बुद्ध्यस्व ॥ उद्बुद्ध्यस्वाग्नेप्रतिजागृहि-
त्वमि ष्टापूर्त्तेस ँ सृजेथामयञ्च ॥ अस्मिन्त्स-
धस्थे ऽअद्ध्युत्तरस्मिन्विश्वेदेवायजमान
श्चसदित ॥ ५४ ॥ Y. V. 15:54 Wednesday.

अन्नात्परिस्रुत ÷ ॥ अन्नात्परिस्रुतोरस-
म्ब्रह्मणाव्यपिबत्क्षत्रमपय ः सोमम्प्रजापति
ः ॥ ऋतेनसत्यमिन्द्रियंविपानं ँ शुक्रमन्ध-
स ऽइन्द्रस्येन्द्रियमिदम्पयोमृतम्मधु ॥ ७५ ॥

19:75 Friday.

शन्नो ÷ ॥ शन्नोदेवीरभिष्टय ऽआपो
भवन्तु पीतये ॥ शंय्योरभिस्रवन्तुन ः ॥ १२ ॥

Y. V. 36 : 12; R.V. 10:9. 4 Saturday.

E. P. JANVIER.

TO THE EAST OF SAMATAṬA (S.E. BENGAL).

In the June, 1926, issue of this *Journal* (vol. LV, p. 113 f.), in a short article entitled *To the East of Samatata (S.E. Bengal)*, I drew attention to different views hitherto expressed as to the identity of the six countries mentioned by Hiuan Tsiang as lying beyond Samataṭa, namely, 1 *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo*, (2) *Ka-mo-lang-ka*, (3) *To-lo-po-ti*, (4) *I-shang-na-pu-lo*, (5) *Mo-ha-chan-p'o*, the *Lin-yi* of the Chinese, and (6) *Yen-mo-na-chou*.[1] For the assistance of those interested, (*a*) a Map, (*b*) a Table of Identifications, and (*c*) a Table of Relative Directions were added.

Mahâmahopâdhyâya Padmanâtha Bhaṭṭâchâryya Vidyavinod has now written to me, taking exception to the Table of Identifications and the Map, as not representing correctly the identifications suggested by him, and with his remarks he sent a sketch map, on which he had marked the positions of the six countries as he would locate them. In fairness to him I have had this map reproduced (see Plate I)[2]. The Mahâmahopâdhyâya is anxious that it should be understood that in his opinion Samataṭa included the modern districts of Dacca and Faridpur, and that Old Sylhet (which he would identify with

[1] See T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, vol II, p. 187 f.
[2] The MS. sketch map has had to be redrawn for the purpose of reproduction, so that the names may be more clearly legible.

Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo) included the eastern part of modern Mymensingh and the northern part of modern Tippera, and was, therefore, probably contiguous with Samataṭa. *Ka-mo-lang-ka* he regards as having comprised the eastern portion of the present Tippera district, the town of Comilla indicating its position, thus lying south-east of *Shih-li-ch'a-ta-lo*. *To-lo-po-ti* he identifies with Hill Tippera, which at that time, he holds, extended up to the southern part of Cachar and included Noakhali in the south, and he thus places it east of *Ka-mo-lang-ka*. *I-shang-na-pu-lo* he identifies with the whole of the Manipur valley, which he considers may be regarded as lying more east than north-east of *To-lo-po-ti*. *Mo-ha-chan-p'o* he identifies with 'Sampenago,' and as comprising the whole of northern Burma.

He locates *Yen-mo-na-chou* as comprising the middle and south-western part of Burma, reaching up to Chittagong, *chou* being the equivalent of the Sanskrit *dvîpa*, which does not necessarily mean an island surrounded by water.

The essential points in the Mahâmahopâdhyâya's note, which otherwise only repeats the views already expressed in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1920 (pp. 1-19), are indicated above. While not prepared to accept all his suggestions and identifications, I have had his own sketch map reproduced, so that his views may be correctly presented, as the previous map published in 1926 was defective in this respect. For the information of readers who are interested in this subject, it may be noted that the Mahâmahopâdhyâya has published other articles urging similar identifications, and joining issue with M. Louis Finot, in *The Hindustan Review* for July 1924 and *The Indian Historical Quarterly* for March 1928. Attention is drawn, in this connexion, to the *Journal of the Burma Research Society* for August 1924 (pp. 158-182), where the question of the sites of these countries named by Hiuan Tsiang has been discussed at great length, and the results of the most recent researches have been cited.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BOOK-NOTICES.

THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGARA, vol. I, 1542-1614, by the REV. HENRY HERAS, S.J., M.A., Madras. B. G. Paul & Co., 1927; 8½×5½; pp. xliv, 681; with 13 illustrations and 4 maps, and a Preface by SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT., C.B., C.I.E.

This volume affords striking testimony to the rapid strides made in the knowledge of the history of Southern India during the past few decades, as a result of the research work done by zealous scholars like the author. It also reveals the importance of the enormous mass of inscriptional records already discovered, which have been so carefully examined and utilized where relevant. Less than thirty years have elapsed since the late Mr. Robert Sewell, in his work entitled *A Forgotten Empire* (*Vijayanagar*), may be said almost to have unveiled to students of history the real splendour of the old Vijayanagara empire and the dominating role it played in the history of the peninsula during the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries. In his Introduction, however, that scholar, to whom we owe so much in connexion with the antiquities and history of South India, was careful to state that he had but collected material "to form a foundation upon which may hereafter be constructed a regular history of the Vijayanagar empire." Sewell may be said to have practically confined his story to the history of the empire down to the epoch-making 'battle of Talikota' (1565) and the subsequent destruction of the capital, after which events he considered the empire had disintegrated and fallen rapidly to decay. He added but brief notes of later times down to the middle of the 17th century, when the Marâṭhâ power was rising in the Dekkan under Śivajî, though he pointed out that many grants engraved as late as the 18th century recognized the old Hindu royal family of Vijayanagara. Father Heras now takes up the story from the death, in 1541, of Achyuta Râya, the last powerful king of the Tuluva or 3rd dynasty, and proceeds to record the history of the Âravidu or 4th dynasty. Though the work is modestly entitled *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagara*, it is really much more than this. Father Heras has in fact undertaken the difficult and important task of dealing with the history of the whole of Southern India, excluding only Malabar, from the middle of 16th to the middle the 18th century. In the present volume he carries us down to the death of Veṅkaṭapatideva (Veṅkaṭa II), Tirumala's fourth son, in 1614. This Veṅkaṭapatideva has hitherto been known as Veṅkaṭa I, but Father Heras's researches have necessitated his assigning that title to Kumâra Veṅkaṭâdri, the son of Achyuta Râya, who, being under age, reigned for about six months in 1541-42 under the regency of his tyrannical uncle Sâlakam Timma Raju.

The exhaustive bibliography detailed on pp. xvii to xliv will give some idea of the labour involved in the compilation of this work. Father Heras has not only listed all the available known literature bearing upon the period in question, but, as is abundantly evident, he has studied it thoroughly: he has searched the archives of the Portuguese Government at Goa, of the Society of Jesus at Madura, of the Diocese of Mylapore, and other collections of records; he has traced out many hitherto unpublished documents, several of which are reproduced verbatim in Appendices A to D. He has handled this mass of material in the true historical spirit; and the result is a work, the value of which to the student of South Indian history it

would be difficult to overestimate. He has not only added enormously to our information concerning the history of the period, but has thrown fresh light upon many hitherto obscure points; and he has corrected many mistakes in facts and in dates, all of which it is not possible to notice in a short review.

Father Heras commences with a description of the conditions at Vijayanagara during the reigns of the last three Tuluva monarchs, explaining how the Âravîḍu family, in the persons of Râma Râya and his brothers Tirumala and Veṅkaṭa, gradually attained supreme power. Râma Râya became regent of the empire and *de facto* king till his death at the battle of Raksas-Tagdi in 1565. His brother Tirumala then succeeded as regent, and *de facto* king, Sadâśiva still remaining the nominal, *fainéant* king —" a king of the type of those who closed the Merovingian dynasty of France"—till his murder in 1569, when Tirumala was formally anointed as king at Penukoṇḍa, and so became the first king *de jure* of the fourth or Âravîḍu dynasty. The administration of the empire, the campaigns in the Karnatic and Ceylon and the relations with foreign powers under Râma Râya's regency are then dealt with. Much light is thrown upon the diplomacy followed by the regent in his dealings with the Muhammadan kingdoms of Bîjâpur, Ahmednagar, Bîdar and Golconda, which explains perhaps the ultimate combination between at least four of these powers that dealt the heavy blow to the empire of Vijayanagara from which it never quite recovered. A full account is then given of the decisive engagement, hitherto generally known as 'the battle of Talikota,' which the author names, more correctly, the battle of Raksas-Tagdi, as it was fought near the villages Raksasji and Tagdiji to the south of the Kistna river, not far from Mudgal, whereas Talikota is nearly 25 miles to the north of the river. The author devotes the next chapter to the effects of that battle and the sack of the capital that ensued upon the history of the Dekkan and South India generally. "The battle of Raksas-Tagdi," he writes, "is the milestone that separates the era of Hindu splendour in the South of India from the age of Muhammadan expansion. Impartial history acknowledges its influence centuries after, since it paved the way for the Maratha cavalry of Sivaji and his successors, fostered the ambitious ideals of Aurangzeb and his Nawabs, and attracted the ambitious Haidar Ali to overthrow the old Hindu dynasty of Mysore. The glorious Empire of Vijayanagara, faithful trustee of the inheritance of the Hoysalas for two centuries and a half, was now seriously menaced by its secular opponents. the Muslim powers of central India. Perhaps this action would mark the end of its existence, but for a new family of fresh and vigorous blood, that succeeded in saving the imperial crown from the midst of that turmoil of death. The Empire of Vijayanagara thus lasted another century. Such was the destiny of the Aravîḍu family." And in the history of this Âravîḍu family that hereafter fills the throne we have, as it is expressed in the Introduction, "the history of the Telugu domination over the Tamil and Kanarese people."

Father Heras justly regards the death of Râma Râya, whose "indisputable qualities as a statesman, combined with his victorious campaigns as a warrior, place him among the great Hindu rulers of India" as an irreparable loss to the empire. Incidentally he adduces evidence from contemporary and other sources indicating that the actual damage to the buildings in Vijayanagara wrought by the Muhammadans and their followers has hitherto been much exaggerated; in fact he characterizes Sewell's picture of the conditions as a misdescription. He also shows that Tirumala must have remained at Vijayanagara for some two years thereafter, and then, probably in the latter part of 1567, moved his court to the strong hill fort of Penukoṇḍa: "the transfer of the capital to Penukoṇḍa was the cause of the abandonment and destruction of Vijayanagara." Here, again, Father Heras corrects a previous error of interpretation. He points out that Cesare de Federici in his account of Vijayanagara, where he spent seven months, clearly states that Tirumala returned there after the departure of the Muhammadan kings, and "then beganne for to repopulate it," and that it was from there, and not from Penukoṇḍa, as Sewell seems to have thought, that he sent to the Portuguese traders at Goa for horses. This traveller states specifically that it was in 1567 that Tirumala moved with his court to Penukoṇḍa. The reliability of his narrative has been accepted on more points than one, *e.g.*, in regard to the murderer of Sadâśiva.

The short remaining period of Tirumala's reign and the reigns of Śrî Raṅga I and Veṅkaṭa II are then dealt with. For reasons fully set forth, the author regards the reign of Śrî Raṅga as "one of the most fatal periods in the history of Vijayanagara." Veṅkaṭa II, who had so many difficulties to contend with from the very start, is styled by Father Heras the most illustrious sovereign of the dynasty, "who checked the Muslim raids in the North, subdued the turbulent Nayaks in the South, caused the Rajas of Mysore to be firmly established in their realm, strengthened his power by an alliance with the Portuguese and fostered literature and the fine arts throughout his vast dominions. The civil war that followed his death hastened the decay of the Empire."

Interspersed with the accounts of the reigns of the kings are chapters containing some of the most valuable information in the volume. There are chapters, for instance, on the Early Telugu Invasions into the South, the Nâyaks of Madura and Tanjore, the rulers of Mysore and other smaller states, and the Kanarese Viceroyalty. Interesting chapters are devoted to the relations of Veṅkaṭa II with the Portuguese, Dutch and English; to the subject of the Jesuits at his court; and to his noteworthy encouragement of painting and the patronage shown to artists, both European and Indian. A chapter

of peculiar interest is that allotted to the mission of Father Roberto de Nobili, giving what may be regarded as an authentic account of the activities of that truly remarkable man. And, finally, we have chapters on the achievements in literature, and the patronage extended thereto by the earlier Aravidu monarchs, and on the struggle between Vaisnavism and other sectarian creeds. All these chapters are replete with matter of interest, and contain much that is new or has not been previously presented in its historical setting.

The maps are a great help in following events that shift over so wide an extent of country. Special attention may be directed to that facing p. 334, as showing how little, in the author's opinion, the area of Vijayanagara ascendancy had shrunk half a century after the battle of Raksas-Tagdi. The index is full. When a second edition is issued, with the promised addition of diacritical marks, several typographical errors should be corrected. It may also be suggested that genealogical and chronological tables should be supplied, incorporating the many additional and more accurate details now furnished, and possibly a slight re-arrangement made in some of the chapters. The book will then be indispensable to the library of every student of Indian history. Father Heras is to be congratulated upon this valuable work.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE NAMES OF RELATIVES IN MODERN ARYAN LANGUAGES, by BABURAM SAKSENA, Allahabad.

This is a very useful paper, read apparently before the Fourth Oriental Conference, giving the names of relatives in 16 Indo-Aryan Languages and two others—Tamil and Santali. There is also an introduction, in the course of which the author arrives at some valuable conclusions: "The basis of words expressive of relations is generally Sanskritic in all modern Indo-Aryan Languages. . . . There are only rare cases of the incorporation of the words of the substratum languages . . . It is curious that there are only two Persian words incorporated . . . Evidence of modern compound formations is very little."

R. C. TEMPLE.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

MR. FORBES AND THE HOUSE OF JODHPUR.

Alexander Kinloch Forbes was born in July 1821. He came out to India in 1843 under orders of the East India Company and lived in Gujarât for a considerable period, during which he collected the history of that province and wrote the book named *Rasmala* in two volumes. On page 123 of the 2nd volume of his history he writes that "[on the death of Ajit] the Ranees prepared to become satees; they took with them Abhyesingh's younger brothers, Anandsingh, Raeesingh and Kishorsingh, *in order that their eyes might not be put out according to the Jodhpur custom.*"

We are at a loss to understand on what historical facts the writer has based this idea. History tells us that all the younger offshoots of the Jodhpur family have regularly been granted *jâgîrs* from the State, in consequence of which about 2270 villages of Mârwâṛ are at present in possession of His Highness's brethren, Sardârs, including those of the Mallâni District, while only about 770 villages are in fiscal possession of the State. Under these circumstances it is open to question how far the writer is justified in making such a remark.

As for the princes, Anandsingh, Raisingh and Kishorsingh, the history of the period shows that they had commenced their rebellious attempts even in the life time of their father Mahârâja Ajitsingh.

It is stated in the history of Mârwâr, that when the Emperor made a grant of Nâgaur, in the name of Indarsingh, in Vikram Samvat 1780, and the latter got possession of the place, Mahârâjkumâr Anandsingh was deputed by the Mahârâja to take back Nâgaur; but arriving at Didwâna he himself raised up a fresh revolt, with a view to encroach on the country here and there and was pacified with much difficulty. Autograph letters and other correspondence, bearing on the subject, are to this day preserved by the descendants of the State officers of the time.

In spite of all this Ânandsingh and Raisingh received signal help from their brother Mahârâja Abhaysingh in acquiring the principality of Îdar. This fact is borne out by the *Report*[1] dated 21st September 1821, of Major Miles, political agent, Mahî Kânṭha, which runs as follows:—

"In Samvat 1785 Anandsingh and Raisingh, two brothers of the Râja of Jodhpur, accompanied by a few horses from Vanoo and Palanpur and the Koolees of Gudwara, took possession of Edur without much difficulty. They are said to have had an order from Delhi, but the truth seems to be that they were invited by the state of the country and most likely assisted by the Marwar princes, who at that period held the Subedari of Ahmedabad."[2]

Kishorsingh had been granted a separate estate by his father in his lifetime. From a *sanad* issued by Kishorsingh in v.s. 1806 it appears that even after 25 years of the death of his father the estate continued to be in his possession and no interference was made in it by his eldest brother Mahârâja Abhaysingh. This *sanad* is preserved up till now by the descendants of its grantee.

It is hoped that from the above facts the fictitiousness of the above mentioned statement in the *Rasmala* is placed beyond doubt.

SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT
BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

[1] *Rasmala*, vol. II, p. 152, footnote No. 1.

[2] In spite of this, the rebellious nature of these princes made them forget these obligations, and they still did not cease to annoy the Mahârâja.

THE EMPIRE OF ORISSA.

BY PROF. R. D. BANERJI, M.A.

(*Continued from p.* 33.)

The last king of the Voḍeyar or Yâdava dynasty had ceased to occupy the throne sometime after 1478, and from 1486 to 1493 Narasiṁha was the recognised sovereign of Vijayanagara. Yet it was exactly during this period that the northern districts of Teliṅgânâ were wrested by Purushottama from the Empire of Vijayanagara. What followed exactly is extremely difficult to ascertain even now. Sâḷuva Narasiṁha is regarded by contemporary European writers as being supreme in Southern India. Yet we find that Teliṅgânâ was slipping out of his grasp during the earlier part of his actual reign. There are reasons to suppose that towards the end of his reign Purushottama attacked Vijayanagara and brought the idol Sâkshigopâla and a jewelled throne from that place. As noticed by the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti in his edition of the Bengali poem *Śrî-Chaitanya-Charitâmṛita* by the Vaishṇava saint Krishna-Dâsa Kavirâja, Purushottama conquered Vijayanagara and brought a jewelled throne and the idol of Sâkshigopâla from Vidyânagara. The throne was presented to Jagannâtha at Puri and idol was dedicated at Katak[21]. Those who have examined the celebrated *ratna-vedî*, or the stone altar on which the wooden images of Jagannâtha, Subhadrâ and Balarâma are placed in the temple at Puri, must have noticed a surprising resemblance of the decorative *motifs* to those inside the Hâzâra-Râmaswâmî temple at Hampe or Vijayanagara. The upper front ends of the *ratna-vedî* at Puri are incomplete and several stone members appear to be missing. I think that the *ratna-vedî* is the actual jewelled throne brought by Purushottama from Vijayanagara. There are no reasons to disbelieve Gosvâmî Krishṇadâsa Kavirâja, as he was a contemporary of Purushottama and his son Pratâparudra and was no court-sycophant. He had no reason to be grateful to the kings of Orissa and wrote his work after his retirement to Bṛindâvana. Besides this statement there are many other reasons for believing that the whole of the eastern coast was conquered by the kings of Orissa during the reigns of Sâluva Narasiṁha and his sons. Inscriptions of his son and successor, Pratâparudra have been discovered as far south as Udayagiri and Kâñchî or Conjeeveram. It is difficult to determine the exact chronology of the events connected with the reconquest of the eastern coast under Purushottama. He lost it during the first six years of his reign and he himself regained it during the last ten. Oriyâ or Bengali writers do not mention a campaign against Vijayanagara during the reign of his son but do so in his case. It is quite possible that the reconquest of the Northern Tamil districts took place after the death of Sâḷuva Narasiṁha in 1493 and during the reign of Immâḍi Narasiṁha (1493-98). According to the calculations of the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti, Purushottama died in 1496-97, a date which cannot be very far removed from the truth. The same writer, observing in 1900, stated that "the few details given in the *Mâdalâ Pâñji* are mainly taken up in describing an expedition of this king into Kâ chi. If there be any truth in it, then it is likely connected with the raid of the Bahmanî king Muḥammad Shâh II, who in A.D. 1477-8 made a dash towards Conjeeveram, and returned with an immense booty[22]". In the first place the late Mr. Chakravarti committed the usual mistake of all earlier writers of following the Bahmani genealogy of Firishta, though Major J. S. King's new genealogy was in print when he wrote. The Bahmanî genealogy based on the *Burhân-i-ma'âṣir* has been accepted, and that of Firishta[23] definitely rejected by subsequent writers[24]. Muhammad Shâh II Bahmanî should be taken to be Muḥammad Shâh III Bahmani. The same mistake has been committed recently by Dr. L. D. Barnett in his paper on "The Potavaram Grant of Purushottama-deva"[25]. It has been proved above that it was

21 *Madhya Lîlâ*, Chap. 5. Baṅgavâsi edition, p. 98.

22 *JASB*, vol. LXIX, p. 184.

23 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVIII, p. 121.

24 *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, vol. II, part II, p. 198, by H. N. Wright, I.C.S.

25 *Ep. Ind.*, vol XIII, p 156.

not possible for Purushottama to conduct a campaign in any part of South India lying to the south of the Kṛishṇâ before 1488, because up to 1477, at least, the Godâvarî-Kṛishṇâ *Doâb* was in the possession of the Bahmanîs and it was impossible for any army from Orissa to cross into the Tamil country. Therefore the campaign of Purushottama against Kâñchî must have taken place some time subsequent to the recapture of Koṇḍavîḍu. It appears to be much more probable that Purushottama reconquered the lost provinces of his father's empire in the Telugu and Tamil districts after the death of Sâḷuva Narasiṁha in 1493. It further appears probable that the Tuḷuva chief Narasaṇa met Purushottama during the campaigns of 1489–97.

Purushottama's career was a chequered one. Early in his reign he lost the southern provinces of his father's empire, and he had to encounter two invasions of the Bahmanî Sulṭâns in 1471 and 1475. Later on, after the death of Maḥmûd Gâwân and Muḥammad III Bahmanî, he succeeded in re-occupying the stronghold of Koṇḍavîḍu and the northern part of the modern district of Guntur. Subsequently, during the last years of his reign, he extended the Empire of Orissa once more as far south as Conjeeveram. The chronology of his reign is so little known to scholars that even in 1919 the late Tarini Charn Rath, writing about this king, had to state " It is rather difficult at present to fix with precision the date of this Kâñchî-Kâverî expedition of king Purushottama Deva and find out the name of his contemporary king of Karṇâta, with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padmavathi he married."[26]

If the *Mâdalâ Pâñji* is to be believed then Purushottama erected the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* in front of the temple of Jagannâtha. Following this custom three separate *maṇḍapas* have been erected in front of all important temples in Orissa. The temple of Jagannâtha at Puri consists of four separate buildings :—(*a*) The *Vimâna* or the Sanctum, (*b*) the *Jagamohana* or the principal *maṇḍapa*, (*c*) the *Nâṭamandira* or the dancing hall, and (*d*) the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* or the refectory. The same plan is to be observed in the temples of Liṅgarâja at Bhuvaneśvara and Pârvatî in the same enclosure. I had ample opportunity of studying the method of construction of the Liṅgarâja and the Pârvatî temples when they were being repaired according to my instructions in 1925-26, and I found that both the *Nâṭamandira* and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* in these two temples were later additions. At Puri, the temple of Jagannâtha was built at three different periods ; the *Vimâna* and the *Jagamohana* were erected by king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga in the eleventh century[27], the *Nâṭamandira* by Anaṅgabhîma II of the same dynasty in the twelfth century[28] and the *Bhogamaṇḍapa* with the kitchen in the seventh (1473-74) and ninth *aṅkas* (1475-76) of Purushottama[29].

In another line Purushottama introduced an innovation. Up to the time of Narasiṁha IV land-grants in Orissa where issued after being written on plates of copper. We can trace this system from the time of the Emperor Kumâragupta I up to that of Râmachandra Gajapati of Khurda.[30] The usual form of these copper plates is rectangular. Purushottama issued a grant on a piece of copper roughly shaped like an axe of the same shape as the Pachambâ copper celts.[31] The other innovation introduced by Purushottama into his land-grants was the definite rejection of the proto-Bengali script in favour of modern Oṛiyâ.[32]

26 *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. V, 1919, p. 149.

27 *JASB.*, vol. LXVII, pt. I, 1898, pp. 330-31 ; vol. LXXII, 1903, p. 110.

28 *Ibid.*, vol. LXXII, pt. I, 1903, p. 120. According to Mr. Chakravartti the temple was begun by Anantavarman but finished by Anaṅgabhîma.

29 *Ibid.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, pt. I, p. 184.

30 *Journ. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. II, 1916, pp. 437-440.

31 Anderson, *Catalogue and Handbook of the Archæological Collections in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, pt. II, pp. 392-95.

32 *Ante*, vol. I, pp. 355-6 ; *Journ. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. IV, pp. 361-63.

This grant was issued in the seventeenth instead of the fifth *aṅka*—7th April 1483[33]. Almost all subsequent genuine land-grants of Orissa from the time of Purushottama till the eighteenth century were inscribed in Oṛiyâ characters. Purushottama is said to have been the youngest son of Kapilendra according to Oṛiyâ tradition, as recorded by the late Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, and to have married Padmâvatî or Rupâmbikâ, the daughter of the king of Karṇâṭâ (? Sâḷuva Narasiṁha) according to the Introduction of the *Sarasvatî-vilâsam* by his son and successor Pratâparudra.[34]

III. Pratâparudra (1497—1539).

The decline of Orissa begins from the date of the accession of Pratâparudra, the son and successor of Purushottama. It can be gathered from the inscriptions of Purushottama that he had left the empire of Orissa almost as extensive as that inherited by him from his own father Kapilendra. Pratâparudra ruled over an empire which extended from Midnapur in the North-East to Conjeeveram or Kâñchî in the South-West and we know from the inscriptions of his contemporary, Kṛishṇadevarâya the great, of Vijayanagara, that a large portion of the highlands of Teliṅgânâ, such as Khammamet, also belonged to him. He came to the throne in 1496-97, a date which is calculated from his only *aṅka* date in the inscription in the temple of Jagannâtha at Puri; 4th *aṅka*, *Kâkaṭâ*, *śu* 10, Wednesday = 17th July 1499 A.D.[35] The 3rd regnal year, therefore, is 1499, making his accession fall in 1496-97. The period was very favourable for the extension of the power of Orissa towards the south and the west. The imbecile Maḥmûd was on the throne of Bidar and the great Musalman kingdoms of the south were already formed; therefore there was no immediate chance of a Musalman irruption into the Godâvarî-Kṛishṇâ Doâb. After the death of Immâḍi Narasiṁha the Sâḷuva dynasty was fast approaching extinction, and Narasa Nâyaka, the founder of the Tuḷuva dynasty, was consolidating his power. From 1497 till 1511 Pratâparudra could have annexed the whole of the eastern coast without meeting serious opposition from the king of Vijayanagara or Narasa Nayaka, but the history of Orissa was fast approaching that period of political stagnation, the climax of which was reached between 1510 and 1533, when the great Vaishṇava reformer Śrî-Chaitanya of Bengal came into close contact with this province.

Most probably Narasa Nâyaka died in 1502 and was succeeded by his son Vîra-Narasiṁha.[36] Immâḍi-Narasiṁha was still living and was in a position to make a grant of land in the Penukoṇḍâ *râjya* in 1505.[37] Nunez says that during the six years of his rule Bhujabalarâya was always at war. As soon as his father died the entire country revolted under the Nâyakas.[38] He was at war with the Musalman Governor of Goa in 1506 according to the Italian traveller Varthema.[39] The late Mr. Hoskote Kṛishṇa Śâstrî committed a mistake when he stated that the Gajapati kings occupied Udayagiri and Koṇḍavîḍu during this interval and that they were situated in Karṇâṭa. Though he quotes the authority of an inscription in which it is stated that Udayagiri was in the centre of Karṇâṭa-Kâṭaka,[40] it is preposterous to suppose that Udayagiri could at any time have been included in Karṇâṭa. It was certainly included in the Karṇâṭa Empire when the Nellore and Guntur districts formed part of Vijayanagara territories. Kṛishṇadevarâya succeeded his brother in spite of counter-intrigues in December 1509 or January 1510. One of the principal aims of his life was the reconquest of the Kṛishṇâ-Tuṅgabhadrâ or the Râichuru Doâb. Two inscriptions from Nâgalâpuram in the Chingleput district prove that these aims of the new king were known to the people, and a man actually preferred a request to the king to endow a temple after his victorious return from the expedition against the Gajapati.

33 *JASB.*, vol. LXIX, 1900, p. 183.
34 *Journ. of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. V, 1919, pp. 147-48.
35 *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXIX, 1900, Part I, p. 184.
36 *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 171.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 172.
38 R. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 314.
39 *Ibid.*, p. 118.
40 *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 173, note 6.

We do not know for what reasons the campaign against the Gajapati, *i.e.*, Pratâparudra of Orissa, was preferred to that against Isma'îl 'Âdil I of Bijâpur. According to a Telugu prose work named *Râyavâchakamu*, Kṛishṇadevarâya marched against Bijâpur immediately after the capture of Sivaṇasamudram.[41] But the arrangement of the events of Kṛishṇadevarâya's regime in this work appear to be fanciful because campaigns cannot have been conducted in the way or in the order in which they are narrated in it. In this paper we are not concerned with the campaigns against Bijâpur and Bîdar but only with those which were directed against the Empire of Orissa. The first recorded date in the series of campaigns conducted by Kṛishṇadevarâya against Pratâparudra of Orissa is that of the capture of Udayagiri. Kṛishṇadevarâya brought an image of Bâlakṛishṇa from Udayagiri, which was dedicated by him in 1514. Udayagiri therefore must have fallen sometime earlier, though an inscription in the Hazâra-Râmasvâmî temple at Vijayanagara indicates that Udayagiri was holding out in 1513. Kṛishṇadevarâya devastated the eastern coast and drove back the Orissan army as far as Koṇḍavîḍu before the capture of Udayagiri.[42]

The contemporary Portuguese writer Nunez gives a detailed account of Kṛishṇadevarâya's campaigns against Pratâparudra of Orissa. According to him Narasa Nâyaka " in his testament had enjoined on his succeeders the necessity of taking the fortresses of Rracholl (Raichur), Medegulla (Mudkal), and Odigair (Udayagiri). He,[43] therefore, collected 34.000 foot-soldiers and 800 elephants, and arrived with his army at Digary (Udayagiri), which, although its garrison numbered only 10.000 foot soldiers and 400 horse, was nevertheless a very strong place on account of its natural position. The king laid siege to it for a year and a half, cutting roads through the surrounding hills in order to gain access to the towers of the fortress, and finally took it by force of arms. On this occasion an aunt of the king of Orissa fell into his hands.[44]" There is some difference of opinion among the modern writers about the subsequent course of events. Some writers think that Kṛishṇadevarâya returned to Vijayanagara after the capture of Udayagiri, while others maintain that he pushed on to Koṇḍavîḍu. According to the inscriptions, one Tirumala Rautarâya or Tirumalai Râhuttarâya was captured at Udayagiri. Kanarese and Telugu inscriptions on Udayagiri hill mention the capture at Udayagiri of an uncle of Pratâparuda named Tirmula Râghavarâya or Tirumala Kaṇṭharâya. This Râghavarâya and Kâṇṭharâya appears to be the same as the Rautarâya and Râhutyarâya of other inscriptions than those found on Udayagiri hill, because the term Râütatrâya, used in the case of younger sons of kings of Orissa, was not known to the late Mr. Kṛishṇa Śâstrî even in 1908.

The second expedition against Pratâparudra was undertaken shortly after the fall of Udayagiri, against the strong fort of Koṇḍavîḍu. Evidently Pratâparudra had made Koṇḍavîḍu the base of his operations, as Kṛishṇadevarâya laid siege to it. According to Nunez, " the king of Orissa approached with a large army in defence of his country. When Kṛishṇarâya had heard of this, he left a portion of his troops at Koṇḍavîḍu as a guard against any attack from behind, and advanced himself four miles (*legoas*). On the banks of a 'great river with salt water,' which apparently is the Kṛishṇâ, a battle took place which ended in the defeat and flight of the king of Orissa. After this victory the king told his 'regedor' Salvatinea (Sâḷva-Timma) that he intended to continue the siege of Koṇḍavîḍu. After two months the fortress surrendered, and Sâḷva-Timma was appointed Governor of Koṇḍavîḍu. But as he wished to accompany the king on his further expedition against the king of Orissa, he conferred, on his part, the governorship on one of his brothers. After taking the fortress of Condepallyr (Koṇḍapalle) and occupying the country as far north as Symamdary, Kṛishṇarâya made a peace with the king of Orissa and married one of his daughters."[45] Koṇḍavîḍu

41 *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 111.

42 *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 176.

43 Kṛishṇadevarâya.

44 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 19 : Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 131, for the date of the fall of Udayagiri, cf. *Epi. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 110, note 5.

45 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 110.

was captured on Saturday the 23rd June 1515, and the date is given many times in the Maṅgala-giri inscriptions.[46] One of the most important events connected with this campaign was the capture of Pratâparudra's son, Vîrabhadra, by Kṛishṇadevarâya. According to the Koṇḍa-vîḍu chronicle this Vîrabhadra was the viceroy of Koṇḍavîḍu province for a long time. The Koṇḍavîḍu chronicle has been interpreted too narrowly by Sewell and other writers. It says that Pratâparudra ruled for one year; which means that he was in charge of Koṇḍavîḍu *daṇḍapâṭa* for one year only and was succeeded in the Viceroyalty, on the death of Purushottama and his own succession to the throne of Orissa, by his son Vîrabhadra, who remained there till his defeat by Kṛishṇadevarâya in 1515.[47] Many other notables of Orissa were captured at Koṇḍavîḍu along with Vîrabhadra. One of these was Keśava Pâtra and another Kumâra-hammîra Mahâpâtra. Certain Vijayanagara inscriptions mention two Musalman generals, named Mallû Khân and Uddaṇḍa Khân of Rachuru (Raichur), among the notables captured at Koṇḍavîḍu. Mallû Khân can be recognized, but it is difficult to reduce the term Uddaṇḍa to its original Persian or Arabic form. The late Mr. H. Krishna Śâstrî argues from the connection of Raichur with these two names that they were officers or nobles or the 'Âdilshâhî Sulṭâns of Bijâpur. It is quite possible that Isma'îl 'Âdil-Shâh, being the nearest neighbour of Kṛishṇadevarâya, was much more interested in his movements than Sulṭân Qulî Qutb Shâh of Golkonda or the Bahmanî *roi fainéants* of Bîdar. The acquisition of help from a Musalman neighbour to fight with a Hindu adversary involved a moral and political degradation in the Hindu world, which can be easily understood by those who are familiar with mediæval Râjpût History. This was not the only occasion on which Pratâparudra employed Musalman mercenaries against Kṛishṇadevarâya.

After the fall of Koṇḍavîḍu, Kṛishṇadevarâya consolidated his conquests by the reduction of important inland fortresses in the country at the foot of the ghâṭs; such as Vinukoṇḍa on the Gundlakamma river and Ballamkoṇḍa near Amarâvatî. In the third campaign the conqueror crossed the Kṛishṇâ and camped at Bezwâḍâ. His objective this time was the great hill fort of Koṇḍapalle, where, according to Nunez, "were collected all the chiefs of the kingdom of Orya." The fall of Koṇḍapalle practically marked the end of the campaign. It was in charge of the Oṛiya Minister Praharâja Śiraśchandra Mahâpâtra. The late Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Śâstrî is certainly right in correcting the wrong forms of this title in other Telugu and Tamil inscriptions of the time of Kṛishṇadevarâya. Among the Oṛiya notables captured after the fall of Koṇḍapalle was a queen of Pratâparudra, another of his sons and seven principal nobles. An inscription from Kalahasti mentions two of the last named, Boḍaijennâ Mahâpâtra and Bijli Khân. The first term is composed of two Oṛiya titles, Baḍa-jenâ and Mahâpâtra. Similarly Praharâja-Siraśchandra-Mahâpâtra is a single title in Oṛiyâ, composed of three small titles, and not a proper name. The name Bijlî Khân proves that Pratâparudra was continuing to employ Musalman mercenaries against Kṛishṇadevarâya, after the fall of Koṇḍavîḍu.

From Koṇḍapalle Kṛishṇadevarâya continued his victorious march northwards and acquired all the districts of the sea-board, including the hill-districts of Nalgonda and Khammamet, at present in the Nizâm's dominions. He arrived at Siṁhâchalaṁ, on the outskirts of Vizagapatam and is said to have planted or erected a pillar of victory on that hill. The late Mr. H. Kṛishṇa Śâstrî stated that "there exist even today records in Telugu characters written on the basement of the entrance into the *Âsthâna-Maṇḍapa* and on a pillar on the Verandah round the Lakshmînarasiṁhasvâmin temple at Siṁhâchalam, which relate in unmistakeable terms the victories of Kṛishṇarâya, his stay at Siṁhâdri and his gifts to the temple."[48] According to the *Pârijâtâpaharaṇamu* and other Telugu works Kṛishṇadevarâya devastated Orissa proper and burnt its capital Kaṭaka. But there is no epigraphical corroboration of these statements. Kṛishṇadevarâya was at Siṁhâchalam in 1516 and three years

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 111. [47] *A Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, Madras, 1883, p. 48.
[48] *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, 1908-9, p. 179.

later "he made over to the temple at Simhâchalam certain villages which were granted to him by the Gajapati king. Whether these latter were the voluntary gifts of the Gajapati ruler on behalf of his ally Krishnarâya or were wrung from him by a regular raid on his capital, are points which cannot be decided at present."[49]

We see, therefore, that Krishnadevarâya conducted three or four campaigns against Orissa and in 1519 compelled Pratâparudra to cede that part of his empire which lay to the south of the Krishnâ. According to Nunez, Pratâparudra gave one of his daughters in marriage to Krishnadevarâya.[50] This marriage is also mentioned in the *Râyavâchakamu*, where the Orissa princess is called Jaganmohinî.[51] The marriage is also referred to in the *Krishna-râya-vijayam* and *Tamil Nâvalar Charitai*.[52] The Orissan princess is also called Tukkâ. "She is said to have been neglected by her husband and to have led a life of seclusion at Kambam in the Kuddapah district."[53] The prince Vîrabhadra was maintained in a suitable style after his capture, and honourably provided for. He became the Governor of the district of Mâlega-Bennur-sîme and remitted the taxes on marriages in 1516, for the merit of his father Pratâparudra and his sovereign Krishnadevarâya.[54]

Such was the ignominious end of the empire founded by Kapilendra in the previous century. It lasted for a little less than a century and was reduced to its former dimensions before 1520. The decline of Orissa was rapid. Within forty years Jâjpur was in the occupation of Ghiyâsu'd-din Jalâl Shâh of Bengal and the Hindu kingdom of Northern Orissa came to a sudden end within three years of the great battle of Talikota.

On the north Pratâparudra was attacked by Sultân 'Alâu'd-dîn Husain Shâh, the founder of the Saiyad dynasty of Bengal. The exact date of this invasion is not known to us from reliable sources. According to the *Riyâzu's-salâtîn* Husain Shâh conquered all kingdoms between Gaur and Orissa.[55] If the *Mâdalâ Pâñji* is to be believed then Orissa was invaded in 1509 under Isma'îl Ghâzî. The *Mâdalâ Pâñji* bears on the face of it the stamp of being a later concoction because even a careful scholar like the late Mr. Manmohan Chakravarti makes use of the term "Bengal Nawab" in connection with the independent Sultâns of Bengal. "In A.D. 1509 Ismail Ghâzî (named *Surasthâna* in *M. Pâñji*), a general of the Bengal Nawab made a dash into Orissa, ravaged the country, sacked Puri Town and destroyed a number of Hindu temples. Pratâparudra hurried from the south and the Mahomedan general retreated. He was closely pursued and defeated on the bank of the Ganges (*M. Pâñji*). The general took refuge in Fort Mândâran (sub-division Jahanabad, district Hooghly), and was besieged. But one of the Râja's high officers, Govinda Vidyâdhara, went over to the enemy's side; and so the Râja had to raise the siege and to retire to Orissa."[56] In the first place the title *Nawâb* was not used in India till the middle of the first half of the eighteenth century. In fact there was no *Nawâb* or Musalman governor of any other king in Bengal at that time. From 1339 to 1538 Bengal was ruled by independent monarchs.[57] In the second place though a Musalman general named Shâh Isma'îl Ghâzî is claimed to be a contemporary of Sultân Ruknu'd-dîn Bârbak Shâh of Bengal by an anonymous work sometimes called *Risâlatu'sh-shuhâdâ*,[58] he is really a contemporary of 'Alâu'd-dîn Husain Shâh, because his tomb at Kântâ Duâr in the southern part of the Rangpur district of Bengal bears an inscription of the time of Husain Shâh. The inscription was originally incised on two slabs of black flint, one of which has been missing for a long time. I saw an impression of the first half in the house of Rai Bahadur Mrityunjay Raichaudhuri, Zamindar of Kundi *pargana* at Sadyapushkarini. The devastation of Orissa by Isma'îl Ghâzî during

49 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

50 Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 320.

51 *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 116.

52 *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 155.

53 *Ibid.*, p. 143.

54 *Epi. Carn.*, vol. IX, Dg. 107.

55 *Riyázu-s-Salâtîn*, English translation (*Bib. Ind.*), p. 132.

56 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXIX, p. 186.

57 *Bângâlâr Itihâs*, vol. II, pp. 99—285.

58 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1874, vol. XLIII, pp. 215-20.

the reign of 'Alâu'd-dîn Husain Shâh is also mentioned in the celebrated Bengali biography of the Vaishṇava saint Śrî-Chaitanva, the *Chaitanya-Bhâgavata*; Antya Khâṇda, 2nd Adhyâya. Chaitanya's influence over Pratâparudra appears to have been immense. Even if we accept one-tenth of what the biographies of Śrî-Chaitanya say about the saint's influence over Pratâparudra and his principal officers, then we have to admit that Śrî-Chaitanya was one of the principal causes of the political decline of Orissa at this time and the loss of its independence 28 years after the death of Pratâparudra. Considered as a religion, Indian *Bhaktimârga* is sublime, but its effect on the political status of the country or the nation which accepts it, is terrific. The religion of equality and love brings in its train a false faith in men and thereby destroys the structure of society and government because in reality no two men are equal in any respect and government depends upon brute force. Orissa not only lost her empire but also her political prestige. A century of Vaishnavaism reduced this great people to a state of caste-ridden stagnation in which even famine-stricken people are obliged to form themselves into a separate caste (Satra-khivâ). Chaitanva is said to have converted Pratâparudra before the beginning of the Vijayanagara war. Among the officers of the king Râmânanda Râi, governor of Râjamahendrî before its loss, and Gopînâtha Baṛajenâ, governor of Maljyâṭhâ *daṇḍapâṭa*, or Midnapur, were converted to Neo-Vaishṇavaism.

We do not know what happened to this religiously minded and cowardly king after the retirement of Krishnadevarâya. Vijayanagara panegyrists credit him with another invasion of the Southern Hindu Empire after the death of Krishṇadevarâya. The statement is hardly credible, because Pratâparudra is said to have retired hastily from this campaign, after reading some verses in Telugu composed by Krishṇadevarâyâ's favourite Telugu poet Allasâni Peddaṇa.[59]

On another side another enemy of the kingdom of Orissa was rising swiftly. Sulṭân Qulî Quṭb Shâh Hamadânî, the Viceroy of the Eastern Provinces of the Bahmanî Empire, was the most faithful among the faithless *Ṭarafdârs* of the Bahmanî Empire. He had deferred the declaration of his independence till 1512; but after that date he had begun to consolidate his power in the ancient province of Teliṅgânâ. When Isma'îl 'Âdil I and Krishṇadevarâya were fighting in the south the veteran Sulṭân Qulî Quṭb found it a fitting opportunity to despoil the religious monarch of Orissa.[60] He entered into the Godâvarî-Krishṇâ *Doâb*, left the Vijayanagara districts on the coast-land severely alone and descended upon the southern districts of Orissa.[61] This was the beginning of the advance of the Quṭb-Shâhîs northwards

[59] *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 153.

[60] This is the only possible time when Sultân Qulî's invasion of Teliṅgânâ may be regarded as possible. Briggs thought that the invasion of Orissa took place in 1511 (see "Comparative Chronology of Deccan kingdoms principally during the Sixteenth Century" at the end of vol. III. Cambray's edition of 1910). He actually puts the capture of Ballamkonda and Kondapalle against this date. But in the text he says "After having repaired the foot of Golkonda, Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah turned his thoughts towards the reduction of the fortress of Rajkonda" (Brigg's *Rise of the Mahomedan Powers*, vol. III, p. 354.) This happened after his declaration of independence (1512). The war with the Gajapati, *i.e.*, Pratâparudra, took place long afterwards, after the supposed victories of the Musalmans of Golkonda over Krishṇadevarâya. Mr. Monmohan Chakravarti is quite correct in placing the war in 1522.

[61] The long rambling narrative of Firishta bears on its face the stamp of untruth and confusion. In the first place there was no king in Orissa named Râmachandra Gajapati between 1512 and 1543 or the entire reign of Sulṭân Qulî Qutb Shâh. In the next place Krishṇadevarâya ascended the throne in 1509-10. The campaign against Orissa began early in 1512, as Udayagiri fell in 1513, Koṇḍavîḍu in 1515 and Koṇḍapalle in 1517. Firishta makes Sulṭân Qulî capture Ballamkoṇḍa, Koṇdvîḍu and Koṇdapalle. The series of records of Krishṇadevarâya at Koṇḍavîḍu, Kaza, Maṅgalagiri and finally at Siṁhâchalam-Potnuru prove Firishta's narrative of this war to be totally false and baseless. If Sulṭân Qulî Quṭb Shâh had really fought against Krishṇadevarâya in his campaigns of 1512-19, then it must have been as the ally of Pratâparudra, and he must have shared the defeat of his ally. There is no mention of the capture of Koṇḍavîḍu by Musalmans in the Indian Chronicles (Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties*, p. 48). I have mentioned Koṇḍapalle because Sewell mentions an inscription of Sulṭân Qulî at that place (*Ibid.*, p. 28). Most probably this confused account is due to Firishta's mistake of taking Râmachandra Gajapati of Khurda as a contemporary of Krishṇadevarâya.

which ended with the capture of Ganjam in 1571 and Chicacole in 1641.[62] Thus the Oṛiyâ speaking districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and the three Khimidis came to be included in the Quṭb Shâhî kingdom of Golkonda and passed on to the Mughal ṣûba of Golkonda or Khujistâ-bunyâd Haidarâbâd in 1687. The ill-fated Niẓâm of the Deccan granted them to the great French General Bussy. In 1765 the hapless Shâh 'Âlam II was persuaded by Clive to include the transfer of the Northern *Sarkârs* from the French to the British East India Company, though they were actually in the possession of the latter from 1761. On account of this freak of fortune these Oṛiyâ-speaking districts still form a part of the British Presidency of Madras.

Pratâparudra survived the death of his royal son-in-law by nearly ten years. No other incident of his reign is known to us. But before taking leave of his reign we should examine certain references to it in the histories of other provinces. The *Râyavâchakamu* mentions another Musalman general employed by Pratâparudra in his campaigns against Kṛishṇadevarâya. This chief is mentioned as Chitâprâ or Chitâph Khân by Prof. S. K. Aiyangar of the Madras University, who has sought to prove him a Hindu in spite of Haig's recognition of the man as a Musalman.[63] Chitâph Khân seems to be the Telugu equivalent of Shitâb Khân. He is apparently mentioned as a free-lance, as he restored Varangal to the Hindus.[64] There remains only one other incident of this reign. Narasa Nâyaka is said to have defeated the king of Orissa in certain Vijayanagara inscriptions. We have seen before that Purushottama could not have come into contact with Sâḷuva Narasiṁha or Narasa Nâyaka before the reconquest of Koṇḍavîḍu by him.[65] After 1488–89 it was possible for Narasa to have met either Purushottama or Pratâparudra in the southern part of Teliṅgânâ. The Unmanjeri plates of Achyûtarâya of the Śaka year 1462=1540 A.D.[66] and the British Museum plates of Sadâśivarâya of the Śaka year 1478=1550 A.D.[67] mention the war between Narasa and the Gajapati king in such a manner as to indicate that the victory obtained was practically of no importance. It is absolutely certain that up to the last day of his life Narasa was very busy in consolidating his own position, as Immâḍi Narasiṁha was alive. The statement of Nunez makes it probable that by the time of his death in 1502 Narasa had recovered the northern Tamil and the southern Telugu districts as far as Udayagiri in the Nellore district, because his dying injunction to his son was to recover Udayagiri at all costs. It is, therefore, also probable that after Purushottama's death, and before the capture of Udayagiri in 1513, Pratâparudra had lost the territories lying to the south of Udayagiri.

The date of the death of Pratâparudra is not certain. We only know that the usurper, Govinda Vidyâdhara, was on the throne in 1543, and that was his fourth *aṅka*. The Sûryavaṁśî dynasty had, therefore, come to an end before 1541. The *Mâdalâ Pâñji* states that two sons of Pratâparudra, named Kâluâ and Kakhâṛuâ, had succeeded their father and ruled for a few months. But it is very dangerous to rely on the *Mâdalâ Pâñji* without independent corroboration. Inscription No. 5 on the right side of the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannâtha at Puri proves that Govinda Vidyâdhara was on the throne in 1541–42. With him began the decline of the political power of Orissa and the very existence of that country as an independent state was over within 27 years. From this date began the creation of feudatory states and old zamîndârîs of Orissa (Gaṛhjât and Qila'-jât), many of which exist even now and claim to be descended from dynasties older than the Sûryavaṁśî dynasty, Râjpût or otherwise.

62 Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*, vol. I, p. 215.

63 T. W. Haig, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, pp. 85–6.

64 *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 155.

65 See *ante*, p. 30.

66 *Epi. Ind.*, vol. III, p. 152.

67 *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 12.

THE MISSION OF GEORGE WELDON AND ABRAHAM NAVARRO TO THE COURT OF AURANGZEB.

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Prefatory Note.

THIS article is based on manuscript records preserved at the British Museum, the Public Record Office and the India Office. These records have been thoroughly utilized in writing it. It may be noted that although several authors have in their works referred to the mission of Weldon and Navarro, their references have been little more than incidental. To Sir William Foster the writer is indebted for valuable information regarding the documents preserved at the India Office, and to Miss L. M. Anstey he owes his knowledge of the existence of the Weldon Diary.

The Mission.

The mission of George Weldon and Abraham Navarro to the Court of Aurangzeb was of a different character from that of previous English envoys. They were not sent by the Crown or the authorities in London, but by Sir John Child personally as Governor of Bombay and Director-General of all the Company's settlements in India. The occasion was a very critical phase of the Company's history, when owing to the misfortunes and disappointments of their war with the Mughal that had been in progress for some time, it had become absolutely necessary to make some attempt to bring it to a conclusion on the best terms obtainable. Although the result of their efforts was not equal to the expectations formed at the start, it did produce a mitigation in the gravity of the situation, and at least brought about a cessation of costly and exhausting hostilities. The Company had sanctioned war in a reckless mood without counting the superior resources of the enemy, and their own very limited means for the execution of an ambitious programme on so remote a scene. It may be remarked that several historians have already alluded to this mission; but as they have unwittingly omitted the real causes which led to it, it is necessary to give a short account of the circumstances of the moment.

The latter part of the seventeenth century had been for the East India Company a period of incessant trouble, which had produced a marked decline in their commercial prosperity and national reputation in India. The misfortunes were due in some measure to their own acts and improvidence, but in greater degree to the rivalry of other Europeans, especially the Dutch and the French, who were quick to take advantage of their errors of judgment or action. The chief cause, however, arose from increasing demands of the Mughal officials, who had recourse either to open aggression or petty acts of tyranny still more annoying. This was the general state of things in all the Company's settlements, but it was felt most bitterly at Surat and was the immediate cause of the head station being removed from thence to Bombay. Increased levies in the form of custom dues had been placed on their merchandise. These the merchants either refused to pay or sought to evade by recourse to subterfuges. The result was that the local governors brought them before their Courts and in default of payment confined them in their prisons. These indignities were bitterly resented, the more so because there was no power to retaliate.

The Mughal authorities on their side were not without grievances, which to a certain extent explained their actions. The interlopers, who represented that they were under the protection of the English Government and beyond the control of the Company, carried on illegitimate as well as legitimate trade, and sometimes the line distinguishing their depredations from open piracy was almost invisible. The Company's servants did their best to curtail these activities, but they had not the means to do much. None the less the Mughal officers regarded them as responsible for the acts of their fellow countrymen and came down upon them for redress with a heavy hand. The Company's representatives at Surat sent home accounts of this intolerable situation, and begged the Directors to take steps to relieve them. The Court was moved by their story and alarmed at the diminution of trade which

confirmed it. They came in consequence to some important decisions, declaring that they were " positively resolved never to be enslaved by the Moors Government nor to be satisfied with less privileges than our ancestors enjoyed, or than other European nations do now enjoy in India."

With that end in view Sir Josiah Child, the all-powerful Chairman of the Company, formulated a plan which was based on the substitution of Bombay for Surat as the Company's head station in India. Bombay he conceived would be a sovereign possession entirely secure from Mughal interference and beyond the jurisdiction of unfriendly officials at Surat. He also advocated the fortification of all settlements on the Indian Coast to render them secure against surprises. Naturally enough the prospect of this procedure did not please the Mughal authorities. Furthermore, its success depended on the forces the Company could send to Indian waters to give it a good start.

In 1685 with the sanction of James II, who was one of the first advocates of naval power and mastery of the seas, Sir Josiah fitted out a squadron with orders to proceed, not to the West Coast but to the Bay of Bengal, where the Company's servants in the delta were almost as hard pressed as at Surat. This expedition was not preceded by any declaration of its intentions or effort at negotiation; inasmuch as the moral weight of its presence might conceivably accomplish more than its material force. Immediately on its arrival the squadron proceeded to attack Chittagong and was repulsed with some loss. This was a heavy blow, and might have entailed more serious consequences than actually followed. Sir Josiah Child's plan had failed on the threshold of the undertaking. In fact the Directors had been largely inspired by Sir Josiah, who therefore was mainly responsible for the war. It may, however, be said in his favour that similar schemes had been under discussion during the reigns of Charles II and James II.

In the meantime Sir John Child at Bombay had been empowered to come to terms with or to declare war upon the Mughal. He presented a request in the form of an ultimatum to the Governor of Surat demanding reparation for the losses and insults endured by the Company's servants. This failing to produce a satisfactory answer, he seized the Mughal ships trading to the Red Sea and Persian Gulf, and brought them in as prizes to Bombay. If he hoped to secure his object by this high-handed action he was to be speedily undeceived. The Mughal Governor declared war, and the Mughal fleet under Admiral Sidhi Yacoub Khan attacked Bombay, recovered the prizes and blockaded Sir John Child in his own town. This turn had not been expected by the over-confident Governor, who either had neglected to strengthen the fortifications of Bombay Castle, or did not possess the means of doing so. The English defended themselves bravely ; but the Sidhi having attacked with great energy and in overwhelming strength, reduced the garrison to the direst straits. The gravity of the situation was well described in a letter of John Vaux, Deputy Governor of Bombay, to his father, Thomas Vaux of Bristol. He wrote to the effect that the Mughal's army began besieging them with an army of " 25,000 men in close garrison haveing not above 300 Europeans and Topasses[1] w^{ch} were hardly enough to manage our great guns being 112 in number and 5 Mortars, by often exercise night and day wasted and consum'd much ammunition w^{ch} soon found to grow low ; Then we consider'd whether 'twas best to hold it out as long as men, money and ammunition lasted, then to acquit it and blow up ye Fort, but in ye mean time to try, if there was any hopes of obtaining a Peace from ye Mogul . . . "[2] Child had vainly solicited help from the Dutch and the French ; but the assistance received from the Marâṭhâ Râja Śambhujî enabled him to prolong his resistance against the Sidhi. On the other hand the completion of the conquest of Bijâpur and Golconda, together with the

1 Indo-Portuguese soldiers.

2 See *Addl. MS.* 22, 185, (Johnson Papers), British Museum. According to Ovington Sir John Child " commanded only Twenty-five hundred ; so that the Enemy was just Ten to one." See p. 152 of *A Voyage to Surat*, by J. Ovington, London, 1696.

defeat of Śambhujî, had placed the Emperor in a very favourable position. To avert a worse catastrophe, Child obtained a cessation of hostilities, and found himself with no other alternative but to sue for peace at the Court of the Emperor.

Accordingly he wrote a flattering letter to Aurangzeb from the Bombay Castle in February 1688-9, describing him as "Lord of beneficence and Liberalitie, Solomonlike Throne, Epitome of Preisthood, Scanderberg like wisdome, Heavenly Judgment, Potentate of ye world, Center of Security, Emperor of ye Earth and of ye Age, object of all Sublunary things, The Divine Shadow of ye holy Prophett Mahomet, Oramzeib, whose person and Kingdome ye Divine powers long prosper and continue . . ."[3] In this petition he stated the English grievances and asked for redress. He also complained against the conduct of Mukhtâr Khân, Governor of Surat. Child suavely remarked that he knew it to be quite contrary to the Emperor's wishes that the English should be imprisoned, their money and goods seized. He probably imagined that thus he might secure the Emperor's favour. But Aurangzeb was too shrewd to be influenced by such a laudatory epistle, especially when his own interests were at stake. Child, moreover, emphasized the fact that he had endeavoured to keep the peace with Mukhtâr Khân, but to no purpose, and, there being no other alternative, he solicited His Majesty's intervention. He further prayed that all wrongs done to the English might be righted and that they might be able to enjoy the privileges hitherto granted them by the Emperor.

It may be observed that the Court of Directors at home had been debating the expediency of sending an Ambassador to India in order to secure peace with the Mughal. They were also aware of the serious position of the Indian trade, which was then in danger of being lost. So they decided to petition Parliament to take such measures as would prevent so great a catastrophe[4]. The project of sending an Ambassador was however ultimately abandoned.

It was then suggested to Sir John Child that a conciliatory mission should be sent to the Emperor's camp to declare that the English were prepared to restore the goods wrongfully taken from the Mughal's subjects. On this condition only it was believed peace might be concluded. The merchants of Surat at the same time fearing that they might be ruined, joined with their Governor in advising the Emperor to make peace. The latter already realised fully the extent to which Imperial revenue benefited from the English trade, and also that English men-of-war could do serious damage to the Mughal pilgrim ships sailing to and from Mocha. These considerations made it highly probable that the Mughal would consent to peace.

Accordingly Child and his Council decided to send a mission to the Court of Aurangzeb. Before doing so, however, they considered it advisable to send George Weldon,[5] Barker Hibbins and Abraham Navarro to Daman in order to negotiate a preliminary treaty with

3 See *No.* 5660 *of O. C.* 47. India Office. There is a copy of this petition in the *Addl. MS.* 22,185; but it does not contain the eulogy to the Emperor quoted above.

4 See pp. 262-63 of *Court Book*, vol. 35. I.O.

5 Colonel George Weldon came of a well-known English family. His brother, Dom Ralph Bennet Weldon was a Benedictine monk, who left an interesting account of him. George Weldon married Lady (Susanna) Child, widow of Sir John Child. She died on board the *Benjamin*, April 25, 1697, on her way back to England with her husband. Her body "adorned with jewels to the value of £ 500 sterling" was buried at sea the following day. The Colonel himself met with a tragic end off the Coast of Mauritius on July 2 of the same year and was buried in the island. Sir William Norris mentioned in his *Journal* that he had seen his handsome tomb. There was some confusion about the fortune which he had accumulated in India; and in the interest of his mother and sisters, Brother Bennet came to England from Paris and fought the case, without result. He subsequently returned to the Continent after spending some months in England. See *A Chronicle of the English Benedictine Monks*, by Dom Bennet Weldon; also see O. C. 77/51 and p. 79 of *Fifteenth Report Appendix, Part X., Historical Manuscripts Commission*. There is an account of the Weldon family in Hasted's *Kent*, vol. I.

the representatives of the Mughal Governor of Surat—under the auspices of the Portuguese Captain-General, John de Sequira de Faria. The envoys were given detailed instructions by the President and Council of Bombay, under date 29th May, 1689. In these they were told that the Portuguese were much concerned regarding the Company's dispute with the Mughal and his subjects, inasmuch as there seemed great danger of losing their own territories, and that they had been requested by the Nawâb to send two or three Englishmen to Daman to treat with him. The President and his Council furnished the three delegates with a copy of the requests they had made about a year and a half ago and delivered to Mukhtâr Khân. The substance of the whole document was that Child and his Council were willing to deliver up the ships, money and goods belonging to the Mughal's subjects on condition that the demands of the English should be complied with regarding money and goods seized at Surat by Mukhtâr Khân, and that English prisoners should be set at liberty : further that a *phirmaund*[6] should be granted to the English enabling them to enjoy free trade in all parts of the Imperial dominions, subject only to a two *per cent.* custom duty at Surat, and that they should enjoy their ancient privileges in all other places. On these terms Child and his Council empowered Weldon and his colleagues to negotiate with the Nawâb. All transactions with Mukhtâr Khân were to be drawn up in writing and the document properly signed and sealed. Weldon and his colleagues were given directions for their journey to Bassein and Daman, and furnished with letters of introduction to the Governor of the latter city and other Portuguese officials. They were instructed to be civil and to hear all that the Portuguese desired to say, but were forbidden to make any concessions likely to be prejudicial to the interests of their [English] King and country : to maintain that there could not be peace until the Sidhi should be removed with all his forces from the island of Bombay and the several other demands complied with : and to point out that Mukhtâr Khân had broken his promises and basely deceived them. They were asked to keep a diary of all their proceedings, and to write daily reporting progress : warned that the Nawâb might insist on Weldon and others accompanying him to Surat, but were advised not to agree till they should be satisfied that it could be done safely. If the Emperor should prove unwilling to make peace, realiance was to be placed wholly on the *farmân* already granted. The envoys were furnished with a certain amount of money and directed that in the event of their encountering any English fugitives they should help them to secure their liberty[7].

Armed with those instructions the envoys left Bombay for Daman on May 29, 1689. They arrived at Bassein on the 31st of the month and were received with every civility by the Portuguese Governor, Dom Philippo de Souza, who expressed strong sentiments of good will to the English nation. After a few days they continued their journey to Daman, escorted by ten soldiers, and arrived there on the 7th of June. They immediately announced their arrival to the Portuguese Captain-General, who was not then in residence. They were, however, well received in person by the Governor, Manoell Taverres de Gama. Later on they delivered Child's letter to the Captain-General, who informed them that the Sidhi had asked for more forces to enable him to subjugate Bombay and that Mukhtâr Khân had joined forces with him in the hope of being able either to drive out the English or to compel them to make a treaty. To this they replied that the English eagerly desired Portuguese assistance, as the interests of both nations were closely allied. They told the Captain-General of their intention to make an honourable peace with the Governor of Surat, and declared that if the proposal should be rejected the English were "resolved to dye with our swords in our hands rether then submitt to any thing dishonorable." The Portuguese Captain-General agreed that the English should not do anything contrary to the national honour. He had himself little faith in Mukhtâr Khân's integrity and was doubtful whether the latter really wished peace at all. The envoys' arrival was immediately notified to Mukhtâr Khân by

[6] A royal commission or mandate ; a *farmân*.

[7] See *No.* 5870 *of O.C.* 48., I.O.

the Captain-General, who asked the former to send down representatives to negotiate with them. The Captain-General also suggested that as there was with the Nawâb a Mr. Georgee, a Christian (formerly in the Emperor's service, and a person of great discretion and power), he might be very helpful to the English in the matter of negotiation. Unfortunately, however, the suggestion was not acted on. Mr. Georgee not being sent after all. The envoys were constantly in correspondence with the authorities at Bombay and Surat concerning their progress, and held several conferences with the Captain-General as to the course to be adopted to secure peace and deliver certain Englishmen " from their Irons." While at Daman they met with a " ffrenchman and a Dutch man that left the Mogulls service and had then been 16 days from the Camp, who gave us an account, that there were many Europians in the Kings Service, who did dayly desert him, finding his intentions not good against the Christians."[8] The envoys also learnt that there was no English representative at the Court; but that the Dutch had one in the person of Seg[e]. Bocherus'[9]. Amongst other information they learnt that Prince Sultân 'Âzam Shâh, third son of Aurangzeb, was encamped at Poona and the Emperor himself only a few miles away from that place.

In the meanwhile, Sir John Child and his Council wrote to the Directors in England on June 7, 1689, saying that they had endeavoured to make peace with the Mughal and his subjects, but had not yet been able to effect it. They declared they could acquire some of the Portuguese possessions, but it was doubtful if these could be retained against the forces of the Mughal, who would soon be invading Râjâ Râm's country[10] and all the Portuguese possessions would, in consequence, probably fall into his hands. Child further assured the Directors that the Council would, as directed, observe the utmost caution towards both the Dutch and the French. The following passage is a clear indication of the policy pursued by Child and his colleagues :—

" We are unwilling enough to part with anything that we have taken, but as we might see absolute necessity require it for your Interest, and your Hon[rs], may be assured that the Mogull is a Potent Prince and doth not at all value Trade, and his Subjects not so poor on this side [of] India we are sure as you are pleased to think, we heartily wish the Wars with him and his subjects well over."[11]

After considerable delay the Nawâb Mukhtâr Khân's representatives Qâzî Ibrâhîm and Mîr Nâzim, together with several merchants, arrived at Daman with full power to negotiate a treaty of peace. At the very outset of the negotiation the Captain-General told the English on the authority of Qâzî Ibrâhîm that " if by any meanes, we [English] could yett beat the Siddy off the Island it would conduce very much to an advantageous and Honourable conclution of all affaires of our Side, for the Nabob and he were soe great Enemyes, that nothing could be more acceptable to him then such newse."[12] The same opinion was afterwards expressed in a letter from George Weldon to the Company stating that Mukhtâr Khân would have envied the glory of the Sidhi if the latter had taken Bombay[13]. The above facts are indicative of the jealousy existing amongst the higher officials of the Mughal.

The English envoys met Mukhtâr's representatives at the Portuguese Captain-General's house to discuss the matters at issue. They declared themselves willing to deliver up all the ships, money and goods they had wrongfully taken from the Mughal's subjects. At the same time they represented that the damage done to their own property in Bombay was very great and that the Sidhi was entirely responsible for it. It was clear that the

8 P. 11 of *Sloane MS.* 1910, British Museum.

9 Alexander Hamilton stated in his book, *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I, p. 225, that there was at that time a Dutch representative of the name of Baroon at the Mughal Court. There seems some confusion between the two names.

10 Râjâ Râm, who had succeeded his brother, Śambhujî, was at that time being constantly pursued by the Mughal. After many exploits he retired to Jinjî.

11 See *No.* 5671 *of O.C.* 48, I.O.

12 P. 12 of *Sloane MS.* 1910, *B.M.*

13 See *No.* 5738 *of O.C.* 48, I.O.

English could not expect to obtain a *farmân* from the Emperor before they had satisfied the demands of the Indian merchants. The English had caused great harm by having taken the "Corneffleet" of the Emperor. The above and other grievances formed the subject of a long conference between the envoys and Mîr Nâzim and Qâzî Ibrâhîm. It soon appeared that the English had failed to ensure the Nawâb's support, for the latter sent a "black" report to the Emperor against them. Thus was added a further obstacle against representatives going to the Court, because their statements would be invalidated by the said "black" report. It was also apparent that were the Nawâb now to write favourably of the English to his master, he would not only create suspicion, but might also quite conceivably be dismissed from the Imperial service. Mîr Nâzim, therefore, advised the English envoys that the best course for bringing negotiations to a satisfactory conclusion would be to satisfy the demands of the merchants first, and when that had been accomplished they (the Nawâb's representatives) would join with the English envoys in trying to obtain a *farmân*. It was also debated, and later on agreed to by Sir John Child and his Council, that the best course for concluding a speedy peace would be to make a present to the Nawâb Mukhtâr Khân of Rs. 25,000 in order to "stop his mouth and keep his evill tongue from biteing more." It was further suggested that a similar present should be made to Ruhullah Khân, an influential man at Court, or in his absence to Asad Khân. The terms on which peace might be obtained were discussed at several meetings. One of the important points to be determined was the amount of damage done to English merchants and shipping by the Sidhi, who was to be held responsible.

Sir John Child had expected that the Englishmen and brokers imprisoned at Surat would at the outset of negotiations be liberated; but he was soon disappointed. During these tedious negotiations between the English envoys and the Nawâb's representatives, it became evident that a satisfactory conclusion could not be reached until the Sidhi had evacuated Bombay. Neither could the sums mentioned above be paid. The terms of negotiation laid down by the English were rather hard, and for that reason the opposing party strongly advised the envoys not to insist upon them, declaring that if they did there could be no peace. Further they pointed out that it was not for the English in suing for peace to impose conditions upon the Emperor.[14]

In the meantime, while the negotiations were proceeding Mukhtâr Khân was replaced by I'timâd Khân from Ahmadâbâd. Sir John wrote at once to the new Governor, who replied in friendly terms, in which he strongly urged that two men bearing a handsome present should be sent to Court to solicit the Emperor's pardon. This circumstance inspired Sir John with renewed hope, especially as he had discovered that the new Governor was an upright man. He, therefore, consented to give effect to I'timâd's wishes[15].

Towards the middle of August, 1689, it was decided to transfer the business of negotiation to Bassein. This was for greater convenience of communication with the Company's authorities at Bombay. The Nawâb's representatives were at first unwilling to go, but were finally persuaded to do so. The conference began again at Bassein early in September, and after some days of strenuous discussion negotiations were satisfactorily concluded. Sir John Child and his Council agreed, in the name of the Company and at the cost of a large capital sum, to recoup the Mughal's subjects for losses incurred through the seizure of twenty-one merchant ships. They trusted, therefore, that the Emperor would pardon the Company and permit them to trade freely in all parts of his dominions. He also hoped that the Emperor would command the Sidhi to evacuate Bombay and the Governor of Surat to liberate all Englishmen and brokers from prison and at the same time restore their goods. Sir John also promised to present Rs. 100.000 to the Emperor when the above conditions were complied with. All these matters were adjusted by the envoys before their departure from Bassein.

(To be continued.)

[14] See *Sloane MS.* 1910, *B.M.*

[15] See *Nos.* 5738, 5691 *of O.C.* 48, I.O.

THE POWER OF MAGIC IN BENGAL.

By BIREN BONNERJEA, D.Litt. (Paris).

In a recently published article I pointed out the difference between Religion, Magic (homœopathic and contagious), and Taboo: and gave short definitions of the terms[1]. I shall therefore content myself by saying that magic implies the performance of certain actions with a view to the accomplishment of a desire (White Magic), or for injuring an enemy (Black Magic); whereas taboo is the non-performance of certain actions for gaining the same end. In other words, magic means doing something actively, and taboo, doing something passively.

We know from the *Atharva Veda* and the *Kauçika Sûtra* that magic in both the forms was largely practiced by the ancient Hindus. But few outside of those directly interested in the religious life of the modern Hindus realise how great the power of magic is even to-day among the inhabitants of Bengal. Primitive man, and by that I mean not only savages, but all those who are not yet in a position to think or to reason for themselves, is constantly in dread of the unknown. His whole life is one continual round of placating the unseen powers with which he is hedged round, so that they may be induced to do something for his benefit, or he is constantly in dread of performing certain actions lest he might offend these deities or demons, and thus bring down misfortunes on his own head. The primitive philosopher does not realise that when something is beyond his comprehension, it is simply because his intellect is not sufficiently high to grasp it; but, on the other hand, he fondly imagines that he knows all, and knowing all, if he does not understand certain phenomena which are inexplicable to him, it is because they are supernatural. To him things capable of being comprehended are natural, and the rest supernatural, with the result that the supernatural far exceeds the natural. We must not, however, think that he is wholly unreasonable, for such is not the case. He knows and observes certain things, in other words, he has the rudiments of science; but he stops short at that, and his inferences are based on superficial analogies and false syllogisms. A Bengali peasant has observed the timidity of a deer;—the timidity is an undeniable fact with him—therefore he reasons that if he eats the flesh of a deer he too, like the deer, will become timid. Hence venison is avoided[2] (taboo). Again he has noticed that a cuckoo sings melodiously: therefore were he to eat cuckoo's flesh he too is sure to have the same quality transmitted to him, and become a good singer[3] (magic).

As in many other countries, Bengal is rich in stories about ghosts and kindred spirits[4]. The belief in ghosts owes its origin to the belief in souls. The Hindus, like many savages as well as civilized peoples, believe that the soul leaves the body during sleep, and that it goes away permanently at death. Therefore, as a rule, they do not awake a sleeper suddenly, for the soul is away and may not have time to get back: if it be absolutely necessary to awaken the sleeper, it is advised to do this gradually so that the soul may have time to return.[5] In an Indian story a king conveys his soul into the dead body of a Brâhman, and a hunchback, finding the deserted body of the king, conveys his soul into it. The hunchback is now the king, and the king the Brâhman. The hunchback is, however, induced to show his skill by

[1] B. Bonnerjea, "Some Notes on Magic and Taboo in Bengal," *Indian Antiquary*, LVII, pp. 107—112.

[2] B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale* (Paris, 1927), p. 107; *id.*, *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology* (London, 1928), p. 276; cf. (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough* 2nd ed., vol. II, p. 353.

[3] B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 112.

[4] *Ibid.*, chapter V, "Les Démons," pp. 88-105, where a list of the different kinds of spirits and their descriptions will be found.

[5] *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, translated by J. Eggeling, pt. v, p. 371. Cf. *Panjâb Notes and Queries*, III, p. 116, § 530; W. W. Rockhill, in *American Anthropologist*, vol. IV (1891), p. 183; Rev. J. Mills, *The British Jews* (London, 1853), p. 56; Garcilasso de la Vega, *The Royal Commentaries of the Yncas* (Hakl. Soc., vol. XLI, XLV [London, 1869-1871]), vol. I, p. 129; A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand, Past and Present* (London, 1859), vol. I, p. 113; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), p. 47; H. Schoolcraft, *Information regarding the History, &c.*, vol. VI, p. 664; (Sir) S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (London, 1862), vol. I, p. 189; D. Cranz, *History of Greenland*, vol. I, p. 185

transferring his soul to the dead body of a parrot, and the king seizes this opportunity of regaining possession of his body[6]. In another story a Brâhman reanimates the dead body of a king by conveying his soul into it. Meanwhile the Brâhman's own body has been burned, and his soul is obliged to remain in the body of the king.[7] With such deep-rooted beliefs in the existence of the soul, and consequently in spirits which are dreaded, it is easy to understand that diverse measures are taken as precautions against them. One of the principal weapons against malevolent spirits in Bengal is iron.[8] Evil spirits do not molest persons who have anything made of iron or steel on them; nor will they meddle with a woman, especially a married woman, because they are afraid of her iron bangle (*hâter lohâ*), which is generally covered over with gold. It is with the same intention of driving away evil spirits that a pair of betel-cutters (*jâṅti*) is kept under the pillow of a sleeping child [9]; and in Calcutta the Bengali clerks in Government offices used to wear a small key on one of their fingers when they had been chief mourners.[10] Moreover, when a woman dies in childbirth, they put a nail or some other piece of iron inside the folds of her dress, especially if the child is living. This is done to stop the ghost of the mother from returning to haunt the place and carry away the child which was the cause of her death.[11]

The religious and social life of the Bengalis is saturated with magic in its most elementary form, and many remedies and precautions are recommended. A traveller is often believed to contract a dangerous infection from strangers, especially those of inferior castes, and therefore when, at the end of his sojourn in a foreign country, as for example, Europe, he returns to his native place, he is required to submit to various purificatory ceremonies before he is allowed to mix freely with his kinsfolk or before anyone of his own caste may eat with him. The ceremony performed for this purification is known as the *prâyaścitta*. It is a magical rite, which consists in the polling of the hair and eating, or at least touching with the lips, of cow-dung, that substance *par excellence* of the Hindus.[12] And when we hear of the Hindu ambassadors who had been sent to England by a native prince and who, on their return, were considered so polluted by contact with strangers, that they were forced to be reborn[13] in order to be thoroughly purified, our supposition that the *prâyaścitta* is simply a magical rite is amply

6 *Pantschatantra*, tr. by Th. Benfey (Leipsic, 1859), vol. II, pp. 124 sq.

7. *Kathâ-sarita-sâgara*, tr. by C. H. Tawney (Calcutta, 1880), vol. I, pp. 21 sq.; cf. *North Indian Notes and Queries*, IV, p. 28, § 54; *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, Nouv. ed., vol. XIII, pp. 183 sq. Both the above stories are given by (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 49. Compare *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 88 sq.; *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, pp. 239 sq. and references quoted there. See further (Miss) Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa* (London, 1897), pp. 461 sq. (Kruman); Bringaud, in *Missions Catholiques*, vol. XX (1888), pp. 297 sq. (Karens); H. Ward, *Five Years with the Congo Cannibals* (London, 1890), pp. 53 sq. (Congo); A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *In Centraal Borneo* (Leyden, 1900), vol. I, pp. 148, 152 sq.; 164 sq.; id., *Quer durch Borneo* (Leyden, 1904-1907), vol. I, pp. 112 sq., 125 (Kayans); J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, vol. IV, p. 104 (China); Fr. Boas, *Sixth Report of the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, Sep. Repr. from the British Ass. for 1890, p. 44 (Nootkas); Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, (London, 1860), vol. I, p. 250 (Fiji).

8 For the use of iron as a protection against evil spirits, see *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, p. 135 and references.

9 *Cf. L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 132.

10 (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 236.

11 *Cf.* G. F. D'Penha, "Superstitions and Customs in Salsette," *Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII, p. 15; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *ibid.*

12 For cow-dung, see "Some Notes on Magic and Taboo in Bengal," *Indian Antiquary*, LVII, p. 110.

13 "For the purpose of regeneration it was directed to make an image of pure gold of the female power in nature, in the shape either of a woman or of a cow. In this statue the person to be regenerated is enclosed, and dragged through the usual channel. As the statue of pure gold and of proper dimensions would be too expensive, it is sufficient to make the image of the sacred *yoni*, through which the person to be regenerated is to pass."—*Asiatick Researches*, 4to ed., VI, pp. 535 sq., quoted by (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 113.

substantiated. With regard to the sacrifice of the hair there can be no doubt that the Hindus themselves regard this as a purificatory rite or as a rite of atonement. The expression *mâthâ murâna,* "to shave the head," signifies a sense of contrition in Bengal; and Oldenberg tells us that in ancient India this was done obviously for the purpose of purifying mourners from the dangerous influence of death and the ghost to which they for a time had been exposed.[14] The marriage ceremonies of the Bengalis also contribute materials for the study of magic. Among the ancient Hindus a bride was led thrice round the hearth of her new home[15]. This was probably meant not only to introduce her to the ancestral spirits[16] who had their seats there, but also to promote conception by allowing one of the spirits to enter into her. When the Hindu bridegroom led his bride round the fire, he addressed the fire-god Agni with the prayer, "*Mayst thou give back, Agni, to the husband the wife together with offspring.*"[17] The birth of a child is attended with a multitude of precautions and preservatives against evils both for the mother and for the child. In Chittagong when a woman has a difficult delivery, the midwife gives orders to throw all doors and windows open. to take the corks out of all the bottles, to remove the bungs from all casks, to unloose the cows in the stall, the horses in the stable, the watch-dog in the kennel. to set free sheep, fowls, ducks, and so forth ; and it is believed that by thus setting everything and everybody free from all restraints the woman must bring forth easily.[18] Here as the obstacles are removed. by the principles of homœopathic magic the difficulties of the woman, too, are sure to be overcome. Another magical rite of the ancient Hindus describes how the pangs of thirst may be transferred from a sick person to another. The performer seats the pair on branches. back to back. the sufferer facing the east and the other facing the west. Then he places a vessel with some gruel in it on the sufferer's head, and stirs it for a time, after which the other is made to drink the gruel. In this way the sick man's thirst is transferred to the other.[19] And still another example of magic in which something or somebody is used as a scape-goat is found when a younger brother commits the sin of marrying while his elder brother is still unmarried. In such a case he could purge himself of his sins by having fetters of reed-grass put upon him in token of his guilt. Afterwards the fetters were taken off. and when they had been washed and sprinkled, they were thrown into a flowing torrent. which swept them away, and the evil was bidden to vanish with the stream.[20] Last of all. the remarriage of Hindu widows, which have not the ordinary religious rites. and which generally takes place at night in the dark half of the month, furnish us with a very good example of magic and demonolatry[21] : for it is almost certain that it is actuated by a desire

14 H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin. 1894). pp. 426 sq.

15 *Grihya Sûtras*, tr. by H. Oldenberg (*SBE.*, vol. XXIX), vol. I, pp. 37, 168, 279, 283. 382. 384 : vol. II. pp. 46. 191. 260 ; M. Winternitz, "Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell," *Denkschrift der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* (Vienna, 1892), pp. 4, 56-62 ; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 312 G. A. Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life* (Calcutta, 1885), p. 368; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings*, vol. II, p. 230.

16 *Cf.* the Chinese custom of the bride bowing to the ancestral tablets after the marriage ceremony is over (*Verbal communication* by my friend Dr. Ting).

17 *Grihya Sûtras*, tr. by H. Oldenberg (*SBE.*, vol. XXIX), vol. I, p. 283.

18 Th. Berengier, "Croyances superstitieuses dans le pays de Chittagong," *Missions Catholiques*, XIII (1881), p. 515, quoted by (Sir) G. J. Frazer, *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, p. 297.

19 W. Caland, *Altindisches Zauberrituel*, (Amsterdam, 1900). p. 83 ; *Hymns of the Atharva Veda*, tr. by Maurice Bloomfield (Oxford, 1893), pp. 308 sq. (*SBE.*, vol. XLII) ; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 38.

20 H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), p. 322 ; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, p. 3.

21 (Sir) E. A. Gait (*General Report of the Census of India*, 1911 [London, 1914], pp. 247), commenting on the widow remarriage of the Hindus says, "It has been suggested that there is a spirit basis for the rule that the marriage of a widow must take place at night in the dark half of the month, namely, the belief that the spirit of the first husband may be enraged at his widow marrying again and the consequent desire to escape his notice. It has also been suggested that a bachelor marrying a widow first performs a mock marriage with some plant or other object (cf. *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 78 sq.) in the belief that the new

to hoodwink the ghost of the deceased husband, not so much by escaping his notice altogether as by making him think that the ceremony is merely a sham and not a real one[22]. And even the *Bhagavadgîtâ* of the Hindus seems to have a magical character, for there we read :

gîtâyâh ślokadaśakaṁ sapta pañca catuṣṭayam
dvau trînekaṁ tadardhaṁ vâ ślokânâṁ yaḥ paṭhennaraḥ
candralokamavâpnoti varṣâṇâmayûtaṁ dhruvam.[23]

or, " He who reads ten, seven, five, four, two, three, one or (even) only one-half a *śloka* (verse) from the Gîtâ will certainly live for ten thousand years in the lunar heaven."

(To be continued.)

MISCELLANEA.

SACRIFICE OF TWINS FOR RAIN.

The accompanying note from *The Times* of 17 August 1928, reporting the case of murder of twins as a rain-charm, might have been sent from India; but it refers to Rhodesia. It exhibits two points commonly observable all over India : the persistence of old custom under British discouragement and the woodenness of the application of British law to a civilisation entirely foreign to the inhabitants of the British Isles.

"Two cases were before the Court here [Bulawayo] to-day [16 August 1928] of natives murdering twins in accordance with native law. It is the belief of the Blacks that to kill twins ensures a good rainfall, the process adopted being strangulation with a grass rope, placing the bodies of the victims in a pot, and throwing them into a river.

The parents in these cases are not accused, but the grandparents and a mother-in-law are; one mother, however, said that she did not object. She had not fed the children since their birth, as it was against native law.

This custom has been followed here for many years. One of the cases before the Court to-day having occurred several years ago, the Judge said it was undesirable to go back too far, or half the natives in the country would be in Court. He passed sentence of death in each case, but expressed the view that it was not likely to be carried out. The custom, he explained, was one which Europeans were seeking to eradicate, but the accused in each case had pleaded that they were unaware that they were committing any criminal act : they were acting according to their law."

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husband's first wife would ordinarily be the main object of the spirit's revenge, and that a man not previously married might be attacked himself unless he provides a bogus wife as a substitute.

"An objection to this theory is that the dark half of the month is specially associated with spirits, and that the night is the very time when they return to earth. The mock marriage of a bachelor seems rather to be intended to bring him on the same level with the widow. The Punjab superintendent suggests that the real object in view in selecting the time mentioned for a widow's marriage *is to prevent the gods from knowing anything about it*: the dead of the night and the dark half of the month are particularly disagreeable to the gods, and all worship is forbidden between midnight and 4 a.m. On the other hand, certain customs exist which support the theory. In the Central Provinces a second wife of the Chitâri caste worships the spirit of the dead first wife, offering it some food and a breast cloth, in order to placate it and prevent it from troubling her. In the Punjab, the death of subsequent wives is often believed to be caused by the angry spirit of the first (cf. the German superstition where the ghost of the former wife is said to dance at the second wedding of her husband - A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, p. 216, quoted in *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, p. 212) : and for this reason, amongst the Arorâs of the western Punjab, the subsequent wife, at the time of her marriage, wears round her neck the picture of the first, or a paper on which her name is written, thus identifying herself with her predecessor. The Koltas of Simla are believed that a bachelor marrying a widow would become an evil spirit after death, if he did not go through a mock marriage of the kind described above.

"The real explanation may be much simpler. Sometimes there is a rule that ordinary marriages must take place during the bright half of the month so that the moon may witness them. As widow marriage is looked down on, the converse rule may simply mean that the ceremony, being of a less reputable character, is one which the moon should not witness."—The *italics* are my own.

22 See note 21.

23 *Ś[illegible]mayam*, 15 (*Srîmadbhagavadgîtâ*, edited with Commentaries and Notes [in Bengali], by [illegible] Mukharji, Calcutta, Metcalfe Press, 1319 [Beng. era], p. 414).

BOOK-NOTICES.

LE BAYON D'ANGKOR ET L'ÉVOLUTION DE L'ART KHMER, par P. STERN 7¼"×5"; pp. xii+217, with 22 Plates. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1927.

Hitherto it had generally been accepted that the Bayon temple at Angkor in Cambodia was built in the time of Yaśovarman (889-910 A.D.). As a result of an extensive and careful study of Khmer art and its development, further details of which he intends to publish in a work on Khmer Statuary and its Evolution, M. Stern has come to the decision that this imposing structure must be assigned to a date some 150 years later. The far-reaching effects of this conclusion upon the chronology of the monuments at Angkor and in its neighbourhood will be appreciated by those who have made a study of these remarkable remains of Khmer art. Passing over the pre-Angkor structures (sixth, seventh and perhaps eighth centuries), regarding which there is little difference of opinion, and putting the case very briefly, it may be said that M. Stern has been led by his study of the evolution of Khmer sculpture during the so-called "classic" period of that art (9th to 13th centuries) to group it under two main style periods, namely 1st and 2nd, each marked by distinctive features, which he describes in detail. To the 1st period he would assign the Phimanakas, the Baray Oriental and Phnom Bakhen (all of which, he thinks, can be definitely attributed to Yaśovarman), the Koh Ker group and, towards its close, the Baphuon. The 2nd period is represented by the Bayon, the city gateways, Prasat Chun, the Te[illegible] races, Ta Prohm and Bantay Kdei, all of which he assigns to the first sub-period of that style. Angkor Vat, which M. Coedès would [illegible] the middle of the twelfth century, he allots to the [illegible] period of this style; while [illegible] represented by Bantay Srei, [illegible] the last monuments erected at Angkor.

M. Stern discusses the architectural and sculptural details under many heads, showing how [illegible] vary in the different periods, [illegible] his general conclusions, and then goes on to refute objections that may be advanced against his views. The facts and arguments have been set forth clearly and skilfully. He sums up the position where he writes (pp. 52-53) that the date now suggested for the Bayon seems to be required by the evolution of the sculpture; it is presumable from the materials re-employed in the construction of the Buddha of Tep Pranam and from the religious and historical facts; it overcomes the difficulties created by the chronology hitherto accepted; it is supported by considerations of style, which place the Bayon not only after the Phimanakas but also after the Baphuon; it agrees with the inscriptions, and is strikingly confirmed by recent discoveries.

The author makes interesting suggestions as to the original lay-out of the capital by Yaśovarman, with the Phimanakas as the central point, and the later remodelling thereof, with the Bayon as centre. He also deals shrewdly with the interpretation of the Sdok Kak Thom and Lovêk inscriptions respectively. He would identify the central massif of the Bayon with the "golden mountain" constructed by Udayâdityavarman II (1049—c. 1065). The Bayon, he thinks, may possibly have been commenced before Sûryavarman I (1002—1049), but that in any case it was completed by him—a Buddhist king. Then came Udayâdityavarman II, who apparently rebuilt the central massif on a more grandiose plan, and, owing to an anti-Buddhist reaction, the Bodhisattvas (Lokeśvara) were masked and other Buddhist features obliterated by the hammer and chisel.

In this connexion we commend to our readers perusal of a brochure entitled *L'Origine d'Angkor* by Prof. L. Finot, which seems to have been published at Phnom-Penh shortly before the appearance of the work under review. M. Finot therein sets forth the reasons that have led him to the conclusion that Angkor was originally "like Bantear Chmar, a Buddhist city placed under the protection of Lokeśvara," that its founder must have been a Buddhist king, whom he is inclined to identify with Jayavarman II, Parameśvara (802—869). Further evidence, epigraphical or other, may at any time be discovered that will help to a definite decision of the problems involved; but, whatever be the final verdict, M. Stern has rendered important service by bringing new light to bear upon them in a work that must be regarded as remarkable in more than one respect.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

[illegible] IN PRE-CHRISTIAN BRITAIN, by DONALD A. MACKENZIE. Blackie and Son, Ltd., London [illegible], 1928.

[illegible] pical book on the *Distribution* [illegible] The [illegible] *of Buddhism in Ancient Britain* [illegible] on the discovery in a dried peat [illegible] of the Gundestrup Bowl, on which [illegible] god Cernunnos is postured like a typical Buddha, and [illegible] is pointed out for the first time in this volume, the attributes of the Hindu Buddhist god Virûpâksha." This in the writer's opinion supports the claims of Aśoka to religious conquests in Europe and Origen's statement that Britain in the third century had "long been predisposed to it [Christianity] through the doctrines of the Druids and Buddhists, who had already inculcated the unity of the godhead."

First let us consider dates: Asoka third century B.C., Origen, third century A.D.; Cernunnos and Gundestrup Bowl, first century A.D. Cernunnos became Herne the Hunter of Shakespeare and St. Kentigern of Glasgow and "is no other than Virûpâksha, a Hindu Buddhist god of the west—that is a form of

the Western Buddha Amida, whose greatness is extolled in those Buddhist *Sûtras*, which speak of the Western Paradise as the home of pure souls after death." What then is the date of Virûpâksha? He is clearly not an ancient Buddhist personage, but a late Mahâyâna god, and it is difficult to conceive his existence or shall we say invention till after the seventh century, A.D. The frontispiece of Mr. Mackenzie's book gives an illustration of Virûpâksha from a modern Tibetan painting. Virûpâksha as such could have had no influence on the Cernunnos of the Gunderstrup Bowl from Denmark if that is correctly attributed to the first century A.D. He certainly had no connection with Aśokan Buddhism.

On page 44 (Plate IV) is given an illustration of a plaque from the Gunderstrup Bowl showing Cernunnos.—"the Celtic horned god Cernunnos as a Buddha," writes Mr. Mackenzie. But the squatting attitude is not so much Buddhist as Hindu. As to these attitudes one has to be most careful, since they are all conventional and are minutely described in many Indian books on iconography. In any case Virûpâksha is an aboriginal god of the regions north of India proper, one of very many drafted into Mahâyâna Buddhism in comparatively late times not older than Islam, and cannot possibly have had any influence as such on pre-Christian Britain.

If Mr. Mackenzie had held that the general religious influence that brought about the picture of Cernunnos in the Gunderstrup Bowl in the first century of the Christian era could be shown to be identical with that which produced the god which was drafted into Mahâyâna Buddhism much later, there might be that in his argument which would be worth full enquiry. But that is a very different thing from holding that Cernunnos is Virûpâksha and therefore Buddhist.

R. C. TEMPLE.

LE MUSEE GUIMET (1918–1927). $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$; pp. 146, with 15 Plates. Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1928.

This little volume dealing with the development of the Musée Guimet during the decade 1918-27 will be most welcome to students as well as to ordinary visitors. The museum, which was originally established at Lyon in 1879 by M. Émile Guimet on his return from the mission entrusted to him for the study of the religions of the Far East, was transferred to Paris in 1888, becoming a national institution. Assisted by the State and enriched by gifts from travellers and benefactors, it has rapidly developed in scope, and though primarily intended for the study of the history of religions, its collections also serve to elucidate far eastern art, history and civilization generally. The series of publications issued under the auspices of the museum are well known.

The usefulness of the institution will be greatly enhanced by the rearrangement of the exhibits from different countries on lines suited to the requirements of scientific study. The large additions include objects received from the missions of MM. Ed. Chavannes, Paul Pelliot, Bacot, Foucher and others, besides numerous gifts from private individuals noted, on pp. 39-53, illustrating principally the valuable work of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient. In regard to the Cambodian exhibits this little work helps towards an appreciation of the characteristics of the different styles into which M. Philippe Stern divides the art of Angkor. The plates have been excellently produced. Prominent among them is that of the striking youthful image of the Buddha protected by a Nâga, found at Prah Khan, with the smile so characteristic, according to M. Stern, of the second period of Angkor art: "et qui a compris cette statue a compris tout le Bouddhisme."

The proximity of the Trocadero, with its collection of replicas of the larger monuments and of architectural details, and the collaboration between the two institutions enable the student to extend his range of studies, while the ordinary visitor will be fascinated by the rich display of treasures from the Far East.

The library has perhaps suffered most from the financial difficulties resulting from the great war and the enhanced cost of books. The *Annales du Musée Guimet* and the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, however, continued to appear; and the zeal and initiative of M. Paul Geuthner seconded by M. Ort have enabled the publication of the *Bibliothèque d'Études* and the *Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation* to be now resumed.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

ANNUAL REPORT ON SOUTHERN EPIGRAPHY, 1926-1927. Madras, 1928, by G. Venkoba Rao.

This report contains a quantity of valuable information. The writer collected 214 inscriptions in three months in the South, in Tinnevelly, Ramnad and so on, and besides these six others from Malabar and one Brâhmî inscription from Pedavegi in the Kistna district have been included in the reports.

Brâhmî inscriptions have also been unearthed by one Assistant in the Buddhist remains at Nâgârjunikondu and Râmireddipalle in the Guntur and Kistna districts and twenty-two more which throw light on the Ikhâku dynasty. In addition there are thirty more Kannada inscriptions in South Kanara, one of them in Portuguese. Another Assistant discovered no less 257 inscriptions in Ramnad, Madura, Tanjore and Coimbatore, and again 100 yet others in Ganjam, Kistna and other Telugu districts. All this shows that the officials of the Department travelled wisely as well as continuously and their efforts have resulted in the collection of historical details that cannot but be of the greatest value to searchers in South Indian history. A fine plate of a statue of Gôvinda Dîkshita at Pattîsvaram (Tanjore) is in my copy bound upside down.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE POWER OF MAGIC IN BENGAL.

BY BIREN BONNERJEA, D.LITT. (PARIS).

(*Continued from p. 78.*)

We have seen already that diseases are said to be caused in Bengal either by malignant demons or by the evil eye, which may or may not be intentional; therefore divers amulets are worn as a protection against them[24]. Spencer, speaking of amulets, says: " Portions of dead men and animals, though not exclusively the things for them, are the ordinary things. That which the sorceror employs as an instrument of coercion is, when a talisman, held as securing the good offices of the ghost, was a protection against it. The custom, common among many savages, of wearing about them bones of dead relatives, has probably this meaning; which . . . . was the avowed meaning of the Koniaga-whalers in keeping as charms bits of the flesh of a dead campanion . . . . Races who are in danger from ferocious animals often use as amulets the preservable parts of such animals. Of the Damaras, Anderson says that their amulets are generally the teeth of lions and hyaenas, entrails of animals, etc., and that the Namaqua-amulets consist 'as usual of the teeth and claws of lions, hyaenas and other wild beasts; pieces of wood, bones, dried flesh and fat, roots of plants, etc.' Among the charms belonging to a Dyak medicine-man were—some teeth of alligators and honey-bears, several boar's tusks, chips of deer horn, tangles of coloured thread, claws of some animals, and odds and ends of European articles . . . . Enumerating the amulets of the Brazilian Indians, Spix and Martins name 'the eye-tooth of ounces and monkeys;' and they say the Indian thinks his amulets, among other benefits, 'will protect him against the attacks of wild beasts'[25]." Similarly, among the Hindus amulets of the teeth and claws of tigers and the teeth of crocodiles are worn simply because these are two of the most dreaded animals of Bengal[26]. In the forests of the Sundarban, the district at the mouth of the Ganges, which is infested with man-eating tigers and crocodiles, to whose ferocity many wood-cutters fall a prey every year, the people abstain from calling them tigers—they call them jackals (*śiāl*) instead[27]; there the people often use the claws and teeth of the beasts as protection against them.

Not only are the religious practices of the Bengali magical in character, but it would be safe to say that there is hardly anything in his daily life which is incapable of being interpreted in the same way. Bathing, for instance, is not only for cleanliness but it is a purificatory rite. With them a bath, generally speaking, consists, as anyone who has seen a Hindu taking a bath will readily admit, in pouring a jug of water while standing up. This is done undoubtedly in the belief that water washes away not only physical but moral impurities too[28]. In some places of pilgrimage on the banks of a river, men who consider themselves great sinners have their heads shaved, and bathe in the river, from which they come out with all their sins washed out[29]. A bath is further necessary both before and after all important undertakings, such as marriage, death, for mourners, and so forth; in all of which cases it is nothing but a purificatory rite, the direct object being to wash away the sins of the mind.

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24 Cf. *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, pp. 20, 35, 62, 103, 128, 129, 215, 258, 263, 267; *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 139. Compare E. Réclus, *Nouvelle Géographie universelle*, vol. VII, "L'Asie Orientale," (Paris, 1882), pp. 78, 79 (Tibet); *Jewish Encyclopœdia*, vol. V, p. 726 (Jews); J. Knebel, "Amulettes javanaises," *Tijdschrift van indische Taal-Landen Volkenkunde*, XL (1898) (Java); E. Krause, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. XV (1883), p. 84 (Berlin); Fr. Boas, in *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History*, XV, pt. i (1901), p. 160 (Esquimaux); S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom* (New York, 1883), vol. II, p. 256 (China).

25 Herbert Spencer, *Principles of Sociology* (A System of Synthetic Philosophy, vol. VI. [London, 1906]), vol. I, p. 245, § 133, note.*

26 *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 106; *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, p. 260.

27 D. Sunder, "Exorcism of Wild Animals in the Sunderbans," *JASB.*, LXXII, pt. ii (Calcutta, 1904), pp. 45 sq., 51.

28 The same belief was prevalent among the Peruvian Indians, (see P. J. de Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la idolatria del Piru* [Lima, 1621], p. 29).

29 (Sir) M. Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 375.

And in one instance, at least, there is a regular ceremonial bathing among the Hindus of Bengal. On the birthday of a young child, ten different kinds of flowers, or, in default of flowers, ten different kinds of leaves are placed in a sieve along with bits of gold and silver. Afterwards water is poured over the head of the child through the sieve, the water being allowed to drop over and filter through the substances contained in the sieve. The avowed object of this ceremonial bathing is to ensure health and prosperity to the child during the coming year[30]. The gold and silver symbolize riches, and as the water passes freely over the ten different flowers, so will the child be able to go through all the dangers of life without harm.

Taboo, as we know, is negative magic. The principal taboos are those which forbid the eating of certain kinds of foods. The most important food taboos of the Bengalis relate to the partaking of beef, onions, garlic, and so on[31]. The Hindus are by no means the only people who refuse to eat certain kinds of food, but it is known among nearly every nation. Porphyrius, a Christian of Tyre, who lived in the second century A.D., asserts that an Egyptian or a Phœnician would rather eat human flesh than a cow's, and among the modern Chinese there is still a certain unconscious loathing for beef, for a Chinaman would not consider it proper to offer beef to an honoured guest[32]. A Jew or a Muhammadan refuses to eat pork ; to them nothing could be worse than pig's flesh, to which even the power of making women barren is attributed[33]. A Pârsî, professing the Zoroastrian religion, looks with abhorrence on dog's flesh, and we ourselves regard cat's and horse's flesh with loathing if not horror ; but there are some North American Indians who consider dog's flesh as the best available food. The Banazirs of French Congo and the Nagas of India also think the same, and meals of it are accompanied by a regular ritual. Eels are taboo to many Bengal tribes[34], the inhabitants of Ponape, the Dyaks, and so on, although the last named have no objection to eating snakes. Fish is taboo to South African Bantus, some Canary Islanders, Tuaregs, Tasmanians and many others ; and the Veddahs and Tuaregs, for example, loathe fowl. In Eastern Africa many tribes are not particular as to eating offal, but they look upon eggs as a perfect horror, and are shocked at Europeans who eat them ; and some Negroes of French Congo cannot imagine how anyone could drink milk[35]. The Bengali *pañjikâ* or *pâṅji*, a book giving detailed instructions for the conduct of a person during each day of the year, gives a list of fruit, vegetables, and so on, which may be taboo for each day, as also tells what a person should do in order to have an auspicious day, or what he should avoid doing in order to prevent a day from being inauspicious. In other words, the *pâṅji* is nothing short of a book of magic[36]. Women are regarded as inferior to men, because it is expressly stated in the religious books that they should be so. We read in the laws of Manu that " by a girl, by a young woman, or even by an aged one nothing must be done independently, even in her own house. In childhood a female must be subject to her father, in youth to her husband, when her lord is dead to her sons ; a woman must never be independent."[37] Therefore they too are taboo, especially at certain times, such as, for instance, during menstruation ;

30 Communicated by my friend Anil K. Das, M.Sc., D.Sc.

31 " Some Notes on Magic, &c.," *Indian Antiquary*, LVII, p. 111.

32 Communicated by my friend Dr. Ts'ing Chao Ting (of Honan).

33 Cf. H. Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*[4] (Leipzig, 1895), vol. I, p. 508.

34 Cf. *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 135 and Index.

35 Cf. W. Sumner, *Folkways* (Boston, [1907]), p. 339, §§ 353, 354.

36 The *pâṅji* is annually published by the Gupta and other presses, and is to be found without exception in every Hindu household. It is as necessary to a pious Hindu as the Bible is to a Christian ; in fact more so, for nothing can be undertaken without its help.

37 *Manu*, V, 147, 148 ; cf. V, 154 ; IX. 2 ; XI, 139. Cf. *Śatapatha Brâhmaṇa*, 1. 3, 1. 9, quoted by Prof. Sylvain Lévi, *La doctrine du Sacrifice dans les Brahmanes* (Paris, 1898), p. 157 ; *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 70.

and a woman in her period is not allowed to touch, either actually or by implication, any eatables[38].

Magic plays a significant role in the daily life of the Bengali, and its power is unlimited. Many of the magical practices of the modern Hindus may be traced to mythological allusions. It is said in Hindu mythology that there was a period when the Vindhya Hills began to grow higher and higher without stopping, so that the danger of the whole sky (?) being filled with the growing rock was imminent. All the gods were in despair, but nothing could be done to stop this objectionable growth. At last Agastya Muni, a renowned sage, who was also the master or teacher (*guru*) of the Vindhya hills (or the spirit of the mountain), undertook the task. When he went to the foot of the Vindhya hills, the rock, out of respect for his teacher, lowered its head, and remained in that position without growing. After a few moments the *muni* left the rock with the injunction to remain in that position till his return, which the dutiful pupil obeyed; but the *muni* never returned, and the rock is still waiting with bowed head for its master's return before it can resume its growth. This happened either on the last or on the first day of the month, it is not certain which. Hence the Bengali is afraid to go on a journey on the first or on the last day of a month because, like Agastya Muni, he may never return. To this day a journey undertaken on these days is called *Agastya-jâtrâ*, and is most inauspicious.[39] By a similar train of reasoning another children's superstition has grown up. Nârada, an ancient sage, is reputed to have been of a quarrelsome nature. Hence, mischievous boys and girls, who take pleasure in seeing discord between other people, tap the two thumb-nails together, or beat two little pieces of stick together, and keep on repeating the name of Nârada when people are quarrelling in their presence. The name of Nârada will feed the flame of anger, and as the thumb-nails are tapped together so will the parties come to blows.

All simple actions of life are hedged round with peculiar rituals of their own. A Bengali woman is superstitious about cleaning out her ears after nightfall, because she thinks that such a procedure may do her some bodily injury. The evil, however, may be avoided by asking permission of anyone present; that is to say, whoever gives the permission will have to take the consequences. But if no one is present and she still wishes to clean her ears, she avoids all evil consequences by asking permission of the wall by addressing it as follows:

" *Deyâl, deyâl! kâne kâṭi deba?* "

" Wall, wall, shall I clean out my ears (put the stick in my ear)? "

and answering in the affirmative herself.[39] A well-known folk-remedy for diseases of the eye is to eat fish; and it is said that since fish can see well in the dark, all those who eat the head and eyes of a fish will, by virtue of contagious magic, become clear-sighted.[40] Among the Bengalis the head is sacred. All things that are sacred are taboo, if not entirely, still to a

[38] For the taboo of menstruating women, see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*², vol. III, p. 225; id., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, Ch. IV, § 3, pp. 145-157; *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, p. 165; *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, pp. 79 sq.; Miriam van Waters, *The Adolescent Girl among Primitive Peoples* (Doctor Dissertation of the Clark University); W. Sumner, *Folkways*,(Boston, [1907], p. 513, § 561); J. Darmsteter, *Zend Avesta* (Oxford, 1880), p. xcii (among the Zoroastrians); S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), p. 31 (the Karoks of California); A. B. Ellis, *The Tschi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa* (London, 1887), p. 94 (Tschi-speaking peoples) R. Maran, *Batoualah, a Negro Novel of French Congo* (London, 1922), pp. 119 sq. (Negroes of French Congo); J. Bergel, *Die Medizin der Talmudisten* (Leipzig and Berlin), p. [159] (Talmudic Jews); Pliny, *Natural History*, VII, 64 sq., XXVIII, 77 sq. (the ancient Romans); Aijûb Abelâ, " Beiträge zur Kenntnis abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrian," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vol. VII (1885), p. 11 (Syria); R. Andrée, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde* (Brunwick, 1896), p. 291 (Germans of Brunswick); (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*², vol. III, p. 225 (Guayquiris of Orinoco).

[39] Communicated by Dr. Anil K. Das.

[40] I remember this prescription being given for my sister who was suffering from cataract in both eyes, and was nearly blind [in the district of Nadiyâ]. Needless to say that the only medicine that was of any use to her was an operation, and not the fish-eyes.

certain degree at least. If a person accidentally touches another's head with his foot, which is unclean, he believes that the person whose head is thus defiled will surely die a speedy death unless measures are taken immediately to avert such a calamity. The thing usually done in such cases is to bless the owner of the head if he be inferior or younger, and to bow to him (*pranâm karâ*) if he be superior or older than the delinquent.[41] Some of the most common and everyday actions of life are fraught with a multitude of hidden dangers, such as, to name a few, answering the calls of nature after dark, yawning, sneezing, and so on. A simple precaution recommended in all these cases is to put the middle finger and the thumb of the right hand together and then to quickly bring back the middle finger to the palm of the hand with a sharp clicking sound (*tuṛi deoyâ*).

Thus we see that the power of magic in Bengal is greater than one imagines. Magic is omnipotent and omniscient. There is no domain of life where it is not used. Whether at home or abroad, whether sleeping or waking, whether at work or at play, whether conscious or unconscious, the Bengali is forced to admit the existence of superior powers, which hold his destiny in their hands, and which could make or mar him for life, so that he either has to placate them or get into their good graces in some other way, and the path he has worked out for himself is that of Magic.

HINDU AND NON-HINDU ELEMENTS IN THE KATHA SARIT SAGARA.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page 47.*)

2-b. Witches and Black Magic.

In the somewhat complicated *Story of Phalabhûti* (pp. 94 ff.) we have a different view of magic powers, this time relating to Black Magic. In the course of the story, king Adityaprabha of Śrikaṇṭha has a wife Kuvalayâvati, whom he catches performing some rather lurid witches' rites (pp. 98-99), and to explain herself she relates a bundle of little stories. She tells him (p. 103) how she saw that her companions "had flown up by their own power and were disporting themselves in the fields of the air." She called them and asked them "about the nature of their magic power. They immediately gave her this answer: 'These are the [black] magic powers of witches' spells, and they are due to the eating of human flesh, and our teacher in this is a Brâhmaṇ woman known by the name of Kâlarâtri.'" Queen Kuvalayâvalî then commanded them to cause her "to be instructed in this science." Kâlarâtri is described as an ugly typical witch, such as are common in European folktales, and on her teaching Kuvalayâvati became (p. 104) "one of the society of witches" and a cannibal ceremonially. Kâlarâtri has a husband, Vishṇusvâmin, a learned Brâhmaṇ, and as his wife is thoroughly bad we are treated at pp. 105 ff. to a version of the tale of Potiphar's wife, despite the ill-looks of the heroine. This brings her into trouble with the king, who "made up his mind to cut off her ears, but she, when seized, disappeared before the eyes of all the spectators." After which, the king, somewhat unnecessarily, forbade her to live in his kingdom (p. 111). Here clearly Black Magic, unlike White Magic, is not inherent in any being, nor is it granted to mortals by immortals, but is acquired by certain occult practices.

41 Cf. *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 125. The head is taboo not only among the Hindus of Bengal, but amongst many other nations. Thus, in Tahiti any one who passed his hand over the head of a king or queen, or stood over them, was liable to be punished with death (W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches* 2 [London, 1832-1836], vol. III, p. 102), and the head of a Maori chief was so sacred that if he only touched it with his fingers, "he was obliged immediately to apply them to his nose and snuff up the sanctity." (R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants* [London, 1870], p. 165). Cf., further, A. Bastian, *Völker des östlichen Asien* (Leipzig, 1866), vol. II, p. 256; E. B. Gross, "On the Karens," *JAOS.*, IV, pp. 311 sq.; D. Barbosa, *Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century* (Hakl. Soc. [London, 1866]), p. 197; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, vol. I, pp. 362 sq.; id., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, Ch. V, § 5, "The Head Tabooed", pp. 252-257.

2-c. Witches' Spells.

Then occurs a passage (pp. 111-112) which is by way of accounting for all the stories : "Having said this to her husband, the king Adityaprabha, the queen Kuvalayâvalî went on to say : 'King, such (black) magic powers, produced by the spells of witches, do exist and this thing happened in my father's kingdom, and it is famous in the world, and, as I told you at first, I am a pupil of Kâlarâtri, but because I am devoted to my husband I possess greater powers even than she did. And to-day you saw me just at the time when I had performed ceremonies to ensure your welfare, and was endeavouring to attach a spell to a man to offer as a victim. So do you enter now into our practice, and set your foot on the head of all kings, conquering them by [black] magic."

Here we have another source of magic power, the witch and her spells, and again it may be that Somadeva has gone to yet another source for his inspiration. At any rate, Mr. Penzer here notes that kings in ancient Egypt and in mediæval Europe dabbled in magic, black and white, to increase their power.

3. The Magic Knot.

In *The Story of the Golden City*, the young Brâhman Śaktideva sets out (p. 188) to find it "from the city of Vardhamâṇa (Bardhwân), directing his course to the Southern Quarter, as he journeyed he at last reached the great forest of the Vindhya range." Here by "a great lake of pure cold water in a lonely spot" he finds (p. 189) "an old hermit named Sûryatapas, ... adorned with a rosary, the beads of which, by their number, seemed to be the number that marked the centuries of his life." Later on, the hermit tells him he "had lived 800 years in the hermitage." All this is, unfortunately, rather vague, for we are not told how many beads there were in the rosary, but there must have been more than eight. However, Mr. Penzer points out that the Hindu custom is to make a knot for every year of a person's life in string or thread round the paper scroll on which the calculations of his nativity are inscribed, and he quotes the *Uttara-râma-carita* to show that the "lucky knot" was tied every twelve years.

The use of knots seems to be world wide for many purposes, and it is possible that their use in magic and ritual may have arisen simply out of their uses in practical work-a-day life.

4. The Magic Circle.

The idea of the Magic Circle has had a wide vogue in Asia and Europe for a very long time. It occurs in this Volume in a tale filled with Folklore, *The Story of Phalabhûti*, where on p. 98 we read that Kuvalayâvalî, the queen of Âdityaprabha of Srîkaṇṭha, performed the rites of witchcraft, *i.e.*, black magic, "in the midst of a great circle strewn with various coloured powders." This statement draws from Mr. Penzer a valuable note on the Magic Circle, showing its use as a vantage ground of safety for the performers of black magic, as a protective barrier generally, and also as a prison from which there is no escape. It was all this as the emblem of finality and continuity.

On p. 295 he gives at length a mediæval version of the story of Aristotle's method of saving Alexander the Great from the poison damsel. The girl is killed by having a circle of the juice of dittany (the Greek name of a plant with supposed healing powers) traced round about her. She cannot get out of this Magic Circle, and dies suddenly. Aristotle is said to have first tried the circle of dittany juice round a "dreadful snake." Mr. Penzer also quotes from Mr. R. Campbell Thompson's *Semitic Magic* to trace an origin for this story. This raises the question as to the origin of the Magic Circle in India, and as Mr. Penzer tells us (p. 100) that he will later on add a further note "on the Magic Circle," perhaps he will go into the question of the place of origin of the idea.

5. Witches, Vampires and Their Accompaniments.

We have seen above that queen Kuvalayâvalî was a witch (p. 104), and it is worthwhile to enquire somewhat into her nature, and into that of witchcraft and the like, as shown

in this Volume. In the *Story of Vidûshaka*, the hero goes into "a cemetery," or rather crematory or burning-ghât, at night. On p. 60 we read that "in the middle of that cemetery the cries of vultures and jackals were swelled by the screams of Witches, and the flames of the funeral pyres were reinforced by the fires in the mouths of the fire-breathing demons (Vețâla, Vampire). So here we have the Witch closely associated with the Vampire, as the natural frequenters of places for the disposal of the dead. The Vețâla or Vampire was a demon that tenanted dead bodies, a vitalised corpse. But in modern European folktales he appears to be a corpse which sucks the blood of sleeping persons : a form of him hinted at in beliefs going back to Chaldæan days. Mr. Penzer shows also (p. 61) that the Vampire is as old as the Babylonian and Assyrian times, and he is common in Russian folklore. Was he then introduced into India by the Âryans in their irruptions ?

On the other hand, one must be careful as to translating Vețâla by Vampire, as on p. 201, in that typical tale of the folk, *Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta*, we read that the hero (Aśokadatta) entered a crematory at night, and according to Tawney's translation (p. 201), "in it the Vețâlas made terrible music with the clapping of their hands, so that it seemed as if it were the palace of black night." But Mr. Penzer tells us (p. 201) that Barnett's translation of the passage is : "while the tuneless hand-clapping of goblins rang out : it was like black night in our palace." So here we have Vețâla translated by Goblin by a great authority. As this enquiry proceeds it becomes evident that in folktales several kinds of evil spirits get mixed up with the Vampire, but the above quotations show how careful one should be in making translations and working on them.

The teacher of queen Kuvalayâvalî was the witch Kâlarâtri, "a Brâhmaṇ woman (p. 103)," who looked (p. 104) : "as if the Creator had made her as a specimen of his skill in producing ugliness." The details are disgusting and remind one of those commonly given in modern India to describe the *churel*, or malignant ghost of a woman who has died in child-birth. This ascription of hideousness is not confined to India, but is equally typical of the delineation of witches by old Arab writers. Kâlarâtri's proceedings generally, and those in which she initiates Kuvalayâvalî into "the Society of Witches (p. 104) " are common also to European Folklore, German and other, and are such as to make one careful as to assigning the ultimate origin to Europe or to Asia.

5-a. Potiphar's Wife : the Woman scorned.

There is a good deal about Kâlarâtri in this Volume. On p. 105 we have *The Story of Sundaraka and the Witches*, where, oddly as it may sound from the description of her appearance, she plays the part of Potiphar's Wife with the hero, whose own "beauty of person was set off by his excellent character." Here we have a common character of witches, as women of evil nature.

This instance of the Scorned Woman gives Mr. Penzer an opportunity for a fine note (pp. 120-124) on a tale, "which enters into every collection of stories in the world." He traces it everywhere, East and West, in a manner worthy the attention of all folklorists, and he winds up with the remarkable statement that "from the East it has travelled slowly Westwards. An interesting point is that it can be traced from East to West in the same collection of stories—that of "the *Sindibâd Nâma* Cycle." This is no doubt an arresting remark and all I can do is to point it out to those who wish to study Mr. Penzer's notes leading up to it.

5-b. Witches' Spells and Magic Powers.

Witches are described as being endowed with Magic Powers, in Kâlarâtri's case exercised by way of spells, which enable them to fly the air upwards and down again, and to take with them whatever they want : *e.g.*, (p. 109) a cow house, and on p. 110 we read that Sundaraka himself "by the help of the (Witches') spell suddenly flew up into heaven with the palace." This is a method explaining the power that creates the magic carpet and so on, which is worth observing.

Spells are naturally used by witches for all manner of purposes, and queen Kuvalayâvalî admits (p. 117) that she endeavoured to attract by a spell a man to herself in order to offer him as a victim (for ceremonial cannibal rites). She also explains how her magic powers through spells were acquired, saying (p. 113) that "I suddenly saw that those companions of mine had flown up by their own powers and were disporting themselves in the fields of the air." So she called them down and made them explain the nature of their Magic Power. "They immediately gave me this answer: 'These are the Magic Powers of Witches' Spells, and they are due to the eating of human flesh, and our teacher in this is a Brâhmaṇ woman, known by the name of Kâlarâtri'." On p. 104 we have the ceremony and learn that the flesh must be that which "has been offered in sacrifice to the gods."

So magic powers come by Spells taught by a teacher, who taught ceremonial cannibalism. Here is a really useful tracing of a folk idea to its base. Further, in the queen's calling down her witch companions from the air, we see that the witches were so very human as to obey their uninitiated mistress at once.

5-c. Overhearing.

The Story of Sundaraka and the Witches is so full of folklore relating to the "Society of the Witches" as to be worth thorough study, for Sundaraka, when he saw Kâlarâtri (pp. 106 f.), "called to mind the spells that drive away Râkshasas (demons), and bewildered by those spells Kâlarâtri did not see him." Here we have the counter-spell, against which the powers of evil are impotent all the world over. We have also incidentally the identification of witches and *râkshasas* as malignant beings with supernatural powers. But almost immediately afterwards (on p. 107) is a sentence, which sets Mr. Penzer on a long and valuable note, which however is unfinished: "Sundaraka heard the spell [for flying through the air] and remembered it," and from it learned how to fly.

This makes Mr. Penzer enlarge on the Overhearing *motif* in folktales, which, as he says a veritable *Deus ex machinâ* to the story-teller. But eventually he traces it to an origin in "imitative magic," as it so often tells against the speaker who is overheard. And so (p. 108) if you wish to acquire a certain quality of an animal, all you have to do is to kill it and eat it, and *ipso facto*, "the particular quality of your victim becomes yours." But this is the actual *motif* in that form of ceremonial cannibalism generally that is based on sympathetic magic: eat a hero's heart or brain and you will become a hero. On this argument the reason for the cannibalism attributed to witches is the same as that for ceremonial cannibalism generally: a point worth noting.

On p. 218, in *The Story of the Golden City*, the hero, Śaktideva, gets his first knowledge of the existence of the city by Overhearing "an old bird," that said: "'I went to-day to the Golden City to disport myself, and to-morrow morning I shall go there again to feed at my ease: for what is the use of my taking a long and fatiguing journey?'" So Śaktideva contrives to get on to his back and is carried through the air to his goal. Here we have quite a different story to that ruling in the imitative magic theory, but Mr. Penzer promises further references in a future Volume, and judgment had better be suspended till they are available.

5-d. Ceremonial Cannibalism.

As a hint of the attitude of Somadeva's time towards such matters as Ceremonial Cannibalism we find that queen Kuvalayâvalî's husband, king Âdityaprabha is described as not being in the least upset by his wife's confession, perhaps "because (as she says p. 111) I was devoted to my husband I possess greater powers even than she [Kâlarâtri] did." Then we have *The Story of Phâlabhûti* (pp. 112 ff.), in which that hero joins his wife in arranging a sacrificial dinner of human flesh, which ends in their eating unknowingly their own son. Mr. Penzer shows that the story is in European folklore, and that the idea of kings dealing in magic is common in ancient custom.

Somadeva got his stories from various sources, and one must be prepared for various views on the same subject. One such variation is supplied on the question of Cannibalism in *The Story of the Iniquity of Scandal* (p. 185), the hero of which is Harasvâmin, an orthodox ascetic Brâhmaṇ, living at Kusumapura, *i.e.*, Pâtaliputra or Patna. "A wicked man" spread a story about him that "he carried off all the children and ate them." Here we have Çannibalism treated with abhorrence. By the way, Mr. Penzer points out that exactly the same story was spread about M. de Mirabeau in the French Revolution.

5-e. Meeting Eyebrows.

It has been above remarked that there is a family likeness in the descriptions of evil supernatural beings in Folklore, and as an instance it may be noted that a detail of Kâlarâtri's appearance is that (p. 103) "her eyebrows met." This is a commonplace of Slavonic, German, Icelandic, English and Irish folklore when applied to vampires and were-wolves. It is found in all Northern European folklore. Opposites often happen where superstitions are concerned, and Meeting Eyebrows are a sign of personal beauty among Persians and Arabs.

5-f. Mustard Seeds.

There is a point in relation to the witch stories in this Volume, in regard to which Mr. Penzer has made no remark, but which would apparently pay further enquiry. In *The Story of Vidûshaka* (pp. 54 ff.) the hero (p. 62) goes into a crematory, where he finds "a religious mendicant sitting on a corpse muttering charms," and the "corpse under the mendicant giving forth hissing sounds, and flames issuing from its mouth, and from its navel Mustard Seeds." These mustard seeds had a magic power. The account is not clear, but something of sufficient value to warrant further enquiry may be made out of it. For (p. 62) we read: "The mendicant took the Mustard Seeds, and rising up struck the corpse with the flat of his hand, and the corpse, which was tenanted by a mighty demon (*vetâla*, vampire), stood up, and then the mendicant mounted on its shoulder and began to depart at a rapid rate," apparently along the ground. Later on, however, he is described as "flying away through the air" by the same process. Afterwards Vidûshaka slays the mendicant, and "a voice (p. 62) from the air addressed him . . . . 'The mendicant, whom thou hast slain, had in his power a great demon and some grains of Mustard Seed . . . . Therefore, thou hero, take those Mustard Seeds, in order that this night thou mayest be enabled to travel through the air' . . . . Then he took in his hand those grains of Mustard Seed from the corner of the mendicant's robe," and flew through the air, a feat which seems worth investigating: Why Mustard Seeds? Travel through the air is not by any means confined to India (p. 75, n. 2), and all folklore on the subject is worth enquiry.

6. Râkshasas: Demons.

The Râkshasa appears before us in this Volume in two capacities: firstly as a demon, a being with supernatural powers of the same general class as the witch, and secondly as a member of a human race that is outside the Âryan pale.

To consider him in the first capacity. In the story of *Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta*, sons of Govindasvâmin, a Brâhmaṇ "living on a great Royal grant of land on the banks of the Ganges (p. 196)," Vijayadatta becomes a Râkshasa, and on pp. 197–198 the process is given at length. He is led by his father to a crematory, and there he "approached the pyre, which seemed to bear on itself the presiding deity of the Râkshasas [as if they were human beings], in visible form, with the smoke of the flames for dishevelled hair, devouring the flesh of men. The boy at once, encouraged by his father, asked him what the round thing was that he saw inside the pyre. And his father, standing at his side, answered him: 'This, my son, is the skull of a man, which is burning on the pyre' Then the boy, in his recklessness struck the skull with a piece of wood, lighted at the top, and clove it. The brains spouted up from it

and entered his mouth, like the initiation into the practices of the Râkshasas [a hint here that they were really non-Âryan race], bestowed on him by the funeral flame. And by testing them the boy became a Râkshasa, with hair standing on end, with a sword that he had drawn from the flame, terrible with projecting tusks. So he seized the skull and drinking the brains from it, he licked it with his tongue restlessly, quivering like the flames of fire that clung to the bone . . . . But at that moment, a voice came from the crematory: 'Kapâlasphoṭa, thou god, thou oughtest not to slay thy father. Come here.' When the boy heard that, having obtained the title of Kapâlasphoṭa [skull-cleaver], he let his father go and disappeared." Here we have the Râkshasa as a godling, and a human being becoming one through eating human flesh under ceremonial conditions, almost identical with those in which queen Kuvalayâvalî became a witch.

Mr. Penzer points out that the disgusting practices above detailed alluded to those which enter into the no doubt non-Âryan Tântric Rites of the Śâkta Hindus, when worshipping their goddess, and that they are still practised by the Aghorîs. Similar practices are to be found among many savages.

In *The Story of Vidûshaka* we find (p. 69 ff.) the tale of the fatal bride, who kills every would-be husband, and Mr. Penzer points out that in Buddhist legend the bride is a Râkshasî. The idea is also in the *Book of Tobit* and in Chaldean folktales. In the course of Vidûshaka's story, however, the hero offers himself as an aspirant to the hand of the fatal bride, in this case a Vidyâdharî, *i.e.*, an immortal fairy, named Bhadrâ, and in the evening he goes to her apartments (p. 71). "When the people were all asleep, he saw a terrible Râkshasa coming from the side of the apartment where the entrance was, having first opened the door: and the Râkshasa standing at the entrance, stretched forward into the room an arm, which had been the swift sword-wound of death to hundreds of men. But Vidûshaka in wrath, springing forward, cut off suddenly the arm of the Râkshasa with a stroke of his sword. And the Râkshasa immediately fled away through fear of his exceeding valour with the loss of one arm, never again to return." So Vidûshaka marries the Vidyâdharî Bhadrâ. Mr. Penzer points out that the story has analogies in Polish folktales and in the Russian story of *The Witch Girl*. But the immediate point is that the Râkshasa is here very near to human beings of the non-Âryan savage type.

To turn directly to the second aspect of the Râkshasa, and harking back to the story of *Aśokadatta and Vijayadatta*, we find Vijayadatta, who had become a Râkshasa as above related (p. 205), entering the crematory, "which was as full of Râkshasas as it was of trees." Here he gains access to "a lady of heavenly appearance . . . . whom he would never have expected to find in such a place any more than to find a lotus in a desert. But she was a Râkshasî and he gains access to her by crying aloud: 'Human flesh for sale, buy, buy'." She explains (p. 206): "There is, good sir, a city named Trighaṇṭa on a peak of the Himâlayas. In it there lived a heroic prince of the Râkshasas named Lambajihva. I am his wife, Vidyuchchhikhâ by name, and I can change my form at will." She then further explains that her husband had been killed in battle, and that he had a beautiful daughter Vidyutprabhâ, 'daughter of the Prince of the Râkshasas." And by means of her (the Râkshasî's) magic power, "he went with her through the air to her city," which was the Golden City "on a peak of the Himâlayas." Here the Râkshasas appear practically as members of a non-Âryan race, to whom the Âryans not unnaturally attributed magic powers, as they did to witches.

As Mr. Penzer points out (p. 197), the Râkshasas excited every kind of feeling in the Âryans, from attraction by their beauty to disgust by their ugliness. They were indeed non-Âryan human beings. But witches, vampires, and the like, and also their attributes and accompaniments are universal, and it may be that in the still persistent belief in them,

we are in reality face to face with the results of the earliest efforts of the human mind everywhere at that philosophy which is the explanation of phenomena.

7. Tantric Rites.

In a footnote to p. 205 Mr. Penzer refers to the sale of human flesh by Aśokadatta in the crematory to Tântric Rites, and on p. 214 ff. he gives a valuable extract from the *Mâlati Mâdhava* of Bhavabhûti, to show that the origin of the idea is in the Tântric "esoteric rites of Hinduism." In Bhavabhûti's play, Mâdhava, the lover of Mâlatî, decides "to call the powers of evil to his aid in winning Mâlatî." Accordingly he prepares for the necessary Tântric Rites "by procuring human flesh as an offering—flesh which had been obtained, not from the common method of cutting it from a man slain in battle, but we are led to suppose, by grim and sanguinary means." Meanwhile Mâlatî is about to be offered as a virgin sacrifice to the Śâktic goddess Durgâ as Châmuṇḍâ at a temple in a burning ground. Chance leads Mâdhava with his offering of human flesh to that temple, and he rescues Mâlatî by slaying the priests. Mr. Penzer quotes the appropriate passages from the play to show the Tântric basis of the idea in Somadeva's story of Aśokadatta.

But given this ascription to be right, the matter might be carried much further to show that the idea is really non-Âryan. To my own reading of the history of Hinduism, the Tântric variety thereof was introduced by Mongolian and further Indian immigrants in early times into North-Eastern and Central India. It was due to non-Âryan influence and spread everywhere centuries before Somadeva's date. These immigrants introduced their own form of Animism, with its multiplicity of supernatural spirits, wise men to compel the spirits to serve mankind, together with their occult incantatory methods of doing so (Shâmanism), and their theory of the wandering detachable soul leading up to the doctrine of Transmigration. They also introduced Tântrism later on.

The *Tantra* was the manual of the Śâktas, the worshippers of Śakti, the female energy in life, leading eventually to very much that was degrading, physically and mentally. The cult was that of the Goddess, Durgâ and many other names, as the female form of Śiva, the God, with bloody sacrifices and much gross superstition, borrowed from the magic of the aboriginal tribes. Otherwise they were Hindus. Durgâ herself was originally the chaste virgin huntress, the Diana of the Vindhya Mountains of Central India, the lover of wine, flesh and bloody sacrifice : clearly a Central Indian aboriginal goddess brought into Hinduism. Later she ceased to be regarded as a virgin and was identified with Umâ of the Himâlayas, the wife of Śiva. Here then in the blood and wine drinking expression of limitless power is the earliest appearance of Śakti, the Female Energy of the Durgâ worshippers, from whom afterwards sprang the all-pervading Śaktas. And she was a non-Âryan goddess and her rites were non-Âryan also.

The story of the rites of Goddess-worship, of Tântrism and Śâktism, seems from the statements in this Volume, to be mixed up closely with that of the rites of witchcraft, witches, vampires and the like. It is to be observed that an integral part of both is ceremonial cannibalism as an explanation of human sacrifice.

7-a. Human Sacrifice.

An explanation of the idea of Human Sacrifice—an idea that is universal—is to be found on p. 62, where in *The Story of Vidûshaka*, the hero offers himself as a sacrifice to Durgâ, in order to obtain a desire ; but the goddess demands "the maiden daughter of king Âdityasena" as the acceptable sacrifice for the boon desired.

Stories of both goddess-worship and witchcraft and of the concomitant practices are also found everywhere, and here again we seem to be confronted with something which goes back to the very dawn of human thought searching for an explanation of phenomena—finding a philosophy in fact.

(To be continued.)

AN IMAGE OF WADD:
A PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIAN GOD.



A STONE IN THE PRINCE OF WALES
MUSEUM OF WESTERN INDIA.

AN IMAGE OF WADD: A PRE-ISLAMIC ARABIAN GOD.

BY CH. MUHAMMAD ISMAIL, M.A., M.R.A.S.

PRE-ISLAMIC Arabia furnishes rich material to archæologists, but unfortunately such attention as it deserves has not been paid to this field of research, especially in India. The Government of India, under which the Civil Administration of the Aden Hinterland still remains, has controlled the destinies of Southern Arabia for about a century, but it has never taken, and is not even now taking, any steps to acquire and preserve in India South Arabian antiquities, or even the best known of Sabæan and Himyaritic collections. It is a consideration too deep for tears that such art and such archæological treasures as these should be exported to foreign countries and that thus should be thrown away the very material itself, upon which the talents of Indian scholars could be more than usefully employed.[1] The Delhi Museum of Archæology could—if the Government of India should so decide—easily be made the finest collection of South Arabian antiquities in the world, and then inquirers into that subject could make pilgrimage to Delhi, and not—as they must now—wander from place to place, in order to visit London, Berlin, Paris, Aden and America. It is a pity indeed that no kind of work on it has Government patronage or encouragement. Thanks, however, to Sir John Marshall's interest in this field a new life has been given to the Aden Historical Society, and Indians have come forward to work on this invaluable subject.

The Pre-Islamic god Wadd was perhaps the most important of all gods of ancient Arabia. He was certainly the chief of the gods of the civilised peace-and-commerce-loving citizens of Himyar and Saba', who differed widely in character from the wild Beduin Arabs, and their submissive attitude towards the gods is the key-note of South Arabian inscriptions. These peoples attributed such things as happiness and death, victory and slaughter of enemies to the gods, who indeed were so numerous that it has become difficult for the inquirer to distinguish a god from an heroic man, since the dead are venerated and sometimes deified.[2]

We can, however, be sure of three true gods of the Arabs, as they are mentioned in the *Qur'ân*; Wadd, Yaghus and Nasr (xxxi, 22, 23). Scholars may say that Wadd was only "a certain good man who lived between Adam and Noah, and of whom, after his death, was made an image. which after a long time became an object of worship."[3] But this statement can be safely countered by a reply that the people of Saba' and Himyar looked upon Wadd as a true god of their own without any infusion of the idea of manhood. All ancient Arabs worshipped Wadd and wore talismans bearing his name. They also dedicated temples to him as a God of Love and Happiness, in opposition to Nakru, the God of Hatred. The name itself is merely *wadd*, that is love and affection.

The image of Wadd has been described by an Arab commentator as "the figure of a tall man wearing a loin-cloth with another cloth over it, with a sword hanging round his neck and also with a bow and quiver: in front of him a lance, with a flag attached to it."[4] It will be perceived that this does not at all describe the figure in the Plate attached, which shows a short man wearing a kilt with pleats, like that of a Scottish Highlander. On the head is a close fitting cap with a long tassel, which seems to represent a long strand of hair. It may be noted that Beduins, who come to Aden from the Hinterland, while even to this day shaving the lower parts of the head with a razor, keep a tuft on the crown, and sometimes a long strand of hair like the *badi*[5] of the Hindus. From this I once thought that perhaps there existed a connection between the peoples of Arabia and those of the Indus Valley, and I sent a drawing of this image of Wadd to Sir John Marshall, who wrote in reply as follows: "I do not think that there is any connection between the kilted figure [from Arabia] and the Indus

1 See *Presidential Address* to the Oriental Conference, Madras, 1924.

2 R. A. Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*.

3 Lane, *Lexicon*.

4 *'Arzu'l Qur'ân*, ii, 428.

5 Apparently the *cûḍá* is meant.—*Jt-Editor*.

people. Kilts were worn at all ages, and this figure I should take to be some 2.500 years later than those from Mohenjo-daro"; that is to say, he dated it at about 800 B.C.

In the course of my wanderings in the Aden Hinterland, I came across a very large number of inscriptions and sculptures with the name of Wạdd inscribed on them. Many of them have been published in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, but no sculpture was found which had words on it purporting to say that it was the "image of Wadd," with the exception of that described in this paper. Hence its special importance. It has been under my observation since 1922, when it first came to my notice. It once belonged to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which gave it to the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India.

It is described in Vol. V of *JBBRAS.*, 1844, pp. 30–40, by James Bird, who remarked on it as follows: "No. 1 of the inscriptions from Mareb is executed on the figure of a person on foot and reads:

بدوى عدوا BADAWY 'ADAWÂ

signifying 'a Bedawin of the opposite coast', from which it will appear that these figures must have been taken from a Christian Church, wherein were represented the characters of the several tribes." Dr. Bird is, however, not accurate in his decipherment of the inscription, and in consequence there is an error in his subsequent deduction. The inscription above the head of the image is to be read from right to left. The first character has unfortunately been badly damaged, but from traces on the stone itself it can be safely read. The inscription is in Sabæan characters , which are the equivalent of the Hebrew עורודאב and the Arabic صوروداب

The commencing words, Sabæan, are all from the same root and mean "form, an appearance, external state or condition, state with respect to apparel and the life, or garb": hence an image. The terminal word of the inscription, *ab*, in Sabæan was, and is still, used by the Arabs as an honorific title. It is used in the *Qur'ân* (V, 127) for Abraham and his sons. It also means a feeder, patron or master, when used as an attribute, but standing alone it now means "God", and must in ancient days have designated a God with divine qualities. It has been found accompanying specially the god Wadd in the Himyaritic inscriptions (*vide C. I. S.*, ii, pp. 385–387). The translation of this inscription, therefore, by "Image of Wadd Pater" is correct.

THE MISSION OF GEORGE WELDON AND ABRAHAM NAVARRO TO THE COURT OF AURANGZEB.

BY HARIHAR DAS, B.LITT. (OXON.), F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S

(*Continued from p.* 74.)

George Weldon, Abraham Navarro and Mîr Nâzim were chosen as envoys to the Court of Aurangzeb for final confirmation of the desired *farmân*. They were furnished with the heads of such a *farmân*, drawn up by Sir John Child and his Council on December 4, 1689; and to each head was appended an article indicating arguments which might assist them in conducting the negotiation. These heads are as follows:

(1) Free trade—*i.e.*, liberty to land or ship goods at any port that might be convenient to the Company, paying customs duties only once—at importation or exportation. This was meant to protect traders from interference by local Governors, who would naturally wish to draw all the business to their own ports, and might in consequence exact fresh duties, if goods brought for shipment to one port, should, for any reason, be afterwards transferred to another.

(2) Duties to be fixed—two per cent on ordinary goods, 2⅝ rupees per bale on indigo; gold and silver to be free (if possible). The English were the only Europeans to bring gold and silver for coinage into the country, using it to pay duties and purchase goods. There was thus no profit on these metals, and it seemed hard to pay duty on them. As to the rest, the two per cent duty had been fixed by the Emperor some years before. They were to ask that goods should not be overrated at the custom houses, and that accounts might be made up annually; also that goods might not be injured by the packages being broken open.

(3) All Englishmen to be under the Company's control. The reason for asking this extraordinary privilege seems to have been that sailors on English ships were often enticed to serve on others, so that the Company could not sail them. (The case of Pettitt and Bowcher is referred to as another instance of the way in which wrong-doing Englishmen gave trouble). In the case of any Englishman dying in the Mughal's dominions, his possessions must not be interfered with by any Imperial official.

(4) Customs not to be paid on mere transhipment. The case of "Mocha goods" is cited as an example of the injury done to the Company when duty was exacted on goods landed from one ship merely to be put on another for conveyance to England or elsewhere.

(5) Provisions, apparel, and plate for personal use to be exempt from duty. Customs officers had spoiled liquors brought from England and made trouble over butter, etc., shipped for consumption on the voyage.

(6) In case of robbery of the Company's people, reparation to be made by the Government of the district where it took place. This was to make local governors more careful in protecting the traders.

(7) Right to set up a mint and to be allowed free choice of such Shroffs (money changers) as might be required in connection with it. Local governors sometimes prevented the Company from coining gold and silver, thus bringing trade to a standstill.

(8) A warehouse to be allowed at the waterside near the custom house. This was to avoid damage to goods by being "tossed to and fro" and also by the weather.

(9) Purchases made in the interior to be allowed to pass freely to the ports. Local officials often gave trouble by delaying transit to the ports, with consequent loss to the Company.

(10) Prompt discharge of incoming and outgoing goods. Delay by customs officers at Surat had frequently caused loss.

(11) In case of money owing (by the Emperor's subjects) to the Company, the local Governor shall compel payment or allow for it out of the sums due for customs. They added that "this is a kindness we enjoy in all other parts of the world."

(12) Horses imported are not to be seized for the Emperor's use. This was an imposition of recent growth.

(13) Officials not to send for goods to the Company's warehouses. If they should require goods let them say so in public *darbâr* before the governor, so that the latter could insist on payment.

(14) A convenient *bandar* to be allowed in each port.

(15) In case of the death or departure of a local governor, his debts to be paid by his successor. (This seems to refer to goods taken for public purposes.) The incoming governor had sometimes returned goods taken by his predecessor, or had demanded an abatement of price.

(16) In case the King conquers fresh territory, the Company to retain the rights and privileges it had before such conquest. (In particular, at Madras.) It was alleged that the Dutch had such a privilege.

(17) Privileges in Bengal and the Bay to be preserved. This was a particular instance of No. 16, but the trade in Bengal was so valuable that it was desirable to have a special clause. "If any objection should be made bacause of the great hostilities committed in those parts, you may then say that they were the actions of heat, discontent and misunderstandings on both sides, and what is past cannot be remedied." If this clause should be refused, ill-disposed governors might infer that the King was displeased and molest the Company in consequence.

(18) Governors and port officers are not to prevent merchants from trading with the Company. A particular case at Surat was cited.

(19) Should it chance that all the English die (*e.g.*, from plague in any factory), the local governor shall take an exact account of all goods, debts, etc., and render it to the English who come to take charge.

(20) A dispute between the governor and the English in one port shall not lead to the King's displeasure with the English in other ports ; offenders only to be punished. Sometimes the local governor might give trouble as lately at Surat, when Abdul Guffore "would have it that we took his ships and goods in the Red Sea"; sometimes "a rash and hott Englishman" or an evil-doer might offend, but his offence should not be visited on Englishmen everywhere.[16]

Sir John Child and his Council also gave detailed instructions to the envoys on the eve of their departure for the Mughal Court. These were dated 6th of December, 1689, and pointed out that when the English first traded in the Mughal's dominions they only paid 3½ per cent custom for goods to be sold at Surat and all other ports : but that on the other hand no duty was paid on silver and gold, neither on provisions imported or exported, nor on presents, apparel or wrought plate. Lately, however, they had suffered much trouble from the Mughal officials, who for personal ends extracted money from them. They reminded the envoys that in 1663 or 1664 when Śivâjî and his forces plundered and partly burnt the greater part of Surat the English had defended their factory and several times fought Śivâjî's troops in the streets. This brave defence had pleased the Emperor, who in return granted them two favours, viz. of paying only two per cent customs duty and for one year paying none at all. In the year 1679 or 1680, the Emperor had suddenly resolved to force people not of his own religion to pay a poll tax [*jizya*]. As the English, Dutch and French refused to pay it, the customs duty was raised to 3½ per cent which was 1½ per cent more than ever had been paid in the Mughal's dominions. That imposition was a great grievance to all the Europeans concerned. As the English were the only people to import gold and silver, directions were given the envoys to secure that customs duty should not be levied beyond the two per cent. They were instructed not to yield on that point, and "if occasion requires it bee att some charge

[16] See No. 5686 of O. C. 48, I.O.

rather then not effect, but dont be forward to part with money," which meant that they were to be careful about paying money until they should be sure of their business being effected. They were further advised not to be deceived by fair words nor to be slow in returning compliments, but above all to be zealous for the interests of their King and country. They asked the envoys to " be brisk and warme, as well as prudent, gentle and handsome or you will have nothing done." They illustrated their injunctions by observing that " a Dogg yt is hungry will Eye his master and attend him deligently when he is eating his Victualls, but if his Master tosses him a bone away he is gone, after haveing gott what he looked for and attended for; And just such is ye nature of these People, especially att ye Moguil's Court, where when they have served their own turnes away, they are gone and leave you to another Cranny[17], yt he may gett something from you too, and soe you will be tossed from one hungry courtier to another till your money is all gone, and have noe busieness att all done, and att last be laughed att for a foole." The instructions further stated that the *bunder*[18] hitherto allowed the Company had been lost and that they had left for their use only a small warehouse standing in an inconvenient position near Surat. The hope was expressed that a piece of ground lying between the Dutch *bandar* and the town of Surat might soon be granted to the English to be used for a *bandar*.

The envoys were further instructed to keep a diary of their journey and transactions, together with notes on the towns through which they should pass, and on the predominant religions professed by the people, their language, coins, measures and weights. They were also to record the various commodities available for sale, the fertility of the soil and its produce and the condition of the people under the Mughal government. Unfortunately Weldon and Navarro disregarded this part of their instructions, and failed to give in their diary any substantial account of the country. Had they done so, much more information might have been available to-day. On their arrival at the Court, they were requested to communicate with the President and Council about the transaction of business. The envoys were assured that they would have the loyal co-operation of Noequedah Lolla,[19] who would not only help them as an interpreter, but would also serve the English interest to the best of his ability. The " Noequedah " was described as not in " ye least false, but allwaies dilligent, faithfull, and true." They were instructed to present two horses to the Emperor; and when they should have finished their business at court might sell the three remaining horses.[20]

The Council furnished their envoys with a considerable amount of money for expenses and the purchase of suitable goods for Europe. They were told to insist on English privileges for Bengal, and continuance in possession of Fort St. George and the town of Madras, exactly as these had been enjoyed during the reign of the King of Golconda. They trusted that the envoys would be able to finish the business as soon as possible. The envoys were warned that they might meet the Dutch Ambassador at Court, whom the President and Council considered a " cunning Shrewd man"; and care should be taken in dealing with him, as he might take all possible advantage of them.[21]

The envoys set out from Bombay on the 27th of November, 1689. They arrived at Cullian [Kalyân] on the 1st of December and described it in their diary as a " ruinated place meanly inhabited haveing sufferred very much by the long warrs betweene Sevagee Rajah, and the Mogull, the weights measures and coynes the same currant in the Mogulls Dominions, wch is one mark of his sovereignity and extends through all his conquests.[22]" During their stay at Kalyân they made arrangements with Mîr Nâzim regarding their journey to the Court and communicated news of their progress to the authorities at Bombay. Meanwhile, I'timâd

17 *Kirânî*, a clerk, official.

18 Harbour, port, wharf (*bandar*).

19 ? Nâkhudâ Lâlâ, perhaps an Indian ship's captain in English employ.

20 According to the President and Council's statement one could buy a small " Tattoo " in those days for seven or eight rupees.

21 See No. 5687 of *O.C.* 48, I.O.

22 See p. 1 of *Sloane MS.* 1910, British Museum.

Khân, the new governor of Surat, desired Sir John Child and his Council to send one or two Englishmen to him in order that he might confer with them regarding the best means to be pursued for effecting the business at Court. Accordingly Mr. Barker Hibbins and Mr. Stone were sent up to Surat in the *Ruby* frigate with a letter to I'timâd Khân, who received them with all kindness. News of their arrival was immediately conveyed to the Mughal. They returned with a reply to Sir John's letter from the Governor, who also despatched a letter for the Great Mughal to be entrusted to Mr. Weldon at Kalyân.[23]

Weldon and Navarro resumed their journey again on the 10th of December, and hoped to reach the Mughal's Camp within ten days. During their journey they passed through "ruin'd and desolate" country. Information of their coming was conveyed to the Wazîr Asad Khân through messengers. They had several disasters on their journey through the mountainous regions, and saw "two very strong Castles, that guard the passage (w^{ch} is very strong and narrow itself) called Sevaderu and Munrungun, the latter since its conquest the King hath new named Russool Gur, they were delivered up by composition, noe force being able to reduce them, there was two souldiers to guard the place w^{ch} requires at least a thousand; they told us what between the snakes in the Castle and the Tygars upon the Gaut noe body cared to live there."[24] They continued their journey through the Deccan, and immediately on arriving at a town called Umra, received a message from the Wazîr Asad Khân, informing them that the Emperor had ordered him to arrange for their accommodation near the Lashkar,[25] and that an audience would be granted them later on. After a few more days the party arrived at a little town called Chauckua containing "a large strong ffort." There they learnt that the Emperor was marching to Peergoon on his way to Bijapore. This was not good news to them, and to make matters worse they learnt that most of the Umaras were with him. So the journey was continued thither. They reached the new camp on the afternoon of 19th December: but were so badly equipped that they had not even a tent in which to shelter themselves. They were, however, welcomed and entertained by one Sheik Ahmad, a friend of Mîr Nâzim. Having a large sum of money with them and being alarmed of the "robberies being very frequent in the army," they considered it unsafe to keep a large sum in their own hands, so their colleague Mîr Nâzim advised them to deposit it with a Shroff. They learnt that the Dutch Ambassador Bocherus was at Court and had done his business efficiently with the aid of large presents, and that he had a retinue of about 300 men. The envoys were well entertained by officials, but the courtesy was a mere pretence. After considerable difficulty on December 20th they were able to obtain an interview with the Wazîr Asad Khân and his assistant, Hakîm Mahmûd Zaid, to each of whom presents were offered. The Wazîr received them "in a little place made up in his Tent Door, and discoursed us standing; he told us the King had been very angry with us, but now he had undertaken our businesse, wherefore we might sett our hearts at rest."[26] They delivered to Asad Khân the letter of the Governor of Surat, together with Sir John Child's petition to the Emperor and then took their leave.

In this critical situation, when negotiatons at the Court were in progress, Sir John Child died suddenly of disappointment and grief at Bombay on February[27] 4, 1689-90, leaving a large fortune.[28] The Council at Bombay wisely withheld news of his death from the Mughal authorities until their business should be over. Child's death at that juncture was undoubtedly a loss to the Company, and it is not easy to agree with Hamilton when he declares that the event "much facilitated their Affairs."[29]

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23 See No. 5691 of *O.C.* 48, I.O.

24 See p. 3 of *Sloane MS.* 1910.

25 Camp.

26 P. 4 of *Sloane MS.* 1910, *B.M.*

27 Alexander Hamilton writes incorrectly that Child died in January. See vol. I, p. 225 of *A New Account of the East Indies*, Edinburgh, 1727.

28 At least £ 100,000

29 *A New Account of the East Indies*, vol. I, p. 225.

While the envoys were prosecuting their business at Court, the Dutch Company's representative endeavoured to prejudice the Emperor against them and their nation. It is noteworthy that Aurangzeb's knowledge of European politics enabled him to retort so shrewdly that the Dutchman retired discomfited. He had emphasized the fact that the new King of England was a Dutchman—a circumstance which proved the superiority of his own nation. To this Aurangzeb replied that the balance of power still in English hands was of far greater consequence. He was also reminded that England had caused the French King to evacuate Holland after a lightning campaign of only a few days' duration.[30] The Emperor realised that in the interests of trade peace was necessary.[31] It was also a fact that neither the Mughal ministers nor the leading Surat merchants really desired to see the English ruined. Besides the Dutch, interlopers on the West Coast were also active in endeavouring to destroy English prestige.

After spending a long time in consultation with ministers about the Company's affairs, the envoys with the aid of rich presents at last obtained an audience of the Emperor; but as one writer has observed " it was in the posture of malefactors, obtained his pardon and allowance of trade."[32] Their reception by the Emperor was unusual and humiliating to the Company whose interests they represented, for " their Hands being tied by a Sash before them, and were obliged to prostrate. The King gave them a severe Reprimand, and then askt their Demands. They first made a Confession of their Faults, and desired Pardon . . . . "[33] Is it curious that Weldon and his colleague make no reference to this wonderful reception in their diary ? We wonder !

When the formal *darbâr* was over, Aurangzeb carefully considered the envoys' statements and then communicated to his Admiral, the Sidhi Yacoub Khân, on the 20th day of *Jumâda 'l-auwal* (February 24, 1689-90) that the English had submitted and petitioned the " heavenly palace of the King that nourishes the world" to pardon their crimes and misdemeanours. The Sidhi was therefore ordered to remove his forces from near the Castle of Bombay and to accompany the Imperial fleet to Dabul to aid in subjugating Śambhuji's castle or fort, and for other military operations.[34] He did not, however, evacuate Bombay till the English had fulfilled their obligations. Weldon and Navarro, the envoys, both declared that during their stay at the Court they experienced the greatest difficulty in persuading the Emperor to order the removal of the Sidhi. This was because in their words it was " a thing never known in this Kings Reigne before ; for it is a maxime where once his forces beleaguerd a place, they either conquer or are beaten from it." [35] When the Sidhi finally left Bombay on 22nd June, 1690, he left much ruin and destruction behind him. The lands and buildings he had taken from the Company were restored to their rightful owners, but, owing to an outbreak of pestilence, many Englishmen had died, and their forces were in consequence so much reduced that barely seventy men were left to guard the fort.[36]

(*To be continued.*)

30 Mr. Arnold Wright, in his book *Annesley of Surat,* quoted the dialogue between Aurangzeb and the Dutchman from Alexander Hamilton's book, but by inadvertence refers it to *Bruce's Annals.*

31 See vol. I, 225-26 of *A New Account of the East Indies*; and also pp. 135-36 of *Annesley of Surat.*

32 See pp. 16-17 of a pamphlet entitled *Proposals for Settling the East India Trade* in *Harl. MS.* 7310, British Museum.

33 See vol. I, p. 224 of Hamilton's *A New Account,* etc.

34 See *No. 5701* of *O.C.* 48, I.O.

35 See *No. 5738* of *O.C.* 48, I.O.

36 See *Ibid.*

MISCELLANEA.

SAIR-AL-BILAD.

The following brief description, with a synopsis of the contents, of the *Sair-al-bilád* of Mughal Beg, an important geographical account of north-west India and the Afghan frontier, written about 140 years ago, will be of interest to many readers of the *Indian Antiquary*.—C.E.A.W.O., *Jt. Editor*.

Sair-al-bilád, by Mîrzâ Mughal Beg, son of Muhammad Beg. India Office MS. No. 3746, ff. 412; in clear *nasta'tiq*; size 10½ in. by 6½ in.

This is a rare manuscript containing a geographical account of the country between the Ganges and the Jamunâ, the country between the Jamunâ and the Satlaj, Râjpûtânâ (including the present Bahâwalpur State), the Panjâb, Kashmîr, Bâjaur, Afghânistân and Balûchistân. It contains an itinerary of roads with names of places, stages, rivers (with traditions about their ancient courses), canals and in some cases an account of the tribes, based partly on the personal knowledge of the author and partly on information derived from people or books up to A.H. 1205 (1790-91 A.D.), the year in which the work was completed. Nothing is known about the author except what he tells us in the preface to his book. He informs us that he had been to Calcutta in search of employment. There he entered the service of a Mr. Wilford[1], who treated him very kindly, and in the end they became friends. Later on Mr. Wilford asked him to compile this work. He accordingly took up the work and devoted much time and energy to it. He had to question a number of people and consult a number of books, as the changes, both political and physiographical, had more or less obliterated the past records. He further tells us that he has used red ink for the names of places etc., personally visited by him and black ink for those for which information was derived from other sources (f. *3a*.)

There is another copy of this book in the I.O. Library[2], but it seems to be a duplicate copy, since the pagination as given in the index does not agree with the text, but is the same as in the book under reference.

The book opens with an index to the four chapters into which it is divided. The pagination given there agrees with the text. No date of the copy is given at the end. Most probably it is the original as written by the author.

Major Raverty seems to have made use of this MS. in his important memoir entitled "The Mihrân of Sind and its Tributaries," in which he writes :—" A good deal of my information is taken from a geographical work, the result of personal survey, by a well read and very intelligent native of India of foreign descent, made previous to 1790 A.D. which was the year in which his work was completed . . . . farther on I shall give some extracts from his admirable survey record."[3] Throughout the memoir frequent use has been made of extracts[4] from this record, but unfortunately no reference of the title of this important work, on which most of his theory is based, is given. That he used this MS. seems clear from the fact that it was purchased for the India Office Library from Mrs. Raverty. In his notes on Afghânistân, which are mostly based on Part IV of the book,[4] he has once mentioned *Sair-al-bilâd*[5]. Moreover, the contents of the extracts used by Raverty in his memoir leaves but little doubt as to the identification of the "admirable survey records." From what has been shown as to the nature of the book, it is clear that it is not a Survey Record in the sense the words were used by Major Raverty, but it is an important record all the same, as it throws considerable light on the town sites of Hindûstân. Unfortunately it has to be pointed out that Major Raverty's translations of the extracts are not always accurate. In many places sentences and words have been used which are not found in either of the MSS. in the I. O. Library, in spite of the fact that one of them was obviously used by him.

Contents.—The book is divided into four chapters, each of which is further sub-divided into a number of sections (*fasls*).

Part I, ff. 4b to 105b.—Gives an account of the districts of Delhi, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Bikaner, Sambhar and Sirhind, *i.e.*, the country lying between the Jamunâ and the Satlaj, including the present Bahâwalpur State. It opens with a general description of the countries (with their extent) of Mewâṭ, Hariânâ, Bhâtner, Chatrang, Kurukshetra, Sirhind, Lâkhî-Jangal, Chhoṭî Kachhî and Râjpûtânâ. Râjpûts, Gujars, and Jâṭs have been described and their distribution given. Then follows a detailed account of the capital towns of Delhi, Akbarâbâd (Agra) and Ajmer.

Next five major roads, with brief notices of the stages thereon, are described.

1. From Shâhjahânâbâd to Bikaner *via* Nâgaur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, etc. Also 3 minor roads.
2. From Jaipur to Bikaner, Jodhpur and Ajmer.
3. From Jodhpur to Nâgaur, Mîraṭh, Ajmer, Jaisalmer . . . . 4 roads.
4. From Bikaner to Nâgaur, Jaisalmer, Winjhrot, Dilâwar, Khairpur, Bahâwalpur, Mubârakpur, Bhâtner, Ajodhan, Mûltân and Uch.

1 Probably Francis Wilford, engineer in the service of the East India Company.

2 I. O. MS. No. 3731.

3 *JASB.*, vol. 61, pt. I, 1892, p. 185.

4 Unfortunately the extracts are so mixed up with other quotations that it is difficult to discover which are from this book. No reference to pages or to the identity of the book is given.

5 *Notes on Afghânistân and Beluchistân*, by Major H. G. Raverty, 1888, p. 1 :—"The following is an extract from *Sair-ul-bilâd* which will be referred to in another place."

5. Shâhjahânâbâd to Mûltân, Debalpur, Kasûr, Sirhind, Bhatinda, Sanam, Nâhan, Bilâspur, Akbarâbâd.

Part II, fol. 105*b to* 146*a*.

An account of the country between the Ganges and the Jamunâ.

After giving a general description of the extent of the area, its soil, inhabitants, the Ganges, and the Jamunâ, the following main roads are described as in Part I.

1. Shâhjahânâbâd to Garhmuktesar.
2. ,, ,, Râmpur.
3. ,, ,, Hardwâr.
4. ,, ,, Dâranagar.
5. ,, ,, Sahâranpur.

Part III, Panjâb, ff. 146*a to* 320*a*.

This begins with a short description of the Sikhs, and is then divided into the following six sections:-

1. Description of the rivers of the Panjâb—A very detailed account.
2. Description of Doâb Bîst Jâlandhar.
3. ,, ,, Bâri.
4. ,, ,, Rachnâ.
5. ,, ,, Jetch.
6. ,, ,, Sindhsâgar.

In each case (from 2 to 5) important towns, forts, rivers and roads are given in detail. The country of Kashmîr is also included in this part.

Part IV, ff. 320*a to* 412.

Countries beyond the Indus—Account of Kâbul, Peshâwar, Bâjaur, Qâshqâr, Aghânistân and the Derajâts.

This section begins with a description of the several tribes inhabiting the area, with notices of various towns and forts inhabited by them. On f. 351 begins an account of various roads and passes, with notices of rivers and canals in the area.

IBAD-UR-RAHMAN KHAN.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT for the year 1927, by R. SHAMA SASTRY, Director of Archæological Researches. 13″ × 8″; pp. iv + 251; with 13 Plates. Bangalore, 1928.

This is a further record of useful work in the way of survey and maintenance of monuments and decipherment of inscriptions and documents. During the year 171 new records were collected in the State, besides an inscription received from the Bombay Presidency for decipherment. All these have been described. But the most interesting part of the report, perhaps, comprises those sections in which the Director discusses certain other questions, including the date of the *Mahâbhârata* and the form of calendar in use during the Epic period, the date of the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya, and the initial year of the Gupta-Valabhi era.

Examination of a manuscript (admittedly corrupt) of Vimalabodhâcârya's commentary on the obscure verses of the *Mahâbhârata* has led Mr. Shama Sastry to consider the age of the epic. Having regard to the astronomical allusions—in particular the reference to a solstitial colure in Ardhâsleṣa and Śraviṣṭha—and to the archaic nature of some of the verses, which he considers to be "pre-Pâṇinian", he comes to the conclusion that the *Mahâbhârata* is as old as the 10th century B.C. From a series of parallels, set forth on pp. 16-18, he decides that the *Pañcatantra* is based upon the *Arthaśâstra* of Kauṭilya, borrowing from it "not only ideas but also phrases and sentences here and there"; and consequently, accepting Hertel's estimate of the age of the Kashmirian rescension of the *Pañcatantra* (about 200 B.C.), he would assign the *Arthaśâstra* to about 300 B.C. As a case bearing upon the question of the initial year of the Gupta-Valabhi era, he discusses the Bhaṭṭakapatra grant of Dharasena II of Valabhi, which is dated the 15th day of the dark half of Vaiśâkha, Samvat 257, when there was a solar eclipse. Working with Swamikannu Pillai's tables, he finds that there was no solar eclipse on the day in question in any of the years 575–578 A.D., but there was such an eclipse on the Vaiśâkha new moon day in A.D. 459. If this latter year correspond with Samvat 257, the era would start from A.D. 202 (current). Mr. Sastry thinks this test case helps to confirm the suggestion already made in the Annual Report for 1922-23.

The printing is clear, but several of the Plates are very indistinct.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

ŚRÎ-KṚṢṆAVATÂRA-LÎLÂ, composed in Kashmîrî, by DÎNA-NÂTHA. Text edited, translated and transcribed in Roman character by SIR G. A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E. 10″ × 6¼″; pp. xii+251. Calcutta, 1928.

Sir George Grierson's power of work is well exemplified by the appearance of this volume, which is issued as No. 247 of the *Bibliotheca Indica* Series, in the same year in which he published the final volume of his monumental *Linguistic Survey of India*. The poem comprises a life of Kṛṣṇa based, like the well-known *Prema-sagara* written in Hindi by Lallû Jî Lâl (and its prototype in the Braj dialect), on the tenth book of the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*. Of the author of this Kâshmîrî version nothing definite is known, except that his pen-name was Dînanâtha, a name by which he refers to himself in verse 1172. The poem consists of 1178 verses of four lines each, the fourth line of each verse being the same throughout. Except for a few irregularities, the chief of which are explained in the Introduction, the language used is the ordinary Kâshmîrî of the present day. The metre presents difficulties to a student of Indian prosody, being based rather on stress than on quantity; but, as pointed out by the present author and Prof. L. D. Barnett in their joint monograph on the *Lallâ-vâkyâni*, this is usually the case with Kâshmîrî metre. The quantity of the syllables between each stressed syllable is of little

importance, so long as the metrical swing is not disturbed, and for a similar reason, within moderation, the number of syllables allowed between each stress is a variable quantity. The most important stresses are those at the end of each line. The first and third lines of each verse have throughout feminine endings, while the second and fourth lines have masculine endings. Sir George proposes to deal with this interesting subject of Kâshmîrî metre in his forthcoming edition of the *Râmâvatâra-carita*. The translation has been made in a somewhat archaic style which may be regarded as appropriate to the age of the story. Foot-notes have been added where required to elucidate allusions in the text. The work bears the impress of the scholarly hand of the author.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS, with a brief account of their Maritime Activities, by SURENDRANATH SEN. Calcutta, 1928.

It is not possible to review this important volume of deep research in the space available in this *Journal*, and the present notice must confine itself to a statement that not only have Maratha sources been utilised, but much of the unpublished English, French and Portuguese records as well. The work has been thoroughly and systematically performed in such a manner as to compel the attention of the reader to Dr. Surendranath Sen's conclusions, to which the special attention of all students is herein drawn.

The political point that most exercises Dr. Sen is the sudden rise of the Marathas to prominence about 1620, and their equally sudden collapse about 1800, and his examination of the causes of both is well worth the earnest attention of even expert enquirers. His general conclusions as to the fall of the Maratha military power—which it may be remarked are not at all those that have been hitherto put usually forward—are firstly, a revival of the feudalism that Sivaji had discouraged and so save his army from disunion and dissension; secondly the use of personal aggrandisement as a principle which brought about the denationalisation of the army: and thirdly, failure on the part of the Maratha leaders to keep pace with scientific progress. In fact, the Maratha Army became in time a weapon inferior to that of the European trained and led Indian armies opposed to it. We see nothing here, as of old, of the influence of caste, neglect of civil government, discouragement of trade, industry, agriculture and commerce, or of the national policy of aggression and tortuous diplomacy. This omission is more than remarkable and makes the book on that account alone worthy of serious study.

Dr. Sen devotes a long chapter (pp. 28-53) to *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi*, the terrible fiscal demands, which, as he says, "have been invariably associated with the Marathas as an appropriate expression of their predatory genius." He shows, however, that *chauth*—nominally a tax of one quarter of the revenue—was not an invention of Sivaji, as it has usually been held to be, and his remarks on the whole subject are illuminating and of the greatest interest.

The most novel parts of Dr. Sen's book are in the chapters on the Maratha Navy, which are worthy of the closest examination, as they deal with a by-path of history difficult to traverse; and he is to be congratulated on a clear and consecutive statement of a most complicated story. He considers, with a great wealth of research into obscure documents, the whole tale of the Maratha Navy from its commencement under Sivaji to its development successively under the Angrias, the Savants and the Peshwas, and its final disappearance after a not long existence. He tells the story, too, in such a way that the various leaders appear severally before us as living characters in a natural sequence of men and events. This is no mean achievement, as any one who—like the present writer—has tried to unravel this very tangled skein, can appreciate.

Dr. Sen dives into the vexed question of piracy *versus* privateering and assertion of sovereignty of the sea, with a view to showing that the Maratha seamen were no pirates, though they of course were always held to be such by their opponents, the European sailors of their time. What he has to say here has much force and should be carefully weighed by students.

Finally, Dr. Sen does not hesitate to draw conclusions on the result of his studies as to the merits and demerits of the Marathas as a military and naval power. Some of the conclusions are not flattering to them and will no doubt be resented in Bombay, but that is not to say that his remarks are ill-founded or otherwise than fairly stated. The whole book is valuable in the highest sense and a good instance of fair-minded research.

R. C. TEMPLE.

PRATAP SINGHA, a Memoir of the Great Maharana of Mewar, by PROF. SATISCHANDRA MITRA of Daulatpur, and PROF. D. N. GHOSH of Delhi (formerly of Daulatpur): with a foreword by LORD RONALDSHAY. Calcutta, 1928.

A good many years ago Professor Satischandra Mitra "published an account of the life of Rana Pratap Singha in Bengali, based entirely on Tod's *Rajasthan*." That account must therefore have been largely a pure romance, and it would be difficult to quarrel with an Indian writer for that reason. Since then he has completed a revised version in English in collaboration with Professor D. N. Ghosh. In this revised account he has endeavoured to take advantage of the research of recent students of Indian history. All this is as it should be, and if the Professor has fallen into the clutches of romance at times, he has after all only shared the fate of European as well as Indian authors who have dived into such a history as that of the Rajputs. With this reservation, it may be said that this new version of the story of the heroic struggles of the Mewar Rajputs under Pratap Singh against the Mughals of Akbar's time is a great advance on those previously available. The illustrations, however, are much poorer than many that adorn earlier editions of the romance, notably that of Tod himself.

R. C. TEMPLE.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(Continued from vol. LVII, page 148.)

7. Abhva.

The word *yakṣa* leads us to the nearly-allied word *abhva*, of which no satisfactory explanation has yet been given by the exegetists. This word is enumerated twice in the *Nighaṇṭu*, once amongst the *udaka-nâmâni* (1. 12) and once amongst the *mahan-nâmâni* (3. 3). These two meanings *udaka* and *mahat*, however, are inadequate to explain the sense of many passages in which the word occurs ; and hence Sâyaṇa has, in his *RV-bhâṣya*, been obliged to suggest other explanations for this word. He thus explains it as 'enemy' (*âbhavatîty abhvaḥ śatruḥ*) in 1, 39, 8, as 'speed' (*vega*) in 1, 24, 6, as 'cloud' (*megha*) in 1, 168, 9 ; and even when seemingly retaining the meaning *mahat*, he practically helps himself with new meanings when he explains *abhva* as *ati-vistṛtaṃ jagat* in 2, 33, 10, *mahad dhanam* in 5, 49, 5, *mahat karma* in 6, 4. 3, *mahat sarvaṃ vastu-jâtam* in 6, 71, 5, and *mahato bhaya-hetoḥ pâpât* in 1, 185, 2-8. Of the European exegetists, Roth explains the word as 'Unding; Ungeheur; Unheimlichkeit; ungeheure Macht, Grösse, u. s. w.; Schwüle'; and Grassmann repeats these explanations with the addition of two more, 'der Widerwärtige, das Ungethum; das grauenerregende Dunkel'. Bergaigne, in his article on this word in his *Études sur le lexique du RV*, comes to the conclusion that it means 'obscurity; evil in general; demoniacal might', and in one passage (*Śata. Br.* 11, 2, 3, 5) 'might' in general, while Geldner, in his article on this word in *Ved. St.*, vol. 3 (p. 117 f.) has followed the lead of Roth and set down 'Schrecknis, Graus, Schreckensgestalt, Schreckenserscheinung, Gespenst, Spuk, Popanz' as the meaning of this word. Substantially the same explanation is given of this word by him in his *Glossar* also.

How insufficient these meanings are to explain the sense of the passages in which the word *abhva* occurs will become clear to every one who will read Geldner's interpretation of them in the course of his article mentioned above. And particularly, in one of these passages, namely, in *Śata. Br.* 11, 2, 3, 3-5 :

atha brahmaiva parârdham agacchat | tat parârdham gatvaikṣata kathaṃ nv imâṅl lokân pratyaveyâm iti | tad dvâbhyâm eva pratyavaid rûpeṇa caiva nâmnâ ca | sa yasya kasya ca nâmâsti tan nâma yasyo api nâma nâsti yad veda rûpeṇedaṃ rûpam iti tad rûpam | etâvad vâ idaṃ yâvad rûpaṃ caiva nâma ca | te haite brahmaṇo mahatî abhve | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatî abhve veda mahad dhaivâbhvaṃ bhavati | te haite brahmaṇo mahatî yakṣe | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatî yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva yakṣaṃ bhavati || ,

it is hard to believe, as Geldner would have us do, that *nâma* and *rûpa* are here to be understood as the two *ghore rûpe* or *Popanze* or *Phantome* of Brahman, and that he who thus knows *nâma* and *rûpa* as the two *ghore rûpe* or *Popanze* or *Phantome* of Brahman, becomes himself a *ghoraṃ rûpam* or *Popanz* or *Phantom*.

The clue to the real meaning of the word *abhva* is contained in the above-cited passage itself, in which the sentence *te haite brahmaṇo mahatî abhve | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatî abhve veda mahad dhaivâbhvaṃ bhavati* is closely parallel to the sentence following: *te haite brahmaṇo mahatî yakṣe | sa yo haite brahmaṇo mahatî yakṣe veda mahad dhaiva yakṣaṃ bhavati*. This parallelism indicates that the word *abhva* has the same value as the word *yakṣa*. Now in the article preceding on *yakṣa* I have shown that this word has the value of *bhûta* and that it means (*a*) being (concrete) ; beings in the collective, the creation, universe, world ; a particular class of superhuman beings ; evil being ; (*b*) being (abstract) ; reality, essence, principle, substance, virtue, power, might. These are the meanings of *abhva* also, and I shall now show that these meanings fit well into the context in all the passages where this word occurs. I begin with the above-cited passage *Śata. Br.* 11, 2, 3, 3-5, which I translate as—

"Then the Brahman itself went up to the sphere beyond. Having gone up to the sphere beyond, it considered, 'How can I descend again into these worlds?' It then descended

again by means of these two—Form and Name. Whatever has a name, that is Name ; and that again which has no name and which one knows by its form, 'This is (its) form', is Form : as far as there are Form and Name, so far, indeed, (extends) this universe. These, indeed, are the two great beings (*i.e.*, manifestations) of the Brahman ; and, verily, he who knows these two great beings (*i.e.*, manifestations) of the Brahman becomes himself a great being. These, indeed, are the two great beings (*i.e.*, forms, *ex*-istences) of the Brahman ; and, verily, he who knows these two great beings (*i.e.*, forms, *ex*-istences) of the Brahman becomes himself a great being."

Śata. Br., 3, 2, 1, 25-28 : *so 'yaṃ yajño vâcam abhidadhyau mithuny etayâ syâm iti | tâṃ sambabhûva | indro ha vâ îkṣâṃcakre | mahad vâ ito 'bhvaṃ janiṣyate | yajñasya ca mithunâd vâcaś ca | yan mâ tan mâ 'bhibhaved iti sa indra eva garbho bhûtvaitan mithunaṃ praviveśa | sa ha saṃvatsare jâyamâna îkṣâṃcakre | mahâ-vîryâ vâ iyaṃ yonir yâ mâm adîdharata | yad vai meto mahad evâbhvaṃ nânuprajâyeta yan mâ tan nâbhibhaved iti | tâṃ pratiparâmṛśyâveṣṭyâcchinat* ||

"That Yajña (sacrifice) lusted after Vâc (speech) thinking, 'May I pair with her'. He united with her. Indra then thought within himself. 'Surely a great being will be born out of this union of Yajña and Vâc : [I must take care] lest it should vanquish me'. Indra himself then became an embryo and entered into that union. When being born after a year's time, he thought within himself, 'Verily, of great potency is this womb which has contained me : [I must take care] that no great being will be born from it after me, lest it should vanquish me.' Having seized and pressed it tightly, he cut it off."

RV. 1, 63, 1 : *tvám mahâ'ṅ indra yó ha śúṣmair*
dyâ'vâ jajñânáḥ pṛthivî' ámedhâḥ |
yád dha te víśvâ giráyaś cid ábhvâ
bhiyâ' dṛḷhâ'sah kiráṇâ naíjan ||

"Thou art great, O Indra, that, when being born, didst set Heaven and Earth in agitation through thy strength ; and when, from fear of thee, all beings, even firm mountains, trembled like particles of dust". The correct reading is *viśvâ* and *abhvâ*. neuter, as given in the Pada-pâṭha (see also Bergaigne, *op. cit.*). and not *viśvâḥ* and *abhvâḥ* as assumed by Roth (*PW*) and Geldner (*op. cit.*). *viśvâ abhvâ=viśvâni bhûtâni*=all beings, that is, the creation, the world, the universe ; and Bergaigne (*op. cit.*) has correctly observed that '*viśvâ* . . . . *abhvâ* sont l'expression d'un tout dont les montagnes, *girayaś cit*, font partie'. Compare 1, 61, 14 : *asyéd u bhiyâ' giráyaś ca dṛḷhâ' dyâ'vâ ca bhû'mâ janúṣas tujete* ; 4, 17, 2 : *táva tviṣó jániman rejata dyaú réjad bhû'mir bhiyásâ svásya manyóḥ | ṛghâyánta subhvàḥ párvatâsa â'rdan dhánvâni saráyanta â'paḥ* ||

2, 33, 10 : *árhan bibharṣi sâ'yakâni dhánvâ'*
'rhan niṣkáṃ yajatáṃ viśvárûpam |
árhann idáṃ dayase víśvam ábhvaṃ
ná vâ' ójîyo rudra tvád asti ||

"Thou, O venerable, carriest bow and arrows ; thou, O venerable, the all-formed necklace deserving of worship. Thou, O venerable, rulest all this universe ; there is none, O Rudra, more mighty than thou". Or, should we take *abhvam* here in the sense of 'evil being' and translate the third pâda as 'Thou, O venerable, cuttest to pieces all the evil beings here' (compare Max Müller's translation in *SBE*. 32, 427 : 'Worthily thou cuttest every fiend here to pieces') or as 'Thou, O venerable, rulest all these evil beings'? Rudra is, as we know, the lord of all evil beings (known as *pramatha* or *bhûta* in later literature) not only in post-Vedic literature but even in the Yajus-saṃhitâs ; compare TS. IV. 5, 11, 1 : *ye* (*sc. rudrâḥ*) *bhûtânâm adhipatayo viśikhâsaḥ kapardinaḥ.* Compare also Śâṅkh. ŚS. 4, 20, 1 and Sâyaṇa's commentary, *eṣa*

devaḥ | eṣa iti hastena pradarśya rudro 'bhidhîyate | tat tasmâd eva kâraṇâd asya rudrasyaital lokaprasiddhaṃ bhûtaśabdopetaṃ nâma sampannam | bhûtapatir iti bhûtavan nâma on AB. 3, 33, 1-2.

6, 71, 5 : *úd û ayâñ apavaktéva bâhû'*
hiraṇyáyâ savitâ' suprátîkâ |
divó róhâṃsy aruhat pṛthivyâ'
árîramat patáyat kác cid ábhvam ||

" He, Savitṛ, raised high his (two) golden well-formed arms, like a speaker ; he climbed over the heights of heaven and of the earth ; he stopped all swift-moving beings." *upavaktâ*= a speaker, one who harangues others, an orator, that is, one who calls for the attention of other people. To attract attention, such speaker holds his hands high ; compare *Ratnapâlanṛpaka-thânaka* (Bhavanagar ed., p. 5), st. 106 : *nivartayantî tumulaṃ hastam utkṣipya dûrataḥ | avocat spa ṭavâcaivaṃ saṃrabdhân sarva-bhûbhujaḥ* ; ZDMG. 54, 529, *yogîndraḥ śanaiś-śanair dhyânaṃ muktvâ hasann evam uvâca | kiṃ kasmai pradîyate | kas trâyate bhavârṇavât | sa nara ûrdhva-bâhur evaṃ jagâda | dhanâyâhaṃ tavâtithiḥ* ; *Bhârata-pañcadaśopodghâta*, p. 26 : *satyaṃ satyaṃ punaḥ satyaṃ uddhṛtya bhujam ucyate | bhâratân na paraṃ śâstraṃ câsti loke mahârthadam.* So also does Savitṛ ; compare 2, 38, 2 : *víśvasya hí śruṣṭáye devá ûrdhváḥ prá bâhávâ pṛthúpâṇiḥ sísarti | â'paś cid asya vratá â'nî'mṛgrâ ayáṃ cid vâ'to ramate párijman.*" He, the god (*sc.* Savitṛ) with wide-extending hands, holds forth his arms aloft for the hearing of the universe (that is, that the world may pay attention to him and hear him) ; even the Waters follow his law ; this Vâta even stops in his course (at his command)".[46]

I follow Sâyaṇa in taking *patayat* as a participle. The sense of the third pâda is, 'he checks, he causes to stop, all beings.' Compare 2, 38, 3 : *árîramad átamânaṃ cid êtoḥ | ahyárṣûṇâṃ cin ny àyâñ aviṣyâ'm* " He (*sc.* Savitṛ) stopped even the swift-moving (wind) from moving ; he checked the course of even those who were pressing forward like ahîs". Compare 2, 38, 2 explained above and also 7, 56, 19 : *imé turáṃ marúto râmayanti* " These Maruts bring the swift-moving one to a halt".

1, 92, 5 : *práty arcí' rúśad asyâ adarśi*
ví tiṣṭhate bâ'dhate kṛṣṇám ábhvam |
svárum ná péśo vidátheṣu añjáñ
citráṃ divó duhitâ' bhânúm aśret ||

" Her (*sc.* the Dawn's) bright light is seen ; it spreads itself and dispels the black being. Adorning the sacrificial post in sacrifices as if with an ornament, the Daughter of Heaven has spread her brilliant light."

46 Ludwig translates the first pâda as, 'wie ein upavaktar [priester] hat er die arme emporgestreckt', and, on p. 226 of vol. III (of his *RV. Über*), too, writes as follows :

" VI, 71, 5. wie ein upavaktar hat er seine arme ausgestreckt, Savitar, der gott; dies kann nicht im allgemeinen 'wie ein herbeirufender' bedeuten, weil das ausstrecken der arme zunächst nichts das herbeirufen als solches charakterisierendes ist, wol aber wenn es sich um ein herbeirufen im speciellen sinne handelt, bei welchem gewisse äusserliche bewegungen regelmässig stattfinden und selbstverständlich sind, wie es eben das ausbreiten der arme bei anrufung der götter überall ist (vgl. III, 14, 5. VI. 16, 46. 63, 3. X, 79, 2)."

This opinion seems to me to be incorrect. In the first place, the verses 3, 14, 5, etc., referred to by Ludwig, allude to the stretching or spreading of the arms in front (*uttânahasta*) ; this is quite different from raising the arms on high which is a characteristic of one who wants to attract the attention of others. Compare the passages cited above. (As a matter of fact, the raising high of the arms is a gesture that is used everywhere by every one, including school-children, to attract the attention of other people). Secondly, not one of the Śrauta ritual books prescribe that the *upavaktṛ* (that is, the *maitrâvaruṇa* or *praśâstṛ* ; see Oldenberg, Religion des Veda[2], 390 : Ludwig's suggestion that he is the *acchâvâka* is untenable) should raise his hands high on any occasion.

It is possible to translate *abhvam* here as 'substance' or as 'evil being' also. In any case the sense of the passage remains the same as it is the darkness that is referred to by that word (see Bergaigne, *op. cit.*). Compare 7, 77, 1 : *ákar jyótir bâ'dhamânâ támâṃsi,* "She (*sc.* Uṣas) made light after dispelling darkness"; 7, 78, 2 : *uṣâ' yâti jyótiṣâ bâ'dhamânâ víśvâ támâṃsi duritâ'pa devî',* "The goddess Uṣas goes, dispelling with her light all darkness and evil"; 7, 80, 2 : *gúḍhvî' támo jyótiṣoṣâ' abodhi,* "She (*sc.* Uṣas) has awakened hiding the darkness with her light".

The sense of the third pâda is not very clear. I follow Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 2, 124) in taking *añjan* as standing for *añjantî* and translate it as above. The top of the sacrificial post that is touched and illuminated by the bright ray, *citro bhânuḥ,* of the Dawn appears as if adorned with ornaments ; and hence, Uṣas is said to adorn the post, as it were, with a jewel. Compare 1, 92, 1 : *etâ' u tyâ' uṣásaḥ ketúm akrata pû'rve árdhe rájaso bhâ'num añjate* ; 7, 79, 2 : *vy àñjate divó ántеṣv aktû'n víśo ná yuktâ' uṣáso yatante* ; 7, 78, 1 : *práti ketávaḥ prathamâ' adṛśrann ûrdhvâ' asyâ añjáyo ví śrayante* ; 1, 113, 14 : *vy àñjibhir divá â'tâsv adyaut,* where Uṣas is said to 'adorn' with her rays or where her rays themselves are called ornaments, and also 3, 8, 9 : *śukrâ' vásânâḥ sváravo na â'guḥ,* "The sacrificial posts bearing bright ornaments have come to us", where the ornaments of sacrificial posts are referred to.

4, 51, 9 : *tâ' ín nv èvá samanâ' sámânîr*
ámîtavarṇâ uṣásaś caranti |
gû'hantîr ábhvam ásitaṃ rúśadbhiḥ
śukrâ's tanû'bhiḥ śúcayo rucânâ'ḥ ||

"They that are alike, the Dawns, whose brilliance is undimmed, now go alike on their way, covering the black being with their bright selves, they that are brilliant, pure and effulgent".

1, 140, 5: *â'd asya té dhvasáyanto vṛ'therate*
kṛṣṇám ábhvaṃ máhi várpaḥ kárikrataḥ |
yát sîṃ mahî'm avániṃ prâ'bhí mármṛśad
abhiśvasán stanáyann éti nâ'nadat ||

"Then the (flames) of this (Agni) move swiftly forward destroying the black being, and putting on great splendour when he goes caressing the wide earth, panting, thundering, roaring". *dhvasayantaḥ* in the first pâda does not mean 'sparkling' as Oldenberg (SBE., 46, 141) understands ; nor is the expression *kṛṣṇam abhvam* the object (Oldenberg, *l.c.*, Geldner, *op. cit.*, p. 121) of *karikrataḥ* in addition to *mahi varpaḥ*. As the passage *rátho ha vâṃ bhû'ri várpaḥ kárikrat* ('your chariot that has put on much splendour') in 3, 58, 9 shows, *varpaḥ* alone is the object of *karikrataḥ* in the above verse, and not *kṛṣṇam abhvam* also. This latter is the object of *dhvasayantaḥ*, 'destroying, pulverising', which is derived from the root *dhvas, dhvaṃs,* to destroy, to pulverise.

AV. 4, 17, 5 (=7, 23, 1) : *daúṣvapnyaṃ daúrjîvityaṃ rákṣo abhvàm arâyyàḥ* |
durṇâ'mnîḥ sárvâ durvâ'cas tâ' asmán nâśayâmasi ||

"Evil-dreaming, evil-living, demon, evil being, hags, all the ill-named, ill-voiced,—these we make disappear from us."

AV. 13, 6, 4 : *sá evá mṛtyúh sò 'mṛ'taṃ sò 'bhvàṃ sá rákṣaḥ* |
"He verily (is) death, he immortality, he the evil being, he the demon".

RV. 1, 39, 8 : *yuṣméṣito maruto mártyeṣita*
â' yó no ábhva î'ṣate |
ví táṃ yuyota śávasâ vy ójasâ
ví yúṣmâkâbhir ûtíbhiḥ ||

"The evil spirit, O Maruts, that has been sent by you or by mortals, and is rushing on us —remove it from us by strength, by might, through your protections." *ûti*, protection, denotes here really the deeds of prowess done by the Maruts in order to protect; compare 1, 129, 5: *ní ṣû' namâ'timatiṃ kâyasya cit téjiṣṭhâbhir aráṇibhir nótibhir ugrâ'bhir ugrotíbhiḥ*, "Suppress well the pride of any one with thy fierce protections, *i.e.*, deeds of prowess, that are most brilliant like firesticks, O thou fierce one." According to Sâyaṇa, Max Müller (SBE. 32, 97) and Ludwig, the second distich means, 'deprive him of power, of strength, and of your favours'. This interpretation however implies that the Maruts sometimes help the evil spirits sent by mortals, and hence does not seem to me to be satisfactory.

1, 169, 3 : *ámyak sâ' ta indra ṛṣṭír asmé*
sánemy ábhvaṃ marúto junanti |
agníś cid dhí ṣmâtasé śuśukvâ'n
â'po ná dvîpáṃ dádhati práyâṃsi ||

"That spear of thine, O Indra, has been attached (to thy body) on our behalf; the Maruts drive away totally the evil being. He has burnt up (the evil spirits) as Agni does brushwood; they bear food as the Waters, the island". This stanza is obscure, and in pâdas c and d there is nothing to indicate who it is that is said to be *śuśukvân* and to carry food. According to Geldner (*R.V. Über.*, p. 222), who refers to the occurrence of the phrase *dadhati prayâṃsi* in 3, 30, 1 and 10, 91, 9 (10, 91, 1 is a misprint), the two pâdas refer to the men who prepare the sacrifice; *śuśukvân* stands really for *śuśukvâṃsaḥ* and the meaning of the two pâdas is, "denn wie Feuerim Gestrüpp glühend bereiten sie (die Priester) ein Gastmahl wie die Gewässer eine Insel". Regarding pâda a, he observes that the translation 'dein Speer hat sich gegen uns gerichtet' does not fit well in the context and that, moreover, nowhere in the RV is a *ṛṣṭi* spoken of in connection with Indra. He is therefore inclined to connect this word *ṛṣṭi* with *vṛṣṭi* in 1, 52, 5, 14 (cf. *vṛṣabha* and *ṛṣabha*) and *ṛṣva*, and translates pâda a as 'An uns hat sich deine Hoheit (?) O Indra, angeschlossen'. Pâda b he translates as 'Die Marut setzen ihre gewaltige Erscheinung vollständig in Bewegung'.

All this seems to me to be hardly satisfactory. I think that pâdas c and d refer, like a and b, to Indra and the Maruts respectively. Regarding c, compare 6, 18, 10: *agnír ná śúṣkaṃ vánam indra hetî' rákṣo ní dhakṣi* "Burn the evil spirits with thy weapon, O Indra, as Agni does dry forests". I take *cit* here as an *upamâ-vâcaka*: compare the *Nirukta*, 1, 4, 13; *Nighaṇṭu*, 3, 13; and Geldner's translation, cited above, of this stanza.

Regarding *ṛṣṭi*, it is true that, as observed by Geldner, this word is nowhere else in the RV used to denote the weapon of Indra. But the root *ṛj* (*ṛñj*) from which it is derived means 'to let loose, to throw' so that *ṛṣṭi* denotes primarily that which is thrown. It is thus a synonym of *heti* (from *hi*, 'to throw, to impel') 'missile, weapon' which is used in connection with Indra in 6, 18, 10 cited above and in other verses. There seems to be no doubt therefore that it denotes the Vajra or other weapon of Indra in the above verse and that pâdas a and c together are a paraphrase of 6, 18, 10 cited above.

The comparison in pâda d is obscure. The meaning of the pâda seems to be, 'they, the Maruts, bear food as the Waters bear islands on their bosom.' Compare in this connection 1, 88, 1: *â' várṣiṣṭhayâ na iṣâ' váyo ná paptatâ sumâyâ'ḥ*; 1, 166, 1: *nítyaṃ ná sûnúṃ mádhu bíbhrata úpa krî'ḷanti krî'ḷâ'ḥ*; 5, 55, 1: *marúto bhrâ'jad-ṛṣṭayo bṛhád váyo dadhire rukmá-vakṣasaḥ*; and 7, 58, 3: *bṛhád váyo magháva dbhyo dadhâta*, in which the Maruts are represented as bringing food to their worshippers.

1, 185, 2 : *bhûríṃ dvé ácarantî cárantaṃ*
padvántaṃ gárbham apádî dadhâte |
nítyaṃ ná sûnúṃ pitrór upásthe
dyâ'vâ rakṣataṃ pṛthivî no ábhvât ||

This verse has already been translated above, on p. 203 of vol. LV *ante*. **Pâda d is found as the refrain of the six following verses of this hymn.**

5, 49, 5 : *prá yé vásubhya î'vad â' námo dúr*
ye mitré váruṇe sûktá-vâcaḥ |
ávaitv ábhvaṃ kṛṇutâ' várîyo
divás-pṛthivyór ávasâ madema ||

"Who offered such adoration to the bright ones, who speak hymns of praise to Mitra and Varuna—(from us) let the evil being depart ; make (for us) broad space. May we be glad through the favour of Heaven and Earth". The relative pronoun *ye* in pâdas a and b has for antecedent *asmat* (understood) in pâda c. The expression, 'let the evil being depart, make for us broad space' means, 'drive off the evil beings and make the space around us clear of such beings ; make us secure.' The phrase *kṛṇutâ varîyaḥ* has the same sense as *varivaḥ kṛṇota* (see Grassmann, s.v. *varivaḥ*).

1, 24, 6 : *nahí te kṣatrám ná sáho ná manyúṃ*
váyaś canâ'mî patáyanta âpúḥ |
némâ' â'po animiṣáṃ cárantîr
ná yé vâ'tasya pra minánty ábhvam ||

"Thy might, thy strength, thy wrath,—even these birds that fly did not attain it (i.e., did not measure its extent) ; nor (did) these waters that move unceasingly, nor they that contemn (*i.e.*, surpass) the might (*i.e.*, the speed) of Vâta." As explained by Sâyaṇa, *abhvam*, might, is here equivalent to *vega* ; for it is in *vega* that the might of Vâta is chiefly manifested. The sense of the fourth pâda is, 'Not even they that are swifter than the wind, and still less the wind itself, can go beyond reach of thy strength, of thy might, of thy anger.'

1, 168, 9 : *ásûta pṛ'śnir mahaté ráṇâya*
tveṣám ayâ'sâṃ marútâm ánîkam |
té sapsâ'râso 'janayantâ'bhvaṃ
â'd ít svadhâ'm iṣirâ'ṃ páry apaśyan ||

"Pṛśni brought forth for the great fight the terrible troop of the impetuous Maruts. They, alike in form, produced (*i.e.*, made manifest) their might and then saw around them the invigorating food". The sense of the second distich is obscure. *sapsarâsaḥ*= alike in form ; see *Ved. St.*, 3, 197, and *svadhâ*= *sudhâ*, the food of the gods ; see p. 34 in vol. LVI *ante*.

2, 4, 5 : *â' yán me ábhvaṃ vanádaḥ pánan-*
tośígbhyo nâ'mimîta várṇam |
sá citréṇa cikite ráṃsu bhâsâ'
jujurvâ'n̐ yó múhur â' yúvâ bhû't ||

The import of the first two pâdas of this stanza is not clear. *vanadaḥ* is a *hapax legomenon* and is regarded by Oldenberg (SBE., 42, 205 ; *RV. Noten*, I, 192) as a compound of *van* 'the forest' and of *ad* 'to eat'. The stanza means therefore according to Oldenberg, "When they praised to me the monstrous might of the eater of the forests, he produced his (shining) colour as (he has done) for the Uśijs. With shining splendour he has shone joyously, he who having grown old has suddenly become young (again)". Similarly Geldner too translates the distich as "Was sie mir als das Grossartige des Holzfressers rühmen : Er veränderte seine Farbe wie für die Uśij" in his *RV. Übersetzung*. In *Ved. St.* 3, 120, on the other hand, he regarded the word *vanad* as being formed, (like *bhasad*, and *śarad*) from the root *van* with the suffix *ad* and denoting 'wish, prayer ;' and he translated the distich as, "Als meine Gebete seine Schreckensgestalt abfeilschten, da veränderte er seine Farbe wie für die Uśij." I am inclined to agree with Geldner's former opinion and look upon *vanad* as being derived

from the root *van* ' to wish, to long for ' with the suffix *ad*. *vanadah* therefore means ' longing, eager', and denotes, I conceive, the 'eager,' *i.e.*, swift-moving flames of Agni ; compare 6, 66, 10 : *tṛṣu-cyávaso juhvò nâ'gnêḥ* ' greedily, *i.e.*, swiftly, moving like the tongues (*i.e.*, flames) of Agni ' and the other verses referred to on p. 227, vol. LVI *ante*. I therefore translate the stanza as : " He produced (*i.e.*, put on) splendour as if for the Uśijs when the eager (flames) proclaimed his might to me ; he shone with brilliant joyous light, he who having grown old, became again and again young."

Compare in connection with the first pâda, 6, 12, 5 : *ádha smâsya panayanti bhâ'so vṛ'thâ yát tákṣad anuyâ'ti pṛthvî'm*, ' then his splendours (*i.e.*, flames) proclaim his greatness as he, cutting, goes along the earth. ' The expressions *âpananta* and *panayanta* in the above verses refer to the sound made by Agni's flames which are here represented as bards attending on kings and heralding their approach, that is, as the *vandinaḥ*, *mâgadhâḥ* or *sûtâḥ* that are mentioned in later literature as preceding kings and sounding their praises ; compare 9, 10, 3 : *râ'jâno ná práśastibhiḥ sómâso góbhir ajyate* ; 9, 65, 6 : *râ'jâ medhâ'bhir îyate*. In 1, 87, 3 : *svayáṃ mahitváṃ panayanta dhû'tayaḥ*, on the other hand, it is said of the Maruts that they themselves proclaimed their greatness, that is, that they were their own bards.

amimîta in pâda b is derived, as pointed out by Geldner in *Ved. St.* 3, 119, from the root *mi*, *mî* and not from *mâ*. The expression *varṇam amimîta* is synonymous with the expression *varpaḥ karikrat* that we have met with above in 1, 140, 5 and means ' he produced, *i.e.*, put on splendour or brilliance.' Compare 2, 13, 3 *rûpâ' minán tádapâ êka îyate* and 5, 42, 13 : *rûpâ' minânó ákṛṇod idáṃ naḥ*. With regard to *muhuḥ*, see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 3, 186 ff.

6, 4, 3 : *dyâ'vo ná yásya panáyanty ábhvaṃ*
bhâ'sâṃsi vaste sû'ryo ná śukráḥ |
ví yá inóty ajáraḥ pâvakó
'śnasya cic chiśnathat pûrvyâ'ṇi ||

" Whose might they praise like that of Dyaus, he (*sc.* Agni), brilliant like the sun, clothes himself in splendour ; he who, bright and unaging, drives away (enemies) and destroyed the old (fortresses) of Aśna even". The sense of the first pâda is not quite clear, and the explanations given of it by Pischel (*Ved. St.*, 1, 201) and Geldner (*ibid.*, 3, 121) are not very satisfactory. If *dyâvaḥ* is to be taken as nominative plural (as it has to be in the other RV passages where it occurs) the meaning would be ' whose greatness the heavens (*i.e.*, the sky) praise as it were.' This is the course followed by Ludwig who has translated the pâda as ' des gewalt die himmel gleichsam bewundern ', which is sufficiently close to the translation given by me above ; compare 8, 15, 8 : *táva dyaúr indra paúṃsyaṃ pṛthivî' vardhati śrávaḥ*. ' The sky, O Indra, magnifies thy valour and the earth thy renown.' I believe however that the passage yields better sense if the word *dyâvaḥ* is taken as genitive singular and the pâda interpreted as ' of whom they praise the greatness as of Dyaus.' The greatness of Dyaus is referred to in 4, 21, 1 : *dyaúr ná ksatráṃ abhíbhûti púṣyât*, ' May he (sc. Indra) flourish, like Dyaus, in might surpassing those of others', KS. 7,13 : *dyaur mahnâsi bhûmir bhûmnâ*, ' Thou art Dyaus (the sky) with (in ?) greatness, the earth with (in?) vastness ' and in 1, 131, 1 ; 1, 122, 1 etc., where the epithet *asuraḥ*, mighty, is applied to Dyaus. Compare also in this connection 1, 131, 1 ; 1, 63, 1 and other similar passages, which describe the might of Indra and other deities by saying that even the sky and the earth quaked with fear or drew back with fear at their approach.

This closes the list of passages in which *abhva* occurs. It will be noted that, like the word *yakṣa*, this word too is used in the masculine as well as in the neuter gender ; and there can be no doubt that, like its synonym *yakṣaḥ* (see p. 147 in vol. LVII. *ante*), the word *abhvaḥ* too denotes ' being (concrete) ; a class of superhuman beings ; evil being ' while *abhva* neuter has, like *yakṣa* neuter, these as well as the other meanings mentioned on p. 101 above.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTES ON KHOTAN AND LADAKH.

(From a Tibetan point of view.)

BY PROF. A. H. FRANCKE, PH.D.

IN the year 1914 I had the pleasure of passing through Chinese Turkestan and Ladakh. The collections then made on the road remained in the hands of the missionaries at Kashgar and Leh until they could be sent to Europe (Munich Museum) in 1927. When working at these collections, which are somewhat similar to those made by Sir Aurel Stein on his first and second journeys, I was struck by the idea that the Tibetans also have something to say about things in Turkestan. Sir Aurel Stein, who has so much to tell us of Turkestan, draws most of his information from Chinese sources, and he is right to do so. He also drew on such Tibetan sources as were available, but as I think I can add a little I venture to make the following remarks :—

Sir Aurel Stein knew of abstracts of the four following works on Turkestan (Khotan) in Tibetan :

(1) *Li-yul-lo-rgyus-pa*, History of Li-yul (Khotan), *bstan-'agyur*, vol. 94, pp. 426–444.

(2) *Li-yul-luṅ-bstan-pa* (*Kaṁśadeśa-vyâkaraṇa*), Prophecy of Li-yul, *bstan-'agyur*, vol. 94, pp. 420–425.

(3) *dgra-bcom-pa-dge-'adun-'aphel-gyi luṅ-bstan-pa* (*Saṁghavardhana-vyâkaraṇa*), Prophecies of the Arhat Saṁghavardhana, *bst.* vol. 94, p. 412–420.

(4) *Ri-glaṅ-ru-luṅ-bstan* (*Gośriṅga-vyâkaraṇa*), Prophecies of Gośriṅga, *bka-'agyur*, vol. 30 (32), pp. 336–354.

Only the last of these works has a colophon, which tells us that the book was written in Râjagṛiha, where it was translated out of the language of *Li* (Khotan). No. 3 of the above list contains an important name, *viz.*, that of a man, on whose authority rests the whole of its contents, Arhat Saṁghavardhana, who apparently told of things he had heard in his lifetime. This Arhat is mentioned in Târanâtha's *History of Buddhism*, where it is said that he lived in the days when Islam made its first appearance in India. Up to the present time a proper translation has not been made of either of these works. Rockhill says, on p. 231 of his *Life of the Buddha*, that translations are not wanted, as the three first books mentioned above cover the same ground. Instead of a translation, therefore, he gives us an abstract of the history of Khotan, drawn from all four books : see his *Life of the Buddha* (1884), pp. 230–248. Without knowing of the existence of this work. S. Ch. Das, in 1886, wrote an article, " Buddhist and other Legends about Khotan ", in which he also gave an abstract of the contents of those books, although he does not mention his sources. (*JASB.*, 1886, pp. 193–201.) These two abstracts Sir Aurel Stein had at his disposal when he wrote his *Ancient Khotan.*

Prof. F. W. Thomas, who was not satisfied with the spelling of the Khotanese names in the abstracts, furnished Appendix E for *Ancient Khotan,* entitled " Extracts from Tibetan accounts of Khotan", in which he gave a list of royal names from Khotan, together with a list of donations and holy buildings erected by the kings, in the spelling of the Tibetans works (Nos. 1-3). Thomas' abstract is followed by an abstract of No. 4, the *Gośriṅga-vyâkaraṇa* by Sylvain Lévi, quoted from the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.*

Now, with regard to these works, it would certainly be very valuable if we should get a translation of all three of them. As these books claim to be translations of native Khotanese works, they are of the greatest importance to Khotanese archæology, and have been resorted to in many difficult questions. Of course, in the time of Rockhill, nobody would have hoped that such a rich archæological harvest would ever hail from Turkestan.

Although these are the principal works, there are a few others, which are also useful for the student of history :

(1) The Tibetan chronicles (*La-dvags-rgyal-rabs,* and others).

(2) The Tibetan documents and letters brought from Turkestan by Stein as well as by Grünwedel and Le Coq.

(3) The famous stone inscriptions from Lhasa. They contain remarkably few notes on Turkestan.

(4) The geographical work on Tibet, the " *'aDzam-gliṅ-ye-shes* ", which contains also a chapter dealing with Turkestan.

(5) The legends of the town of Rauruka, contained in the *Divyâvadâna*, which have been preserved in Sanskrit as well as in Tibetan, seem to have been composed in Turkestan. The book was possibly put together from local tales.

Let me now give an abstract of the history of Turkestan, according to Chinese and other sources. In the second and third century B.C., the Yüeh-chih were the western neighbours of the Chinese, who were often molested by them. Therefore they were attacked and driven to the far west, until they reached Bactria. Their seats were taken by the Huns, who were no pleasanter neighbours of the Chinese, and virtually reigned over all Central Asia. To exert pressure on them, the Chinese sought the friendship of the Yüeh-chih, to whom they sent an envoy, Chang Khien (138 B.C.). The latter was taken prisoner by the Huns and kept for ten years. After his escape, he actually reached Bactria, but could not convince the Yüeh-chih of the advantages of a Chinese treaty. Although in this respect the object of Chang-Khien's journey was a failure, in other respects it was of the greatest importance. For the first time the Chinese heard of the existence of rich and cultivated lands in the far west, and their government resolved to found colonies in those districts.

First of all, the Huns were taken by storm, their country passed through, and in 107 B.C. the Chinese emperors concluded a treaty with the Wu-sun of the Ili valley, who were a tribe of the Yüeh-chih. All the lands east and west of the Alai mountains now accepted Chinese supremacy, and in 59 B.C. a general governor was appointed over all the western states of the Chinese dominions, who reigned over the present districts of Russian and Chinese Turkestan. Although the Chinese connections with these western colonies were occasionally interrupted, we find a Chinese Governor still existing in 73 A.D. At that time Kuchâ was his residence. If however we examine the archæological finds of Turkestan with a view to these early times, we must say that, except for a few coins, nothing has been preserved. Most of the ancient coins in all the collections have been rubbed to the utmost degree, and on most of them only two plain surfaces have been preserved. Nevertheless, among Sir Aurel Stein's coins, brought from Yotkan, there is also a piece of the usurper Wang-meng, coined in the years A.D. 14-19. Also, on p. 205 of *Ancient Khotan*, we read of a coin, which Bushell believes to be still older. Of this coin, Sir Aurel had brought only a single specimen from his second Turkestan expedition. So I am all the more proud to be able to report that I got from Yotkan two perfect and one damaged specimen of the same coin. They were sent to Munich. Bushell says of this coin (*Ancient Khotan*. p. 205): " From style, material and script I would attribute it to the former Han Dynasty. The first character is certainly *yü*, which I take to stand for *Yü-thien*, Khotan ; the second appears to be an archæic form of *fang*, meaning territory, quarter. This with some reserve, etc."

The Empire of the Kushâṇaṣ.

The sudden disappearance of the Chinese from Turkestan after the first century A.D. is due to the sudden rising to power of the Kushâṇas, who are a tribe of the before mentioned Yüeh-chih. About A.D. 50-60 Prince Kujula Kadphises had expelled the Parthians from the Indus Valley. His descendants added to his kingdom, until under the great emperor Kanishka it comprised the following territories : Northern India from Kashmir and the Panjab down to the frontiers of Bengal, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Western Ladakh with Baltistan, and portions of Eastern and Western Turkestan.

Regarding Turkestan, we may say with a great amount of certainty, that Kashgar, Khotan and Kuchâ were parts of the empire. In favour of this view we may state that coins of

the Kushâṇa emperors are found in very great quantities in Khotan and a few in Kashgar. But also from the north (Kuchâ) several were brought by the German expeditions. Of importance here is the appearance of the title " Amâtya " in Turkestan as well as in Baltistan. This title is an Indian one and must have been granted by an Indian monarch. The Chinese, who followed the Kushâṇas in Turkestan, would have invented other titles. As a matter of fact, when the Chinese again took possession of Khotan they found the title in the possession of the so-called Kings of Khotan and altered it to *A-mo-chih*. The Tibetans also met with the same title when they came to power. They spelt it *A-ma-ca*, and it was Prof. H. Lüders who explained this word correctly as going back to the Sanskrit *amâtya*. (*Sitaungsberichte*, 1919, p. 740.) Prof. Lüders points out, however, that *âmâca* has not so far been found in Kushâṇa documents.

The circumstances under which the title was given, may be explained in this way. When the Kushâṇa emperors took possession of Turkestan, they found in Kuchâ, Kashgar and Khotan small kingdoms, whose princes they did not wish to expel, because such a proceeding would have thrown the whole district into disorder. They found it more convenient to leave them in possession of their dominions, and, as a mark of their dependence on the emperor, induced them to accept the title of *amâtya*, ' minister.' As *amâtyas*, they ruled their own land in the interest of the Kushâṇas, as well as their own. When the Chinese reconquered the country, they accepted this title for their vassal-kings, but spelled it differently. The Tibetans also made use of it in the same way; and several Tibetan documents with this title havebeen found.

It is of great interest to note that the same thing occurs also in the historical documents of Baltistan, *viz.*, among the Dukes of Shigar. In the genealogical tree of these Dukes given by Cunningham, the title or name *A-mâ-châh* is connected with the very first of them. This appears to mean that in the time of Kanishka, this tribe of Baltis was under the sovereignty of the Kushâṇas. Later on, when they became independent again, the title was so much valued that they preserved it in their pedigree. They were pleased to make it known to their descendants, that under the great Kushâṇa emperors they had ranked as ministers. After Amâchâh, the Dukes are furnished with the title *tham*. Thus there we find *Yaksir-gao-tham*, *Khomulgo-tham*, *Gobûlgo-tham*, etc. As the title *tham*, 'king' is also in use among the chiefs of Hunza-Nagar, Dr. F. W. Thomas was led to believe that the strange names *Yaksir-gao*, *Khomulgo*, *Gobûlgo* might be imported from that region, and be explained by the Burushaski language. But Colonel Lorimer, the best authority on that language, does not agree with that opinion.

In Shigar we have reached the territory of a half Tibetan tribe (Balti), which had become subject to the Kushâṇas, and the archæology of Ladakh (the former West Tibetan empire) makes us believe also that portions of this kingdom too were subject to the Kushâṇas. Let me mention my discovery of a Kharoshṭhî inscription at Khalatse bridge, which I have published several times, most recently in my pamphlet *Geistesleben in Tibet*, where Pindi Lal's excellent photo of it is found. It was first read by Prof. Rapson. (See my *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. I, p. 94), and more recently by Prof. Sten Konow (*Act. Or.*, V, pp. 28-38). He reads the royal names as follows : *Uvimakav thisa sa*, or perhaps *Uvima kavthsasa*, and connects it with the famous Kushâṇa ruler Vîma-Kadphises. The date of this inscription is · *Saṁ*. 187, or, in Sten Konow's view, A.D. 103. The particular interest of this inscription lies in the fact that a portrait of a Kushâṇa king, just as it is given on many of the Kanishka coins, is found in the middle of the text. Although Prof. Sten Konow's reading of the inscription has not yet been fully accepted by all his fellow scholars, some of whom say that his identification with Vîma-Kadphises is not fully convincing, this much is certain : the inscription goes back to the times of the Kushâṇas, and this makes it probable that Western Ladakh up to Khalatse formed part of the Kushâṇa empire. The inscription makes it also probable that the population of the Khalatse district spoke a Prâkṛit dialect, at the time of its carving. But let me add that, as

I pointed out in my article, *A language map of Ladakh* (*JASB.*, 1904), the population of Khalatse probably spoke a Dard dialect in those times.

In the chronicles of Zaṅs-dkar (*Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, vol. II, p. 156) there is a short passage in which it is stated that Zaṅs-dkar, before the advent of the Tibetans, formed part of Kashmir. That may mean, that Zaṅs-dkar was also included in the great Kushâṇa empire. Now, the reign of Kanishka was one of the grand times of Buddhism. A Buddhist council was held in Kashmir, and Buddhist art flourished in Gandhâra. It is therefore probable that all his subjects took part in an enthusiastic movement, and that Buddhism was highly strengthened in Khotan, if not introduced at that time. But the legends of Khotan, which are given in the Tibetan chronicle (prophecy) place the introduction earlier. According to it, a son of Aśoka, the founder of Khotan, is credited with it, though there is nothing to show that this was actually the case. Nevertheless, it looks as if in the first and second centuries A.D.—the time of the Kushâṇas—there really had been found several monuments of those earlier times. The great difficulty here is that the ancient names of these monuments have been lost and, although a good number of ancient names are given in Tibetan orthography in the "Prophecies," we neither understand them, nor know what they refer to. Sir Aurel Stein is fully convinced that such a remarkable monument as the Râwak-stûpa goes back to the second century A.D. But what is its ancient name ? Who erected it ?

Other witnesses of the ancient Buddhist times are the very valuable MSS. on palm-leaf, birch-bark and other material, which are found in Turkestan and have become famous as representing the most ancient Indian MSS. in existence. The first remarkable find was that of the Bower Manuscript in A.D. 1890, then of the *Dhammapada* by Dutreuil de Rhins in 1892, half of which was afterwards sold to the Russians by the natives. Whilst the find-place of that remarkable manuscript was said, by the natives, to have been Gośriṅga near Khotan, several other no less valuable finds were subsequently made at Kuchâ. The Manuscript of Buddhist dramas found there, and read and translated by Lüders, actually goes back to the first century A.D., and is pronounced to be the oldest Indian palm-leaf manuscript in existence.

Besides the manuscripts, there are also many coins of the time of the Kushâṇas found in Turkestan. Even in my own collection there was one piece, which plainly shows the portrait of a Kushâṇa ruler. Among those which were examined by Hoernle, the name of Kujûla-Kadphises could be plainly read. All the pieces are of copper. There exist also Kushâṇa coins of gold, exhibiting a representation of Buddha inscribed *Boddo* in Greek characters ; but such specimens have been found only in the western provinces of the Kushâṇa empire.

The ordinary people of Khotan in the period of Buddhist culture had learnt to read and write, and for their sacred books an ancient character of Gupta type was introduced. We know this from the ancient manuscripts of the Buddhist dramas, the *Kalpanâmaṇḍitika*, third or fourth century, and the *Bhikṣuṇî-pratimokṣa*,[1] but for secular correspondence, the Kharoshṭhî characters were used. Documents in the latter type of writing on wood, paper, and even leather, have been found in great quantities. Professor E. J. Rapson, assisted by A. M. Boyer and E. Sénart, has, after painstaking labour, succeeded in editing two volumes of them with transliterations in Roman characters. The most important of these relics have been translated by Rapson, Lüders and Leumann. It has been possible thus to discover five kings of Loulan, (Shan-Shan) in them, and to fix their order of succession. Even the name of a king of Khotan, Avijita-siṁha, has been discovered in these documents.

As regards the western parts of Tibet also, the present Ladakh, we may be sure that they were not without writing in Kushâṇa times. The Kharoshṭhî inscription of Khalatse has already been mentioned, and besides that, there have been found two smaller Kharoshṭhî inscriptions in the same locality. There is moreover even an older Brahmî inscription on the

[1] The *Dhammapada* manuscript, however, is written in Kharoshṭhî characters

boulders of Khalatse. The empire of the eastern women has to be located in Ladakh, according to the Sui-shu and in that empire Indian writing was in use. All this is now proved by archæology.

Baltistan, half-way between Ladakh and Khotan, was also probably not left without a script. This is a country, however, which has not yet been thoroughly examined, and its rocks may still yield some wonderful records. I am convinced that the Kharoshṭhî script was in vogue there in Kushâṇa times; and it is remarkable that the Baltis still use a script for their historical books, which runs from right to left and is founded on an Indian alphabet. It is not Kharoshṭhî in its present shape, and more modern letters are inserted here and there; but it may be a later development of a form of writing which began as Kharoshṭhî. Is it not extraordinary that, up to the present, not a single manuscript of this type of Balti script has been brought to Europe, or to any of the great Indian libraries? The only specimen of it that has been published is found in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, vol. III, part I.

To Ladakh also, as might be expected, the Buddhist art of Gandhâra was brought. But it did not come by way of Khotan, but by way of Kashmir or the Panjab. The ancient stone-monuments of Ladakh cannot be dated so far back as the first or second century A.D., but they are certainly pre-lamaistic, and there can be hardly any doubt that Buddhism was firmly rooted in Ladakh, Lahoul, etc., before these districts were governed by Lhasa. Let me mention the marble sculpture of Avalokiteśwara of Re-phag (Triloka-nâtha) from the sixth or seventh century; the marble head of the same deity from Gondla, of the same time; the relief sculpture of Maitreya near dNul-'abye in Ladakh of the ninth or tenth century; the relief sculptures of Sadpur in Baltistan and Saṅ-ku (probably *saṅs-rgyas-sku*) in Purig. All these sculptures are plain descendants of the Gandhâra school of art.

Turkestan was the country through which passed Buddhist wisdom as well as Buddhist art on its way to China. It is an interesting fact that we have a short note with regard to Buddhist art, carried to China, in the Tibetan work *'aDzam-gliṅ-ye-shes*, of the seventeenth century. We read in a translation from this work by S. Ch. Das (*JRAS*.. 1886, p. 201): "To the East of Aksu lies Guchhe (Kuchâ) of Li-yul, now called Khu-chhu or Kuthe. These were anciently places of Buddhist pilgrimage. It was from Khuthe, that the image of *Chaudana Choui* of China was carried to the court of the emperor of Tsin". By the words *Chaudana Choui* is meant: *Tsan-dan Jo-bo*, 'the Bhagavân of Sandal-wood'. This is the name of the image of Buddha still existing in the Tsandan-sse, (temple) at Peking, which was shown to S. Ch. Das in 1885. Further, as the Chinese spouse of Sroṅ-btsan-sgampo brought such an image of sandal-wood to Tibet from China, it is very probable, that this also was an image originally manufactured in Kuchâ. In fact, Kuchâ in those days was famous for its images, for in one of the temples of Khotan there was also placed an image from there.

Coins of the Kushâṇa times have not yet been found in Ladakh, but it is quite possible that such will come to light, when some of the ancient *stûpas* are opened. Until now that has not yet been done, as the country is still Buddhist, and all the *stûpas* are objects of worship.

(To be continued.)

WAS ST. THOMAS IN SOUTH INDIA ?

(A Reply to Dr. P. J. Thomas.)

By T. K. JOSEPH, B.A., L.T.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LVII, pp. 7—10, Dr. P. J. Thomas of Travancore has published a criticism of my article, *St. Thomas in South India*, printed in the same journal, vol. LV, pp. 221—223. The same rejoinder by Dr. Thomas had previously appeared in *The Young Men of India* (Calcutta) for November 1927, pp. 652-662, with some prefatory remarks, and a controversy went on between us in that magazine for some months. As it is unnecessary to repeat all that has been written by both parties in that journal, I shall confine myself to the most important points discussed therein.

In *The Young Men of India* for November 1927, p. 652, Dr. Thomas declares that " legends grow around a fact." I do not agree that this can be laid down as a general rule. There are exceptions. For instance, take the following, which I mentioned in *Y.M.I.* for December 1927, p. 734 :—" There is the local Hindu tradition of the coming of the Pâṇḍavas to scores of places in Malabar. But that does not mean that they ever actually came there. In Marco Polo's time (*c.* 1290) there was the tradition in Ceylon that on Adam's Peak 'is the sepulchre of Adam, our first parent' (Yule's *Marco Polo*, 1903, vol. II, p. 316). But that does not mean that Adam was ever in Ceylon."

In *Y.M.I.* for January 1928, Dr. Thomas says : " My conclusion is the same as that of my last article. There is no evidence to discard the" (South Indian) " tradition of St. Thomas." But my contention is that there is no evidence to *prove* the South Indian tradition of St. Thomas, *i.e.*, to prove that St. Thomas came to South India, as the tradition alleges. Since South Indian tradition has all these centuries been saying that St. Thomas did come to South India, the *onus probandi* is on those who uphold it.

1. " Legends grow around a fact " (says Dr. Thomas).
2. A legend has grown around the coming of St. Thomas to South India.
3. *Ergo* the coming of St. Thomas to South India is a fact.

Certainly this logic does not appeal to me.

In *Y.M.I.* for November 1927, p. 653, Dr. Thomas says : " We have patristic testimony in favour of the apostolate." No ; none of the early fathers of the Church say definitely and explicitly that St. Thomas evangelized *South* India. True, the early fathers and other writers assign "India" to St. Thomas. But writers of the same period assign *Parthia* to him, not India.

Might we not say that both parties are right, on the assumption that it was to India—Parthia (the Indo-Parthian region in the North-West of India) that St. Thomas went ?

" I admit," says Dr. Thomas, " that *direct* evidences are now lacking to prove that the South Indian journey of St. Thomas is a *fact* owing to the lack of contemporary records, ..." (from South India).—*Y.M.I.*, November 1927, p. 652.

Very well, then, let us not say that the South Indian journey of St. Thomas *is a fact* until such records are forthcoming, especially because Professor Sylvain Lévi says in a letter to me from Japan, dated 29th April, 1927 (*Y.M.I.*, July 1927, p. 402) :

". . . . you are right in denying any historical value to local legends which have nothing to bring to their support. What is known from early books points *only* to North-West India, and *no other place*, for Saint Thomas' apostolic activity *and martyrdom*. This is, of course, mere tradition too, no real history." (Italics mine.)

What recorded St. Thomas tradition of equal age has South India to pit against the St. Thomas tradition recorded in the early books of foreign countries like Edessa ? None at all.

Says Dr. Thomas : " I therefore assert again that *no shred of evidence has yet been brought forward to discredit the plain tradition above noted* " (that St. Thomas came to South India).—*Y.M.I.* for January 1928. We should rather express it otherwise, *i.e.*, that no shred of evidence has yet been brought forward to *prove* the plain tradition that St. Thomas came to South

India. The tradition may be plain, it may be hoary, age-old, ancient or of time immemorial; it may be held sacred by the Malabar Christians or even by the whole of Christendom. Yet when we begin to scrutinize and argue about it, the burden of proof rests with those who stand by the tradition, although Dr. Thomas says (*Y.M.I.*, November 1927, p. 654) that "when we are dealing with such a hoary and respected tradition, the *onus probandi* is on those who claim to disprove it." A strange statement indeed! How could the (*onus*) obligation (*probandi*) to prove a tradition rest on those who claim to disprove it? This would be an inversion of the established rules of evidence.

On p. 41 of *Y.M.I.* for January, 1928, Dr. Thomas writes: "The plain question is, Have you any evidence to affirm that St. Thomas *did not come to India* or *could not have come*; or that some one forged the tradition *at some definite time and place*?"

Let it be granted for argument's sake that there is *no* evidence. Nevertheless we can ask Dr. Thomas,—Have you any evidence to affirm that St. Thomas did come to South India?

I grant that St. Thomas could very well have come to South India. Why,—Aśoka, or Mahendra, or Saṅghamitra, or Alexander, or Megasthenes, or Cosmas, or Fa-hien, or Napoleon could have come to South India. But that does not imply that they did come.

As regards my theory about an Edessene missionary of perhaps king Abgar's time (*circa* 200), I then and there said (*Ind. Ant.*, 1926, p. 222) that it was a "speculation which may or may not be correct." As I have said, "Let it by all means prove to be wrong. But that will not help St. Thomas' cause." (*Y.M.I.*, December 1927, p. 735). Since Dr. Thomas and some others seem to be busy tilting against my speculation, instead of proving the much-vaunted South Indian tradition, I have already withdrawn the speculation. Let Dr. Thomas ignore my theory, and address himself to the task of proving that St. Thomas came to South India. For the enlightenment of scholars who do not know Syriac, Malayalam, Tamil, and Telugu in which languages the South Indian tradition is recorded, Dr. Thomas will do well to get the South Indian Thomistic documents translated into English and publish them as early as possible. Let such scholars have a chance of scrutinizing the "hoary and respected" tradition, and estimating it at its true worth.

THE MISSION OF GEORGE WELDON AND ABRAHAM NAVARRO TO THE COURT OF AURANGZEB.

BY HARIHAR DAS, B.LITT. (OXON.), F.R.S.L., F.R.HIST.S.

(*Continued from page* 97.)

In resuming our account of the negotiations at the Mughal's Court, we find that the envoys experienced some difficulty in obtaining confirmation of the privileges for Fort St. George, owing to the fact that the *farmâns* already obtained from the Kings of Golconda were not at that time in their possession. These documents, however, were subsequently sent to them. During the Company's war against the Mughal the authorities at Fort St. George had lived there " quietly and inoffensively wth all people & Governmts, yet wee doubt yt will not be sufficient to protect us from their exactions & fresh demands of every new nabob other petty Govern^{rs} near us."[36] They also believed that if the *farmân* for Fort St. George could be procured from the Emperor, it would prevent all further disputes and troubles and give them unquestioned authority in their administration. As regards the Company's other settlements, they were obliged to accept the Emperor's conditions. Notwithstanding, before their departure in May they were able to communicate with the authorities at Bombay regarding a formal reception of the *farmân*. Both received *Serpaws* [37] from the Emperor and Asad Khân.

Accordingly a consultation was held at Bombay Castle on February 25, 1689-90 with respect to the communication from Messrs. Weldon and Navarro as well as from Mr. Bartholomew Harris at Surat. And it was decided by the Council that John Vaux, Deputy Governor of Bombay, should go to Surat for the purpose of receiving the *farmân*. This choice of Mr. Vaux was endorsed by Sir John Gayer. It was further agreed that the Governor of Surat should be asked to furnish hostages guaranteeing Vaux's safe return after business in connection with the *farmân* should be concluded. On this condition alone could he proceed either to Surat or to Swally. If this request should not be granted, then Vaux was not to proceed further than the river's mouth near Surat. John Vaux agreed to undertake the commission, trusting that his mission would be successful and to the advantage of the Company. Arrangements, therefore, were made for the garrison of the Castle to be placed under command of a suitable person until his safe return.[38].

Mr. John Vaux, therefore, proceeded to Surat on March 6. 1689-90 to receive from the Governor with all dignity the much desired *farmân*.[39] At Surat he was joined by Mr. Harris, who with other members of the Company had just been " released from their Irons ". They were attended by an imposing escort, including all persons employed in the Company's service. The *farmân* within a gilded box was delivered to them by the Governor in person at a special *darbar* and a " serpaw " was bestowed on Vaux as a mark of Imperial favour. After the ceremony was concluded they returned to the factory in a triumphant procession. Their joy was short-lived. When the *farmân* had been translated into English from the Persian, it was found to the factors' " great amazement and sorrow instead of a *farmân* answering to our articles & agreement we found it a worse sham story than the *farmân* yt came down in Mukhtar Khan's time."[40] Moreover, Vaux was obliged to remain as a hostage at Surat until the English should fulfil their part of the obligations. During that time he was subjected, as recorded in a letter to his father, to " Thousands of abuses from y^{e} Moors, w^{ch} grat's hard against y^{e} Grane of an Englishman."[41]

The Emperor issued a general *farmân* to the English on the 23rd day of the month *Jumâda 'l-auwal* (February 27, 1689-90). This was to the effect that they having submitted and requested a *farmân* ; and having intimated through I'timâd Khân their intention to present the Emperor with Rs. 150,000 to his " most noble treasury resembling y^{e} Sun "; having undertaken also to restore the goods they had taken and promised to conform to the ancient customs

[36] See *No. 5721 of O.C. 48*, I.O. [37] Robes of honour (Pers. *sar-u-pâ*.) [38] *No. 5703 of O.C. 48*, I.O.

[39] There is a reference to Vaux's landing in a letter from Mr. Harris and others, April 6, 1690, in *Surat Factory Records*, vol. 92. [40] See *No. 5709 of O.C. 48*, I.O.

[41] *Addl. M.S.*, 22,185 (Johnson Papers), *B.M.*

of the port and to behave themselves quietly in future—the Emperor would allow them to follow their trade. He demanded, however, that Sir John Child, who had caused the trouble, should be dismissed and expelled from India.[42] He was not apparently aware at the time of issuing the *farmân* that Sir John Child had already died.

The above document was immediately followed by another *farmân* of a more explicit character. This was addressed by the Emperor to I'timâd Khân, Governor of Surat, and dated the 27th day of the month, *Jumâdâ'l-auwal* (March 3, 1689-90) the 33rd year of his reign. Its contents related chiefly to English affairs at Surat, and to other parts of the Imperial dominions. Aurangzeb, in consequence of having received a report from I'timâd Khân that the English had submitted and agreed to recoup the merchants' losses, commanded the Governor to carry out the following orders, all of which were contained in the later *farmân* :—(1) Mr. Vaux to be detained in Surat until all obligations imposed on the English had been complied with. Only then should I'timâd Khân write to the Sidhi with instructions to remove from the neighbourhood of the castle. Goods, money and ships to be brought to Surat and restored to their rightful owners. The *farmân* was then to be given to Mr. Vaux. This granted (2) liberty to coin their own bullion; (3) to buy or sell their horses as they please; (4) in the event of officials wanting goods from English warehouses, they are to apply for them through the Governor, who shall be responsible for payment; (5) those who molest the English to be prosecuted by the Governor; (6) should the Governor order anything on the King's behalf he is to cause payment to be made at once; (7) other buyers also to be compelled to pay quickly; (8) goods sent to Swally for shipment and not taken on board may be stored again in Surat without duty being a second time demanded; (9) no further custom to be paid on goods brought from the interior than that payable according to the *farmân* of Shâh Jahân; (10) speedy despatch to be given at the custom house; (11) discharge of all Englishmen and brokers in prison; (12) goods brought from other parts of the Empire for shipment at Surat to pay Emperor's customs in one place only.

The Governor was to decide on the following points :—(1) Goods landed at Surat and not sold there, to be free of a second duty if sent to another port for sale; (2) trouble about provisions for Bombay; (3) letters to and from England not to be stopped at the ports; (4) a fresh place on the river side to be allowed for repairing ships.

Rulings as to some special complaints were as follows :—(1) Custom for provisions, apparel, plate, etc., for use is not to be paid if it had been free formerly; (2) robberies of Englishmen's goods on the roads to be remedied by officials exactly as if they were subjects' goods; (3) custom for coffee etc. to be levied, or not, according to former usage; (4) Englishmen's servants, if slaves, to be captured and restored by the Governor if they should run away; (5) indigo packages not to be opened; custom being paid in reliance on the owner's word; (6) customs to be paid at the year's end if that was the old practice; (7) the owner's word to be taken and bales of goods left unopened, the invoice only being shown; (8) complaints about the under-customer at Swally to be examined and redress given; (9) a complaint about Yacoub Khân's seizures at Bombay to be examined and adjusted; (10) refers to the surrender of goods wrongfully seized by the English; (11) Englishmen may go out of Surat to their gardens and return freely, if that was the custom; (12) Rs. 80,000 deposited in the Emperor's treasury to be credited to the English for losses sustained; (13) a complaint against Mr. Bowcher to be tried by the King's Law; (14) another complaint about the murder of two Englishmen also to be tried by the King's law; (15) a similar ruling in the case of another complaint against Mr. Bowcher; (16) and in the charge against Moolah Abdul Guffore, who had falsely accused the English of capturing a ship of his, which was really taken by the Danes.[43]

The Mughal also granted a *farmân* for Bengal on April 27, 1690. In doing so, he informed Ibrâhîm Khân, Governor of Bengal, that the English were ashamed and sorry for what they

[42] See *No. 5702 of O.C. 48*, I.O.

[43] See *No. 5704 of O.C. 48*, I.O.

had done, and that having sent *Vakîls* to his Court to solicit a *farmân* and ask for pardon, he had granted their prayer. He, therefore, commanded Ibrâhîm Khân to see that "no body in yo[r] Jurisdiction to molest hurt or hinder the English nation in y[r] businesse, but suffer them to carry it on in y[e] same manner as formerly this understand and act accordingly." [44]

News of Peace with the Mughal was at the outset well-received by the Company's servants in Bengal and Fort St. George, since it would enable them to re-establish their trade in those provinces. President Elihu Yale and his Council wrote from Fort St. George, congratulating Weldon and Navarro on the successful result of their efforts and requesting them to forward a note of the articles together with other agreements necessary for their information concerning the Company's affairs.[45] A few months later, on becoming acquainted with the terms of peace, their opinion entirely altered. They considered them "scandalous" and thought that if Sir John Child had been alive, he would not have accepted any *farmân* on such terms.

When the terms of Peace with the Mughal were placed before the Court of Directors they pronounced them both unjust and humiliating. They had originally formed high expectations of the rewards likely to follow the heavy expenditure they had sanctioned, but the result dashed their hopes to the ground. They had aimed at a great political achievement by establishing their power independent of the Mughal's control, but the result not only confirmed the Emperor's authority, but made their own dependence more complete and obvious than ever. This was the outcome, as their own historiographer, John Bruce, admits, of their first attempt to become an independent power in India. He might well have added that they had committed the generally irreparable fault of under-estimating their opponent's resources and power while magnifying their own. It may have been difficult for the Company, especially when due allowance is made for the time then required to communicate with India, to form a just estimate of the Mughal resources, and no doubt they were led by reports of Aurangzeb's difficulties in the Deccan and with the Marâṭhâs into a belief that his power was rapidly on the decline. But it seems certain that the wish was father to the thought, and little sympathy can be felt for them when their pains and losses resulted in bitter disappointment and they found themselves in a worse position than before.

If allowance is made for these considerations, if it cannot be denied that Sir John Child's demands were quite beyond his or the Company's power to enforce, and that his procedure to attain them was arbitrary and reckless of consequences, then the terms of the Treaty were as fair and reasonable as could have been expected. The Mughal Emperor was in the position of the victor, and the accredited agents of the Company were suppliants. They came not to ask for the surrender of his authority and territory—that dream had passed away in the utter failure of an unjustifiable and ill-conceived adventure—but for permission to be allowed to continue their proper calling as traders. This the Emperor granted on his own conditions, and they were glad enough to accept them, although the Court chose to relieve their feelings of disappointment in angry outbursts. Mr. Bruce's commentary long after the event that "this apparent reconciliation of the Mughal to the Company was an arbitrary act of despotism towards the English" can only be explained by the fact that it was penned in a day when the political rôle of the Company had entirely superseded the commercial.

In forming his decision Aurangzeb could not be expected to leave out of consideration the enormous losses his subjects had for many years sustained at the hands of the Company's servants. Of course there was another side to the matter represented by the exactions imposed by his officials on the merchants at Surat and elsewhere round the Coast. Still, if a balance had been struck it would have been largely in the Mughal's favour. It may be admitted that the proceedings of those officials, their corrupt practices—with which, however, the Europeans had complied readily enough—and their evasions, to put it mildly, of Imperial orders proved

44 See *No. 5707 of O. C. 48, I. O.*

45 See *No. 5706 of O.C. 48, I.O.*

that the power and authority of the Mughal Government were rapidly declining as Aurangzeb's reign drew to its close.

Although peace was restored and the renewal of trade sanctioned, the Company had to encounter many difficulties before it could even in part re-establish its position. Local resources were diminished, a very considerable debt had to be cleared off, and the competition of Indians as well as of the Portuguese and French had become keener. Still it must be allowed that the English merchants and factors set themselves to the task of recovering their lost ground with energy and in a spirit of hopefulness. They at least had never been influenced by the political ambitions of the Court in London. They were men of commerce rather than of war or politics.

At this juncture, when the outlook if not radiant was at least better than it had been, serious circumstances developed in Europe. After a long peace war broke out between France and England. And as the naval power of France was then about equal to that of England and the question of sea supremacy hung in doubt between both Powers and the Dutch, the position of English factories round the Coast of India became imperilled. The French were not only firmly established at Surat and elsewhere, but they had a powerful squadron under the Royal flag generally cruizing between Swally and Mahe on the Malabar Coast. Fortunately for the English the peril did not become acute. The French Government was too much engrossed in efforts to hold the Channel and the Mediterranean to think of Indian waters. A state of neutrality was consequently observed in the East. Probably both nations felt that it would injure their standing with the Mughal ruler if they resorted to hostilities within the limits of his sway. At last the Home Authorities, recognising their true position as traders and merchants, took vigorous steps to place their affairs in India on a sound basis. To that end they sent out Sir John Goldesborough to assume supreme charge of their settlements, thus opening a new chapter in the Company's history.

BOOK-NOTICES.

WALKING ON THE WATER, INDIAN AND CHRISTIAN MIRACLES. By PROF. W. N. BROWN, Pennsylvania University. Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, 1928.

Professor Brown brings sound knowledge to the study of this enticing problem, and sets about his work in a systematic manner, which is altogether admirable. He begins by a consideration of Walking on the Water as it appears in Indian Literature, both as a religious act and as an Act of Truth. He shows that the first of these two points is as old as the Rigveda, and that unfordable rivers are crossed by miraculous reduction of the waters in them which makes them fordable. He remarks (p. 5) that of "the ways in which rivers can be crossed magically, this is the simplest and the one most likely to be inspired in literature by some actual happening." He then turns to walking on water by means of an Act of Truth, and remarks (p. 9) "that the legends as to this are not found in texts of very great antiquity." After this, Professor Brown notices (p. 13) that "walking on water is recognised in India as one of the stages of the psychic power of levitation, of which the highest grade is flying through the air." This is an important observation, which he strengthens by remarking that "levitation is very old in Hindu Literature," dating back to the Rigveda. He discusses this point at some length and arrives at important conclusions (p. 29) on his subject as regards India, pointing out that the ways of performing the miracles are by the aid of a divinity, by the magic powers of truth, and by the psychic power of levitation. The methods are by wading through water made miraculously shallow, flying across it, and walking on its surface. He then points out that the chief of the pre-Christian stories are Buddhist.

Professor Brown next tackles the non-Christian Literature of Western Asia and Europe, where he remarks (p. 34) that "the dividing of the waters so that it is possible to pass between them on dry land is characteristically a Jewish notion," quoting the well-known stories in the Bible and elsewhere. He then remarks (p. 39) that "the stories of rivers and bodies of water suddenly becoming fordable are in Western Asia invariably attached to historical personages," and sometimes seem to have a germ of truth in them; *i.e.*, for some reason a usually unfordable stream is found to be fordable. Like the present writer, anyone who has lived in the Himâlayas will be able to confirm this view. There, comparatively large streams frequently, and really large rivers occasionally—usually very deep—at times become shallow for a while, owing to occurrences, many miles away up stream in the great mountains. To the local public such happenings are naturally marvellous and magical.

In conclusion, Professor Brown remarks that in Western Asia there is no independent pre-Christian legend which relates to walking on the water.

These considerations lead him to discuss the two legends in the New Testament of Christ himself and

Saint Peter walking on the water, and he then discusses the relationship between the Indian and Christian legends with great skill. The conclusion he arrives at is that the Christian tales originated in India. The whole book is written in a dispassionate spirit and is suggestive in the extreme.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE CHALUKYAN ARCHITECTURE OF THE KANARESE DISTRICTS, A.S.I., New Imperial Series, Vol. XLII. By HENRY COUSENS, M.R.A.S. 12¾ × 10; pp. x 158; with Map, 160 Plates and 43 Text Illustrations, Calcutta, 1926.

This important monograph on Châlukyan architecture prepared by Mr. H. Cousens, whose researches as Superintendent of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, are so well known, is prefaced by a very useful, if brief, historical outline of the dynasties of the Kanarese districts from the 6th to the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Dekkan was overrun by Malik Kâfur. This summary is based upon Fleet's account, supplemented by the evidence of epigraphical records since discovered. Next follows an Introductory Note on Châlukyan Architecture as found in the Kanarese country, that is from Bhatkal in the south to near Kolhâpur in the north, and from the Ghâṭs on the west to the western part of the Bellary district on the east, or roughly speaking, the area watered by the upper courses of the Kṛṣṇâ and Tungabhadrâ rivers and their tributaries. Mr. Cousens has found from a fuller familiarity with examples of the style than Fergusson had been able to acquire that the so-called Châlukyan architecture is not a distinct style, with a separate origin of its own, but is merely an outgrowth of the earlier Dravidian or Pallava style of the south, so modified in its subsequent development by western temple builders as to have eventually attained a separate style in their hands, the different steps in the transition from the purely Dravidian types of the seventh and eighth centuries being easily discernible. Taking as their starting point the Dravidian temples, several early specimens of which had been erected around Kukkanûr, Paṭṭadakal, Aihoḷe and Bâdâmi, the Châlukyan builders introduced changes until the original forms were almost lost. While retaining the characteristic Dravidian storied or horizontal arrangement of the towers, they reduced the height of each storey, introduced more of them, and covered them with such profusion of ornamental detail that they became masked, and, in later examples, scarce apparent. Mr. Cousens shows how the Virûpâkṣa temple (purely Dravidian) at Paṭṭadakal, the Jaina temple and the Kâśiviśveśvara temple at Lakkuṇḍi and the Doḍḍa Basappâ temple at Ḍambaḷ exemplify the transition.

The Châlukyas, from the time of Pulikeśin II, at least, until their temporary eclipse by the Râṣṭrakûṭas in the eighth century continued to use the Dravidian style, for which they probably obtained builders from the south. During the Râṣṭrakûṭa period little seems to have been done in the way of temple building in the Kanarese districts. The Râṣṭrakûṭas had their own work in hand in the north, notably the great excavations at Elûra, "which," Mr. Cousens writes, "must have absorbed every skilled workman in the country round, from north and south. There is no doubt that a fresh impetus was given to temple building on the return to power of the Châlukya family under Taila II, towards the end of the tenth century, and it is from this time that we notice the first definite departure from the pure Dravidian types of the time of Vikramâditya II." From this time also the favourite building material of the early rulers—the sandstone of the district—was abandoned for a chloritic schist, more tractable under the chisel and suited for the fine carving so characteristic of Châlukya work.

The main portion of the text is devoted to a detailed description of all the more distinctive and interesting temples, both (1) Early and (2) Later. Short chapters follow on Kanara Temples, Rude Stone Monuments, Inscribed Tablets and Memorial Stones, Objects of Fetish Worship and Satî Stones, Columns, Zodiacal Stones and Miscellaneous Objects. A glossary is added of the principal names and terms occurring in the text. The wealth ot photographs and drawings is a special feature of this handsome volume. It is a pity that several of the photographs reproduced are wanting in definition.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

STILGESCHICHTE UND CHRONOLOGIE DES ṚGVEDA VON WALTHER WÜST. ABHANDLUNGEN FÜR DIE KUNDE DES MORGENLANDES. XVII BAND, NR. 4. DEUTSCHE MORGENLÄNDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT IN KOMMISSION BEI F. A. BROCKHAUS, LEIPZIG, 1928.

In this interesting book, the author puts forward a new criterion, that of style, from which, he claims, one can determine correctly the relative earliness and lateness of the hymns comprised in the Ṛgveda-saṃhitâ. For this purpose, he picks out seventeen classes of words (*hapax legomena*, words with *vṛddhi* in secondary noun-formation, words formed with late suffixes, etc.); and after showing in Chap. I and II that each class of words is a mark of lateness, formulates the conclusion, 'the more the number of occurrences, per hundred, of such words, the later the hymn : the less the earlier'.

The inclusion of *hap. leg.* in these classes is objectionable and seems to be due to confusion of thought. The *hap. leg. vīrâvattamam* in I. 1, for instance, is, in the author's view, newly coined by the poet and used in the hymn in order to add a touch of archaism, or to show his ability in composing verses, or coining words at a moment's notice, or in introducing into literary language expressions that were not considered literary. That means (1) that when the poet composed this hymn, there existed already a definite collection of hymns known as the RVS and (2) that each poet's compositions were being, soon after, added to this collection until it assumed the form that it now has. This is a fantastic proposition to which few will subscribe.

Dr. Wüst's method, too, does not lead to reliable

results; for, appying it to the first of the Vâlakhilya hymns, which are universally admitted to be late, later than the latest hymn of Maṇḍala X according to Sâyaṇa, one finds that the percentage of occurrences in it of Dr. Wüst's seventeen classes of words is ·0370; and hence one arrives at the result that this hymn is earlier than more than half of the hymns of the fourth Maṇḍala which, according to Dr. Wüst, is very early.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

THE ANNALS OF THE EARLY ENGLISH SETTLEMENT IN BIHAR, by N. N. Raye, M.A., $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5$; pp. 320 11, Calcutta, 1928.

Mr. Raye tells the story of the English settlements in Bihar, and more particularly of the vicissitudes of the Patna agency and factory, from the visit of Hughes and Parker to Patna in 1620 down to the year 1772, when Warren Hastings became Governor of Bengal. Nearly half the book has been devoted to a period of about twenty-five years in the middle of the eighteenth century, the history of which has been more fully dealt with by Ghulâm Ḥusain, Stewart, Mill, Thornton, Broome and others. We could have wished that further information had been supplied in respect of the earlier times. The narrative, while not disclosing full acquaintance with original documents available, is written in a very readable style. Unfortunately the work is marred by numerous typographical errors, misspellings and inaccurate quotations. Among some curious mistakes the following may be cited. Cesare de' Federici's "oyle of Zerzeline" is described as "oil of sardine, an East Indian pilchard valued for its oil" (p. 18, n. 2). It was, of course, oil of Sesamum (*til*). Reterence to Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson* might have cleared up more points than this; but from a note on p. 63 it looks as if the author thought that Hobson and Jobson had written this work. Lakhnautî and Gauṛ are referred to (p. 47) as different towns; but Lakhnautî was another name for Gauṛ. Carnac's defeat of the emperor Shâh 'Âlam on the 15th January, 1761, is described as having occurred "at Gaya-Manpur," whereas the battle was fought between Hilsâ and Bihâr, in the Paṭnâ district. The hot-tempered Ellis is called "John or William Ellis." His name was William Ellis, as will be seen from the letters and proceedings of the time. The factory at Paṭnâ in 1763 is described (p. 220, n. 3) as lying just outside the eastern wall of the city, and the fort as on the western side of the city. It was the other way about; the factory was outside the western wall of the city, near the river, and the *qila'* was in the north-eastern corner of the city.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

AN IMPORTANT SEVENTEENTH CENTURY MS.

The Reports of Johannes Baccherus.

In the course of my research work in Indian history of the latter part of the seventeenth century, I have ascertained that there is preserved in the Algemeen Rijksarchief at the Hague the original report, together with other documents, by Johannes Baccherus. These documents form volumes 10 and 11 of the *Overgekomen papieren*, and together contain 1,300 folios, dated December 4, 1692, and were sent to the Directors of the Company in Holland, called *De Heeren Zeventien*.

Johannes Baccherus was sent by the Directors in 1685 from Holland to India as Second Commissioner. He spent some time on the North Coast of Coromandel and afterwards went as Ambassador to the Mughal Court for the purpose of congratulating Aurangzeb on his victory over the Marâṭhâs and the English. There are some references to Baccherus in Manuchi's *Storia do Mogor*, edited by William Irvine.

The Dutch records are still unexplored, and it is very important for the elucidation of Indian history, especially of the Mughal period, that they should be made available for Indian students. Mr. W. H. Moreland and other scholars have called attention to the historical value of such documents, which show that the Dutch travellers were shrewd observers of Indian conditions. We are, therefore, inclined to believe that the reports of Baccherus would afford some valuable additional knowledge of Aurangzeb's Court and administration, and that it would be worth while to examine the contents of these records.

The writer of this notice enquired of Mr. Moreland as to the person best qualified for the task and whether he could himself find time to examine and edit the reports of Baccherus. Unfortunately he is so fully occupied with other work that he is quite unable to undertake the task. He, however, very kindly wrote to the President of the Hakluyt Society to ascertain whether the work could be undertaken under its auspices. It is much to be regretted that there seems little likelihood that the Society will undertake the task, as its programme is full for some time ahead. Nor is it probable that Dutch scholars would be willing to edit these reports, most of them being already so fully occupied with research work in connection with their own history that they would not be likely to be sufficiently interested in what would from their point of view be a matter of secondary importance.

Sir William Foster and others have signified their interest in the subject, and they will no doubt bear the matter in mind in case any competent person can be found to edit the reports. It must, however, be emphasized that the whole question of Dutch records bearing on India must in the long run be taken up by our own Indian scholars and at our own expense. In thus calling attention to the historical importance of these MSS. my hope is that some of my countrymen may be disposed to undertake the task and to communicate with the archivist, Algemeen Rijksarchief, the Hague, Holland, for further information.

HARIHAR DAS.

MATERIALS FOR THE STUDY OF GARO ETHNOLOGY.

By Biren Bonnerjea, D Litt. (Paris.)

The Gâros are an aboriginal hill tribe inhabiting Assam, and from them is derived the name of that part of Assam : Gâro Hills. Their nucleus is in the part situated to the east of Rangpur and north of Mymensingh, which is formed of a crystalline mass, gneiss and schist, and is composed of the Gâro, Khâsi and Jaintiâ Hills. Between this part and the foot of the Himâlaya Mountains the Brahmaputra valley is filled with a broad belt of alluvium ; on the east and south Tertiary shales and sandstones in long parallel ranges form the Nâgâ, Manipur, and Lushai Hills. The climate of the Gâro country is characterised by a great dampness throughout the year combined with a relatively high temperature. In the spring season thunderstorms are frequent ; the monsoon season begins in the first half of June, and lasts until October. The driest month of the year is December. The region has deep and extensive valleys, well watered and very fertile. Dense forests containing valuable *sâl* trees cover the hills, and coal is found in large quantities.

The Gâros are a tribe of doubtful ethnical affinities and peculiar customs ; they are probably a section of the great Bodo tribe which at one time occupied a large part of Assam. At any rate, they speak a language belonging to the Bodo group of the Tibeto-Chinese Family[1]. The physical characteristics of the males are a small round face, a flat wide platyrrhinian nose, with blue eyes, a big mouth, thick coarse lips, and a dark skin colour; and their women are generally short and fat. Therefore, coupled with their language and their physical traits, it seems highly probable that the Gâros spring from the Mongolian stock. In further support of their Mongolian affinities it may be mentioned that in 1910 Baelz[2] propounded a theory that certain dark blue patches of an irregular shape, when found in the lower sacral region on the skin of very young children, are an unmistakable proof of the Mongolian race. This blue pigmentation is said to be common throughout Assam, and particularly among the Gâros, Lushais, Khâsis, and Kâchârîs[3]. Hence until something more definite is known about the origin of the Gâros, we may, for the present, safely assume them to be of Mongoloid descent.

In the eighteenth century the Gâros are mentioned as being frequently in conflict with the inhabitants of the plains below their hills. In 1790 the British Government tried to reduce them for the first time, but no permanent success was achieved ; and they continued their guerilla warfare from time to time. In 1852 the Gâros again raided the plains below, which was followed by a blockade of the hills. Four years later, in 1856, the Gâros again rose in revolt. A repressive expedition was sent in 1861. Peace reigned for a time, but in 1866 there was a further revolt. Five years afterwards, in 1871, a native employed on the survey staff was outraged by the Gâros, as a result of which the last expedition of 1872-1873 was sent to bring the whole tribe into submission. But no disturbance occurred, and since that time the Gâro country has enjoyed peace.

The Gâros are essentially an agricultural tribe, and communications within the district are by means of cart-roads, bridle-paths, and native tracks. The Gâros are omnivorous ; all kinds of rats, mice, dogs, cats, and so on, form their daily ration. There are indications suggesting that the use of fire is of comparatively recent date among them, for till now they eat their food either entirely raw or slightly heated[4]. We know[5] that fire, directly as well as indirectly, played a very important rôle in elevating mankind from a primitive to a civilized stage. It is therefore hardly to be wondered at that the Gâros, among whom fire is of recent introduction, are still on one of the lowest rungs of the ladder of civilization. The Gâro villages are composed of thatched huts. But each family, as a rule, has two huts : one in the

1 *Census of India*, 1911 (London, 1914), p. 338.

2 Baelz, in *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxxiii (1901), p. 188.

3 *Census of India*, 1911, p. 384, § 492.

4 B. Bonnerjea, *L'Ethnologie du Bengale* (Paris, 1927), p. 42.

5 Cf. G. G. MacCurdy, *Human Origins, a Manual of Prehistory* (New York and London, 1926), vol. I, chaps. I—III.

village, which they call *chdung*, and the other built among the branches of a tree, something after the style of the pile-dwellings or lacustrines, which were such a common feature in ancient times and are still sporadically to be met with, which they call *borâng*. This latter is invariably on the outskirts of the village, where they carry on their occupation as agriculturists, and are meant as a protection against savage beasts and wild elephants[6].

According to Gâro mythology the supreme god and the father of all the other gods, like the Greek Zeus, is *Ṛsi Sâlgoñg*. This divinity is anthropomorphic, and is believed to have his abode in heaven, where he lives blissfully with his wife and children. It is related that *Âpoñgmâ*, before she became his wife, left her divine parents in order to elope with *Ṛsi Sâlgoñg*. The couple lived together on earth for a time at a place called Turâ, where *Âpoñgmâ* gave birth to two children, a boy who later became the father of all celestial, atmospheric and earthly fires (who, in other words, is the culture-hero of the Gâros), and a daughter who became the mother (grandmother ?) of the human race. It is further said that *Nâstog*, the daughter, was born of an egg[7], and she afterwards created the universe. A jet of water coming out of her womb became the source of all rivers of the earth. *Nâstog* had three daughters who themselves became the mothers of the three most important nations of the world: the Gâros, the Bhutiyas, and the *Firingis* (Europeans)[8]. This myth has several very important points. Although Col. Dalton gives this as a genuine bit of Gâro myth, it can hardly be taken as such. As we have seen, the Gâros are isolated highlanders without any connection with the outer world; education among them is practically unknown. To them the whole world is populated only by themselves, the Bhutiyas and a few other minor tribes, and even of the Hindus they know almost nothing. Speaking of them, Anderson[9] says that they " remain totally unaffected by Hindu influences, whether in language or in religon." Hence it would be safe to assume that the myth either originated, or at least underwent a radical change, after the advent of the first Europeans in the country, and the Hindu influence too is apparent in the word *Ṛsi* (Sanskrit,=sage). We may therefore fix the date of the origin of the myth at somewhere about 1791. The next important point is that the myth of *Nâstog* being the mother of the human race probably explains the prevalence of mother-kin[10] among the Gâros, or is the outcome of mother-kin.

Although the Gâros believe in one supreme god, it is by no means to be imagined that they are monotheists. On the contrary, their religion is henotheistic, that is, while admitting the existence of one supreme god, they nevertheless worship minor divinities. Or, to be quite correct, their religion may be defined as animism. They, like the Hindus, believe in metempsychosis or the transmigration of the soul, as their custom of breaking up and depositing the personal belongings of a deceased along with his body clearly proves. They believe in souls, not only of human beings and animals, but go still further, and endow all things with this immaterial soul, which resides within the material exterior. While depositing the goods of the defunct on his grave, they say that he " would not benefit by them if they were given unbroken."[11] The explanation of breaking up the objects is simple, that is, once we adapt ourselves to the savage way of thinking; and their logic is based on false syllogism: The soul is a spirit; the spirit is immaterial; something immaterial cannot use material things; therefore the material things cannot be used by the spirits, but the souls of the things can be. Their reasoning is as follows: When men die it is their " soul," and not the body, which goes to the other world; hence, if the objects were given to him " alive ", it would naturally be

6 *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 42. Cf. Haripada Rây, " Gâroder Kathâ," *Prabâsi*, Jaiṣtha, 1333 (Beng. era), p. 286.

7 According to a Hindu myth, the world was created from an egg (cf. *Çatapatha Brâhmana*, XI, 1, 6, 1).

8 Col. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), p. 60, quoted in *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 42.

9 J. D. Anderson, in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. II, p. 133, s.v. " Assam ".

10 See below.

11 Col. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 67. Compare (Sir) J. Lubbock (Lord Avebury), *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man* (London, 1892), p. 290.

impossible for the soul to have any benefit from them; whereas if the objects were broken and " killed ", the " soul " of the man can use the " soul " of the objects. In other words, in the "world of souls" the "soul" of the man would defend himself against the " soul " of an enemy with the "soul" of an axe or of a spear, or again he would till the " soul " of a field with the "soul" of a spade. Hence we see that the object of such practices is to provide the dead with all that he requires, so that he may be quite happy in his new state, and have all for his use that he was accustomed to use during his lifetime. Besides this purely material reason there is, as Prof. Lévy-Bruhl has suggested, a still important one, viz., a mystic reason. " The things that a man has used, the clothes he has worn, his weapons, ornaments are part of him, *are* his very self (construing the verb ' to be ' as ' to participate '), just like his saliva, nail-pairings, hair, excreta, although to a lesser extent."[12] Such being the case, these things are of no value, or rather it is a secondary matter as compared with the mystic bond between them and their late owner, and they being so to say united to their owner, must also " die " when the owner dies.

The primitive mind is constantly occupied with invisible forces, which may be arranged in three categories, viz., the spirits of the dead or ancestral spirits, the spirits which animate natural objects, and the charms or spells for the propitiation of these spirits[13]. Very often these are intimately connected with each other, and the result is animism. Prof. E. B. Tylor, to whom is due the honour of beginning the anthropological study of religion, defined animism as that belief which endows all objects with a soul, and it is practically the same as the " ghost-theory " of Herbert Spencer. Moreover all animistic tribes are vague in their religious conceptions. They people the universe with a shadowy crowd of powerful and malevolent beings, and ascribe to each of them a habitation in hills, streams, rocks, trees, and so forth. Thus out of their dread of the unknown, and of

> ". . . . the dread of something after death,
> The undiscover'd country from whose bourn
> No traveller returns . . . . "[14]

a whole hierarchy of more or less important gods grows up. They employ wizards and professional magicians to appease these deities, and gradually a system of ritual grows along with the belief, till at last the supreme god, if they ever believed in one supreme god, is altogether forgotten, and a multitude of gods or devils are worshipped. The Gâros too, are no exception to this general rule. They populate each of their springs, rivers, hills, and so on with a particular deity, whom they try to placate by offering sacrifices; they try to requisition their services when it is desired to ensure good crops, to cause an injury to an enemy, or to ascertain a certain future event. To give one single example, they have a nixie or water-deity whom they call *Bugarik*. This being is described as having the head, body and arms of a woman, but has no legs. She is said to kill women and children by drowning them, not because she has any special grudge for the female sex, but because women and children are less powerful, and therefore easier to be overpowered, than men[15]. As a peace-offering they throw flowers and fruits into the rivers and streams where the *Bugarik* is believed to haunt the waters. Before they harvest any of their crops the Gâros consider it necessary to sacrifice the first fruits of the crops to the gods in order to pacify them, and thus ensure a plentiful supply for the future. They gather some ears of rice or millet, ground them between two stones, and offer them up on a piece of plantain stem[16]. Besides these shadowy beings, who have an existence only in their simple unsophisticated minds, the Gâros worship the heavenly bodies, and the cult of the

12 L. Lévy-Bruhl, *How Natives think*, tr. by Lilian A. Clare (London, 1926), p. 327.

13 Lévy-Bruhl, *Primitive Mentality*, tr. by Lilian A. Clare (London, 1923), p. 62.

14 Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, Act III, Sc. i (Falstaff ed., London, 1904, p. 860).

15 B. Bonnerjea, *Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology* (London, 1928), p. 48; id. *L'Ethonologie du Bengale*, p. 99.

16 A. Playfair, *The Gâros* (London, 1909), p. 94; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* London, 1920), vol. II, pp. 116 sq.

sun and of the moon is particularly in force among them. Looking at a map showing the distribution of animists in India we find that in the area occupied by the Gâros and other tribes, more than fifty per cent. of the whole population are animists[17]. To sum up in one word, the religion of the Gâros may be defined as poly-demonism mixed with magic.

To the savage the world of experience is not the same as with us. Dreams to them are caused by the "soul" leaving its habitation for a time, and the actions performed in a dream are, to him, actions actually performed by the soul in its peregrinations. Dreams are something real and tangible, full of dangers and warnings; therefore when a man dreams, immediate precautions are to be taken if the evil consequences are to be avoided. To the primitive mind there is no very great difference between the seen and the unseen, between the material and the supernatural. Therefore, since it is an undeniable fact with him that dreams are what the soul sees or feels, there is no reason whatever why he should not accept the evidence of dreams. In fact in many cases dreams are more satisfactory and more convincing evidence because of their mystic origin than realities; and, as Prof. Haddon remarks, there is nothing about which a primitive man is more certain than the things revealed to him in dreams[18]. Not only savages but even comparatively civilized peoples have taken notice of, and provided against, evil dreams. Joseph, husband of Mary, was warned by a dream to flee from Judea; and when Herod was dead, he was warned again by a dream to "turn aside into the parts of Galilee."[19] In the Old Testament, Pharaoh had a warning dream of a famine which he was able to provide against[20]. And, to give a comprehensive example, dreams occupy a prominent part in modern folklore[21]. Such being the case, the whole life of the Gâros is one continual round of precautions against all the ills which human flesh is heir to. As soon as a man has a bad dream he collects a reed-like grass and goes to the village priest. The priest mutters certain incantations and beats the dreamer with the grass. Then the dreamer carries a cock to the nearest stream, kills it, and lets its blood fall into a toy boat; the boat is launched, and as it starts, the dreamer bathes in the water. The object of all this is twofold; the incantations, mock chastisement and the sacrifice appease the spirits, and the launching of the boat and the bathing in the water carry off the ill luck[22].

Not being content with driving away the misfortunes of one particular individual, the Gâros attempt to expel all the accumulated ills of the year through the medium of a scapegoat in the form of an animal. For the cure of diseases sacrifices [23] are resorted to, for who can doubt that illnesses are caused only when a certain spirit is enraged, and he takes his revenge by causing a malady to the malefactor ? The belief that sicknesses are caused by demons is so well-known to all students of anthropology that it is hardly necessary to say anything at all on the subject, and it will suffice to give one or two examples chosen at random from widely different parts. The natives of Central Australia believe that all sicknesses, from the simplest to the most complicated, from a headache or a slight indisposition to a cancer, are caused by the malign influences of an enemy either in human or in spirit form[24]. The Kei islanders believe that sicknesses are caused only when the spirits of ancestors are enraged at not receiving food, who therefore make people sick by obtaining their souls.[25] Among the Yoruba-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast the belief in sickness-causing demons is carried to an extreme.

17 See *Census of India*, 1911, p. 130, "Map showing the Distribution of Animists."

18 A. C. Haddon, *Head-Hunters, Black, White and Brown* (London, 1901), p. 57.

19 *Matthew*, ii, 13, 19, 22.

20 *Genesis*, xli, 15-36.

21 Cf. *A Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, passim.

22 A. Playfair, *The Garos*, pp. 115 f. *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. viii (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 291. The Philistines made golden images of sores which plagued them and stowed them away in the ark (*I Samuel* vi, 4, 5). For various forms of driving out evils see (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat*, passim.

23 For a masterly exposition of Sacrifice, see H. Hubert and M. Mauss, "Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice," *L'Année Sociologique*, vol. ii (1897-1898).

24 (Sir) B. Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), p. 530.

25 J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Celebes en Papua* (The Hague, 1886), pp. 221 sq;

When a child is ill, it is the demon within him that is causing the illness; the mother therefore makes small cuts in the sufferer's body, and inserts pepper in them. When the child cries out in agony, it is not really the child that is crying but the devil within him, and the more he suffers the quicker it will be forced to depart[26]. The Dyaks of Borneo are also firm believers in diseases being caused by demons[27]. In all these cases the remedy is to pacify the spirit within, and the demon will depart taking the disease with him. Therefore the Gâros offer innumerable sacrifices whenever any one is ill. Besides these sacrifices, they annually observe certain ceremonies, not for the weal of individuals but in order to safeguard the whole community from the lurking dangers of the forest and from mishaps during the ensuing year. The principal of these sacrifices is the *Âsoñgtâtâ* ceremony. Close to the outskirts of every village are to be found a certain number of stones stuck in the ground, apparently without any method. These are known as *âsoñg*, and on them are *âsoñgtâtâ* sacrifices performed. First of all a goat is sacrificed, and a month after a *langur* (*Entellus* monkey) or a bamboo rat. The animal chosen for the sacrifice has a rope fastened round its neck. It is led to every house in the village by two men, one on each side of it. It is taken inside every house while the villagers themselves beat the walls from the outside in order to drive out any malevolent demons that may be lurking there. When the round of the village has been made in this manner, the monkey or the rat is conducted to the outskirts of the village, is killed by a blow of the *dâo* (a large heavy curved knife), disembowelled, and then crucified on a bamboo set up for the purpose in the ground. Round the animal a *chevaux de frise* of bamboo stakes is made[28]. The *langur* required for the sacrifice is hunted down some days previously, but if it be impossible to obtain one, a brown monkey or even a *huluk* (the black gibbon, *Hylobates hoolook*) may be used as the scapegoat in which all the evils of the villages are accumulated.[29]

Gâro magic is not restricted only to the expulsion of evils or of diseases, but is practised for many other purposes. They often use a goat as a rain-charm[30]. The great Gâro sacrifice and festival of the year, the *Wangâlâ* or the *Guréwâlâ*, takes place when the harvest has been fully gathered in. It is celebrated by all sections of the Gâros except the Duals[31] and some plains Gâros, and is the most festive season of the year. The whole cost of the festival is borne by the *nokmâ* (headman), whose duty it is also to supply all the people participating in the festival with a pig and plenty of liquor. The Akawés and Chisaks of the north and north-east hills manufacture *guré* (Bengali: *ghorâ*, 'horses'), out of pieces of plantain stems for the body, and bamboo for the head and legs. The night previous to the real festival the body of the "horse" reposes in the *nokmâ's* house, and dancing and singing goes on through the whole night, with only occasional pauses for refreshment and liquor. Sometimes these heads are made of straw and covered with cloth. Maj. Playfair[32] saw one such "horse's" head elaborately ornamented with brass disks on both sides, brass eyes and wild goat's horns; to the head were attached a number of brass bells. The head is mounted on a stick, and a man holds it in such a way that it comes up to the level of his chest. In order to relieve the man of the whole weight, two straps pass over his shoulders. The body of the "horse" is then built round his own body with straw and cloth, and for the tail a yak's tail is used. Dressed in this fantastic style the man performs a wild dance with

26 A.B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa* (London, 1894), pp. 113 sq.

27 (Sir) S. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East* (London, 1862), vol. i, p. 217. Cf. *Dictionary of Superstitions and Mythology*, pp. 76, 229, s. vv. "Disease", "Sickness" and authorities quoted there.

28 Barricades were formerly required for safeguarding the property, but now their only use seems to be for warding off evils.

29 A. Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 92; (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Scapegoat* (London, 1920), pp. 208 sq.

30 Cf. (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *The Magic Art and the Evolution of Kings* (London, 1920), vol. i, p. 291. In European superstition the Devil and the witches frequently assume the form of goats (M. A. Murray, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* [Oxford, 1921], pp. 61, 68 sq.) and the power of rain-making is attributed to witches (ib., p. 172 sq.).

31 Dâlu? The Dâlu is a small caste of Gâro affinities in Mymensingh, who now trace descent through the male, but are known to have done so through the female only about fifty years ago.

32 *The Garos*, pp. 94 sq.

shuffling steps, while the priest dances in front of him, and makes a pretence of beckoning the "horse". All the other guests of the *nokmâ* form a long queue behind the "horse", and dance after it. When the first man gets tired another takes his place, and thus the dancing goes on through the whole night. "A pleasant part of the performance is the pelting of the *guré* with eggs." Strictly speaking, this festival should last for three days and two nights, at the expiration of which period the body of the *guré* is thrown into the water, and the head preserved for another occasion. The people who come to witness the final scene of throwing the "horse" into the water bring rice with them, and a meal by the water's edge closes the proceedings. During the festival it is a custom to mix flour and water, and for the assembled people to dip their hands in the mixture, and make handmarks on the walls and posts of the houses and on the backs of the guests. At first sight all this rigmarole seems to be absolutely meaningless; but, as Sir James George Frazer has pointed out, it is undoubtedly a charm to ensure fertility as may be gathered from the pelting of the "horse's" head with eggs, and the throwing of the body in the water shews that it is also a rain-charm[33].

The Gâros are especially interesting from the anthropological point of view as being one of the very few existing tribes where mother-kin still prevails. By mother-kin or mother-right, frequently but incorrectly termed matriarchate, is meant the system of tracing descent and transmitting property in the female line. Hartland has pointed out that the origin of mother-kin is to be found in the fact that paternity itself was not understood once, and not because of the uncertainty or impossibility of affiliating the children owing to polyandry, as was once supposed. The Gâros trace descent in the female line, but there is no indication that polyandry exists, or existed, among them. It is no doubt true that there was a time when the family, as we understand it to-day, did not exist, and a woman spent the whole of her life with her mother's kindred who brought up any children that might be born to her. But this we may presume from evidences at our disposal to have been very widespread[34]. Among the Gâros the children belong to the mother's clan. The woman is the absolute owner of all the property, except self-acquired property. But that does not postulate that the husband has no right over his wife's property. During her lifetime he has full control over all she possesses, and he may appoint a person, called *nokroñg*, "house-supporter", to succeed him when he dies as the protector of the household and the manager of the property. The *nokroñg* is usually the son of his sister who is married to one of his daughters, and comes to live in the house. When the husband dies, the son-in-law marries his mother-in-law. This last is in direct opposition to the custom of mother-in-law taboo[35], originating in the fear of committing incest[36], which is in force among practically all savage tribes to whom the mother-in-law is a much dreaded personage. As an almost parallel instance where the mother-in-law taboo is entirely disregarded it may be mentioned that among the Wahehe of former German East Africa, when a man is married he must sleep with the mother-in-law before he may cohabit with the wife[37]. If the wife of a Gâro dies before her husband, or is divorced, without leaving any daughters, the wife's clan usually provides him with another wife who takes the property of the first wife, and thus keeps him in possession of the property[38].

33 *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, vol. ii, p. 338; *cf.* p. 43, n. 1. Compare *Pausanias*, viii. 37 and Frazer's edition, vol. iv, pp. 375 sq. To give only a few European instances, rain-magic is practised by the Russians, Serbians, Roumanians, Macedonians, Wallachians, Armenians, and so on. Some of these are of extreme simplicity, and consist merely of sprinkling water.

34 Cf. E. T. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, vol. ii, p. 208. (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Atis, Osiris*, (London, 1920), pp. 384–391; id., *Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1910), vol. iii, p. 189; Col. (Sir) H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, 3rd ed., by H. Cordier, vol. i, p. 253.

35 For mother-in-law taboo, compare (Sir) J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv, Index, s.v. "Mother-in-law"; E. T. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose* (London, 1902), pp. 399-414; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 282.

36 Cf. M. Mauss, "Parents et plaisanteries," *Annuaire* 1927-1928 (École Pratique des Hautes Études; Sciences Religieuses), p. 15.

37 Rev. H. Cole, "Notes on the Wagogo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. xxxii (1901), p. 312.

38 *Census of India*, 1911, p. 237.

With regard to totemism among the Gâros little is known, although there is no doubt that they are exogamous. The whole tribe is divided into *mahâri*, and the various subtribes are divided into *kâchi* or phratries, called *Marâk* and *Sañgmâ* (one of them has a third). These phratries are exogamous, and it is forbidden for a *marâk* to marry a *marâk*, and for a *sañgmâ* to marry a *sañgmâ*. Sir James Frazer gives[39] an almost complete account of totemism as actually practised in India, but it is more than probable that the account given by him is not quite adequate, and it is likely that totemism was formerly much more prevalent than would appear from evidences we possess to-day. The extreme antiquity of totemism can hardly be denied, and we find that even the religions of Egypt, of Greece, of Italy and of Gaul "are all impregnated with totemism."[40] Among most of the stone-age Australian natives the system of matrimonial institutions, which is so closely connected with totemism, is already in a process of decay. As compared with them the Gâros are undoubtedly in a very high stage of culture; and it is therefore quite reasonable to suppose that they have advanced not only in other respects but also in the matter of matrimonial institutions and of religious beliefs. There are many instances where the totems are no longer respected or perhaps forgotten and exogamous groups have disappeared, but the fact remains that the Gâros and many other tribes, among whom totemism is not found to-day, were once totemic and exogamous. The Gâro phratries are again divided into *mâchoñg* or motherhoods, *i.e.*, into exogamous groups, and at the present day the rule of exogamy based on the phratry is breaking down, and in its place the totemistic clan is cropping up[41].

The marriage customs of the Gâros are remarkable for the unusual form of the wedding. As a rule the form of wedding among savage, or even semi-savage, tribes, is by capturing the bride. Among certain tribes there was once a great scarcity of women, and it was the custom among them to secure wives by raiding neighbouring tribes and actually capturing women and girls. Later the need vanished, but the custom continued; and now-a-days the capture of the bride is usually simulated. Among the Gâros the procedure is reversed; it is the bridegroom who is captured[42]. In all, or most, cases where the bride is captured, the husband feels he has a proprietary right over her, and she is treated more or less as his property. In the case of the Gâros it is the husband who is captured, but he does not pass into the subjection of his wife, neither is he considered inferior to her in any way. The only visible result of the custom is that the position of the Gâro woman is considerably better than among most primitive tribes, owing no doubt to this form of marriage as well as to the prevalence of mother-kin among them. Pre-marital laxity is allowed to girls at least in theory if not in practice, but Hindu influence is getting more and more, and as a rule it is not tolerated any longer. After certain great festivals young men and women or girls are allowed to sleep together as a charm for enhancing the fertility of the soil; but generally speaking it is looked on with disfavour, and even these special occasions are falling into disuse[43]. Polyandry is unknown among them; polygyny exists merely in theory but, except in the case mentioned above, is of very rare occurrence. Gâro society is undergoing great changes at the present moment by coming into contact with various foreign peoples, and the American Catholic Mission is at the moment of writing (June, 1928) carrying on vigorous propaganda work among them, which will probably result, if not in their being proselytized, at least in their losing many of their interesting rites and customs.

39 *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. ii, chapter X.

40 S. Reinach, *Orpheus, a General History of Religions*, tr. by Florence Simmonds (London and New York, 1909), pp. 15 sq., 180 sq.

41 A. Playfair, *The Garos*, pp. 64-67; *Census of India*, 1911, p. 253.

42 A. Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 67; Col. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 64; (Sir) J. Lubbock (Lord Avebury), *The Origin of Civilization and the Primitive Condition of Man*, p. 126. Haripada Ray, "Gâroder Kathâ," *Prabâsî* Jaistha, 1333, p. 286; *L'Ethnologie du Bengale*, p. 42.

43 A. Playfair, *The Garos*, p. 68. For Garo customs, see Godwin Austin, "The Garo Hill Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vol. i. (1871).

VEDANTA AND CHRISTIAN PARALLELS.

By A. GOVINDACHARYA SVAMIN.

(*Continued from vol. LVII, p. 180.*)

The Word is God.

To Vedânta, the word (which is philologically the English for the ancient Âryan Vedic word, Veda), is the Veda, and Veda is *Sanâtana* or Ancient or without beginning. Hence the authority :—

'*Anâdi-nidhanâ hy eshâ vâk utsrishṭâ Svayambhuvâ,*'

i.e., this word or *vâk* (the Veda) has neither beginning nor ending ; and it is an emanation from 'the Self-Existing.' Thus the word was with God and it came from God. God is *svayam-bhû*, or the Existent by virtue of itself : being the *causa causorum* (or *causa sui*, exactly (*esse sui*). In another place it is written :

'*Etasya mahato bhûtasya niśvasitam etad yad Ṛig-Vedaḥ,*'

i.e., 'this Veda (word) is the breathing or the breath of the Great Being'. Breath is metaphorical. It means life. It means mind, ultimately having the connotation Spirit. *Bhûta* means the being or existence which is (more abstractly, quiddity) and which is always ; and *mahat* means the great. Hence *mahato bhûta* is equivalent to Brahman. Philosophically, that which is beyond time, beyond space, and beyond thing (*vastu*). 'Beyond thing' connotes causation, that is to say that God is not an object *caused* by any other object or thing, but the *Causer* of all things, the *causa causorum* (Spinoza). Scholiasts may pursue the subject further as investigated in the *Pûrva* and the *Uttara Mîmâṁsâs*. The latter is the *Brahma Sûtras* of Bâdarâyaṇa Vyâsa, and its commentaries by accredited traditional apostles of Vedic lore. In this treatise is the *Sûtra* for example :

'*Ata eva cha nityatvam,*'

i.e., 'hence (or for reasons assigned), the Veda (Word) is eternal (*nitya*).' Hence we have God, who is Self-existent, and with Him, the Word (Veda) eternally abides. We have here a living God, a dynamic God, or a God in incessant play or display, (kaleidoscopic so to say). The kaleidoscope has certain materials which are stable and constant, quantitatively. But as we turn the toy about, different groupings take place, exhibiting different patterns, symmetries and beauties. Taking God to be the *prima substans*, simple or complex, we may conceive of His play, display, exhibition or manifestation as the Universe, which unceasingly is kaleidoscopic in character, or the qualitative panorama of the quantitative Brahman. The qualitative is the condition, mood, mode, aspect or phase or function of the quantitative *substans* or the *substrate*, the *adhishṭhâna*. The truism embodied in the following Śruti will now be clear.

'*Sûryâ-Chandramasau dhâtâ yathâ pûrvam akalpayat,*'

i.e., 'the Maker (Creator or Evolvent) made the sun and the moon (which two luminaries do duty for all creation of the Universe synecdochically), as *they were before*.' Hence we have here a recast, re-shuffling, or re-distribution or re-adjustment of materials or elements which ever exist. Also it is clear that the re-adjustments connote periods. Hence between one re-adjustment and the successive one, there is a rhythmic cycle or evolution or revolutions, which are spatio-temporal systems, moving in curves and having their individual *loci* and *foci*, and incessantly dissolving and composing, in the limitless expanse (metaphysically) of the bosom of Brahman.

Mythologically, *vâk*, Word (Veda) is made a male under the *persona* of the four-faced Brahmâ (the Demiurge)—the four-faces implying *all*-knowledge—and female under the *persona* of Sarasvatî, whose pictures are familiar to scholars of mythology. Sarasvatî, who has the Bible (scriptures) in one hand and the *vînâ* (the typical Indian stringed musical instrument) in the other. She is the wife of Brahmâ—the Demiurge. The primal *Urge* is Brahman or Nârâyaṇa, from whose lotus-like navel (lotus is figurative for kosmos), the Demi-*Urge* the auxiliary worker (creator), emerges. *Vâk* is identified in other Vedic contexts with Śrî or Lakshmî. The musical instrument represents the music or the symphony of the spheres, rising and falling in rhythmic cadences. We have thus the word as the breath or vibration

of the deity, and this respiration is the kosmos in rhythmic musical periodicities (the Vîṇâ).[1] Language is the *vâk* or *vâch* or word, the book or Bible in the hands of Sarasvatî; and music is the *vîṇâ* in her other hand. The *nexus* between colour, sound or music is scientifically proved to-day: for the colours in the spectrum are but results of variations in the electro-magnetic vibrations of light. The emotions of man have colour, shape, *format.* The law in Heaven is hymning hallelujahs—'*etat sâma gâyan âste.*'

Reverting to parallels, the significant Johannian utterance in the Holy Bible may be compared with the Vedântic idea of word above explicated: viz., 'In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God.' The second Christian article of religion may now be consulted. It begins: 'The son which is the word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father: the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took man's nature in the womb of the blessed virgin of her substance.' So that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhood (*ecce deus*) and Manhood (*ecce homo*) were joined together in one person, never to be divided. Whereof is one Christ, very God and very Man: who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his father to us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

In this the first idea is the identity of the Word with the Son. This will be clear from the relationship of Word represented by Brahmâ, the Demiurge, to God represented by Nârâyaṇa, standing as the Son to the Father respectively. Next the taking 'of man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, etc.,' is reminiscent of the ancient doctrine of the Avatâras or Incarnations. Here are expressions and illustrations to this effect. In the *Bhagavadgîtâ* it is written:

'*Mama yonir Mahad-Brahma tasmin garbham dadhâmy Aham*'.

i.e., 'This vast material (maternal figuratively) nature of mine is the womb in which I form my embryo'. That maternal nature is certainly the Virgin; and God the Father or the paternal nature enters it and is now manifest as in-carnation, or em-*bodiedness*. This united nature represents Godhood and Manhood combined. This is the expression of the Indian Scriptures. For illustration, we find it stated in the *Râmâyaṇa*:

'*Veda-Vedye Pare Pumsi jâte Daśarath-âtmaje*
Vedaḥ Prâchetasâd âsît sâkshât Râmâyaṇ-âtmanâ,'

i.e., 'when God the Superlative Person (Father) appeared as the Son of Daśaratha, the Word (Veda) took the form of Râmâyaṇa', so that the Word is the Son who is incarnate in the Virgin. Râma is said to be the Son of his mother Kausalya; and Kausalya is Virgin by reason of her partaking of the holy food arising out of the sacrifice performed, the *putra-kâm-eshṭi*. And Śrî Krishṇa says, He is the Word itself incarnate, and He *appears* (epiphany) as the Son in the Eastern horizon of Devakî ('*Devakî pûrva-sandhyâyâm*').

[1] Here the Rosicrucian theory of music may not be out of place. Hargrave Jennings writes in his *Rosicrucians* thus:—"The whole world is taken as a musical instrument; that is, a chromatic sensible instrument. The common axis or pole of the world celestial is intersected—where this superior diapason, or heavenly concord or chord, is divided,—by the spiritual Sun, or centre of sentience. Every man has a little spark (sun) in his own bosom ('*mamatejomśa-sambhavaḥ*', *Bh. Gî.*). Time is only protracted consciousness, because there is no world out of the mind conceiving it (cf. the modern philosophical speculation of all spatio-temporal kosmic systems as events in the mind of God, or emergences from His consciousness, or the Vedântic conception of Time as the product of Deity: '*kâlas sa pachate tatra, na kâlas tatra vai prabhuḥ*'). Earthly music is the faintest tradition of the angelic state; it remains in the mind of man as the dream of, and the sorrow for, the lost paradise. Music is yet master of the man's emotions and therefore of the man. Heavenly music is produced from impact upon the paths of the planets, which stand as chords or strings, by the cross-travel of the sun from note to note, as from planet to planet: and earthly music is microscopically an imitation of the same, and a relic of heaven"; the faculty of recognition arising from the same supernatural musical efflux which produced the planetary bodies, in motived projection from the sun in the centre, in their evolved, proportional harmonious order. The Rosicrucians taught that the "harmony of the spheres" is a true thing, and not simply a poetic dream: all nature like a piece of music being produced by melodious combinations of the cross-movement of the holy light playing over the lines of the planets: light flaming as the spiritual ecliptic, or the *gladius* of the Archangel Michael, to the extremities of the Solar system. Thus are music, colours and language allied.

As to the suffering by crucifixion, etc., and reconciliation of the soul with the Father (God), all the stories of the Avatârâs bear witness. Two typical passages to this effect may suffice :—

(1) '*Yoga-kshemam vahâmy Aham*'= I take up all the burdens, and

(2) '*Sarva-papebhyo mókshayishyâmi*'= I shall remit from all sins. (*Bh. Gî.*).

The remission is for *all* sins (*sarva*) and the future tense *mokshayishyâmi* indicates the rôle of remission affecting all futurity.

Sîtâ-Devî (representing the motherhood of God) sacrifices in the Fire, finally, after all her sufferings in separation from the Father (Rama-incarnation), and up to the point of suicide (*veny-udgrathana*) and resurrection is typical of the end and purpose of the world-drama. The purpose is the 'death and burial' of the temporal leading to the resurrection, the spiritual state. This is voiced by Śrî Krishṇa thus: '*mama sâdharmyam-âgatâh*'='Become of my (divine) nature', forsaking or, dead from, human nature. The world-drama has thus the teleology of human nature becoming sublimated to divine nature. Hence nature by derivation itself (the son) is divine or of one substance with the Father or Heavenly Father (*Dyauh-pitâ*, Zeus-pater, Jupiter).

'Death and burial' have physical signification. The death or burial is that of the selfish or lower nature in man. This should die or give place to selflessness, or self-effacement in the way stated in the *Bhagavadgîtâ* (*ad libitum*). Jesus Christ exhorted men to die before they found life. These expressions have spiritual value, not the literal, physical meaning thereof. Resurrection is the change of the attitude of mind, a change of the heart, in short, spiritual conversion. This is attunement (or man in tune with God) following atonement.

The atonement function is fulfilled by the mother, which is the son, which is tutorial in character, the Guru or Âchârya of the Vedânta. This function is personified as the Śrî or Lakshmî, the mediatrix. Lakshmî is the Logos, the *vâch*, *vâk* or word ; and the Logos is the Immaculate Incarnation, according to the Vedântic truism : '*a-jâyamâno bahudhâ vijâyate*.' Logos is, for mythology Lakshmî and for philosophy the Word or language, which puts our inner self in communication with the external world—the medium which is intercessory. 'Lux is the Logos' say the *Rosicrucians* (p. 43, by Hargrave Jennings).

Scholars may follow up these parallels further by reading the treatise *Śrî-Vachana Bhûshaṇa* by Lokâchârya and my article on Śrî, the Holy Ghost or Paraclete in the *Theosophist* for 1915. The function of the Logos is compared to that of sun-light as compared with the sun which is God the Father, the light being the mother (*prabhâ-prabhâvân iva*), or as the fragrance of the flower (*pushpa-parimala-vat*).

The fundamental conceptions involved in this parallel are the consubstantiality of God and His manifestations; the mediatorial *nexus* between the immaculate conception of the Godhead (*avatâras* or manifestations) and the sublimation, transmutation or elevation of the human into the divine nature—the atonement. The whole idea shows a kosmic wheel in which all parts must co-operate to achieve a blissful ending pre-figured by the Deity. Whoso fails to co-operate in this divine process becomes useless and is dropped out. So says Śrî Krishṇa :

'*Evam pravartitam chakram nânuvartayat-îha yah.*
Aghâyur indriy-ârâmo mogham Pârtha sa jîvati (*Bh. Gî.*).

Anuvartana= co-operation, or working in tune with Providence. Who fails is a kosmic failure, answering perhaps to: *Kshipâmy ajasram aśubhân âsurîch-v-eva yonishu* (*Bh. Gî.*). Where it is clear that failure is not extinction—for the soul by hypothesis is eternal—but relegation to a state, extrication from which is to be begun *de novo*, taking æons once more.

Examples of immaculate conception in Indian tradition are legion. Brahmâ is born from the lotus-navel of Nârâyaṇa, Brahmâ has many mind-born sons, Agastya is vessel-born (*kumbhasambhava*): Pṛithu was engendered by friction from the right arm of his dead father Veṇa (a parthenogenetic fact found by science to be in nature); all the Avatâras are *ayônija* or asexual ; so is Sîtâ Devî and Draupadî, the Dravidian saints, Bhûta, Saro, Mahadâhvaya, Prâṇanâtha, Godâ-devî, etc. Thus stands Parallel No. 2, between Vedânta and Christian thought.

HINDU AND NON-HINDU ELEMENTS IN THE KATHA SARIT SAGARA.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

(*Continued from page 90.*)

8. The Wandering Soul.

In that mine of folklore, *The Story of Vidûshaka*, there is a neat reference, on p. 64, to the non-Âryan idea of the Wandering Soul. The hero miraculously saves the maiden daughter of king Âdityasena of Ujjayinî from being made into a human sacrifice, and goes with her through the air (as a royal accomplishment by the way) to her home by night. In the morning king Âdityasena (p. 64) "had Vidûshaka brought before him from his daughter's apartment, escorted all the way by her soul, which followed him out of affection." This may be read as poetic hyperbole for gratitude and affection, but in Somadeva's time it would be quite a natural proceeding on the part of the princess's Wandering Soul, an idea borrowed from the Far Eastern immigrants, then of long standing in India.

9. Metamorphosis.

The idea of the Wandering Soul, *i.e.*, of a soul that can wander into other bodies and return to its own, leads naturally to that of Metamorphosis by Transmigration, as we shall see by an illuminating quotation from p. 20 in the main story. Yaugandharâyaṇa, the minister of the king of Vatsa, wants to rouse his master to energy against Brahmadatta, the king of Benares, and he gets the queen, Vâsavadattâ, to aid him in the following manner. He made her (p. 20) "assume the appearance of a Brâhmaṇ woman, having given her a charm which enabled her to change her shape. And he made Vasantaka (another Kshatriya minister) one-eyed and like a Brâhmaṇ boy. As for himself, he (a Kshatriya) in the same way assumed the appearance of an old Brâhmaṇ. Then that mighty minded one took the queen, after she had assumed that appearance, and accompanied by Vasantaka, set out leisurely for the town of Magadha. And so Vâsavadattâ left her house in bodily presence along the road, though she wandered in spirit to her husband." Here we have Metamorphosis in its simplest form of disguise accompanied by the Wandering Soul.

In the volume quick change from mortal to immortal is common. A typical instance occurs on p. 236, when in *The Story of the Golden City*, Śaktideva, the Brâhmaṇ hero, is asked by Vindurekhâ, his Vidyâdharî, *i.e.*, immortal wife, to cut out her unborn child (as above noted), and when he had done so, "that Brâhmaṇ quickly became a Vidyâdhara and Vindurekhâ that moment disappeared." In this case Mr. Penzer has a footnote: "This sudden transformation is doubtless to be attributed to the magical power of steel," and then he descants at large on the precautions to be observed in birth-chambers (pp. 166-169). "No sooner had Śaktideva seized the child by its throat with his hand than it became a sword in his hand, like the long hair of Good Fortune seized by him with an abiding grasp." Here we have Metamorphosis *in excelsis*.

Transformation of man into animals is common in all folktales. On p. 147 in *Jîmûtavâhana's Adventures in a Former Birth*, we have an instance of the well-known Lion Transformation in Indian folk story. The hero (p. 143) "saw a young lady of wonderful beauty riding upon a lion." On p. 145 "that maiden dismounts from the lion," and in the end she marries the hero: "and that lion on which my wife had ridden, having witnessed the marriage, suddenly, before the eyes of all, assumed the form of a man," and proceeded to explain that he was a Vidyâdhara under a curse.

On p. 127 Somadeva gives a story in the main tale to adorn the Brahmanical teaching that hunting is a vice. In this tale Paṇḍu of the *Mahâbhârata* "let fly an arrow and slew a hermit of the name of Arindama, who was sporting with his wife, in the form of a deer," and thereby incurred the well-known curse, which resulted in the great war of ancient times. The tragedy of the human being in the form of a deer is, however, as common in European as in Indian legend.

In *The Story of Ahalyâ* (pp. 46f) we have a rather muddled account of a deceitful woman being condemned temporarily to be turned by a curse into " the awful condition of a stone." This species of Metamorphosis is common in Folklore, but much reliance cannot be placed on this instance.

10. Mortal and Immortal Love.

Instance after instance occurs in this volume of the love of immortal (Vidyâdharî) girls for mortal men, owing to the ease with which both hero and heroine can assume and dispense with immortality ; on pp. 34 ff. we have a version of the well-known *Story of Urvaśî*, an immortal of another kind, an Apsaras, who loved Purûravas, a mortal king. He, as a " devoted worshipper of Vishṇu, could traverse heaven as well as earth without opposition." In this version he meets Nandana, " the garden of the gods." At pp. 245 ff. Mr. Penzer has a fine Appendix on this story, where he points out (p. 255) the lesson of it in words that are worth quoting. " In no version is the lesson, which is intended to be conveyed, lost sight of. A mortal love and marriage is all very nice and proper, but it is only temporary. There is a far greater goal to be obtained—that of immortality—and until the mere mortal has realised the necessity to strive after something higher and finer, he cannot hope to enjoy the lasting fruit of a passionate love."

11. The Water Spirit.

In *The Story of Vidûshaka* the hero goes to sea (p. 71), and " the ship (p. 72) was stopped suddenly, when it reached the middle of the ocean, as if it were held by something. And when it did not move, though the sea was propitiated with jewels, . . . the hero (Vidûshaka) descended into the midst of the sea under the ship. And there he saw a giant asleep, and he saw that the ship was stopped by his leg. So he immediately cut off his leg with his sword, and at once the ship moved on, freed from its impediment."

Northern Indians in Kashmir in Somadeva's day can never have had any knowledge of the sea except through literature, and one naturally doubts the Indian origin of this tale. At any rate, propitiating the sea with gifts in time of trouble is a world-wide seamen's plan of very long standing, and the idea of a miraculous leg or arm interfering with a ship is equally old in European sea-lore. Here we seem to see an influence, which, though Âryan as well as non-Âryan, is from outside India.

12. Tree Spirits.

In *The Story of Phalabhûti* (p. 96) we read that Somadatta, a Brâhmaṇ, " desired to practise husbandry, and went to a forest [which in India includes any uncultivated area] on a lucky day to find a piece of ground suitable for it. There he found a promising piece of ground, . . . and in the middle of it he saw an *aśvattha* (*pîpal*) tree of great size . . . . He said : I am a faithful votary of that being, whoever he may be, that presides over this tree, and walking round the tree, so as to keep it on his right, he bowed before it. Then he yoked a pair of bullocks, and recited a prayer for success, and after making an oblation to that tree, he began to plough there." The result of this worship was that (p. 97) " a voice came out of that *aśvattha* tree : ' O Somadatta, I am pleased with thee,' " and then the voice proceeded to give him advice that led to great advancement in life for him. The point of interest here is that the tree-worship was evidently of the spirit that resided in the tree.

In *The Story of Somaprabhâ*, Guhachandra, a merchant of Pâtaliputra (Patna) marries the hero, and finds (pp. 42 f.) " on the trunk of a [*nyagrodha*, banyan] tree a heavenly maiden, like his wife in appearance, seated on a splendid throne . . . . And then Guhachandra saw his wife ascend that very tree and sit down beside that lady, occupying half her throne. While he was contemplating these two heavenly maidens of equal beauty sitting together, it seemed to him as if that night were lighted by three moons." In the sequel the two maidens turn out to be immortals and sisters, and Guhachandra, after remarking that this was no dream, but (p. 43) " the expanding of the bloom from the bud of association with the wise, which

springs from the tree of right conduct and gives promise of appropriate fruit." In his case, with further miraculous intervention, it was happiness with an immortal wife. Here it is not the tree, but the spirit in the tree, which is the cause of power.

12-a. The Wishing Tree.

In Burma the tree-spirit and the tree-maiden are very commonly worshipped supernatural beings (*vide*, Temple, *The Thirty Seven Nats*), and in all the circumstances one cannot help suspecting that the powers of the Wishing Tree, already noticed in these remarks (see above) are in reality due to the power of the spirit dwelling in it.

12-b. The Miraculous Child : c. Illumination : d. Speech at Birth : e. Walking at Birth.

The above quotations are now followed by others referring to several points in Folklore, and describe a miraculous child, that illuminates its surroundings and walks and speaks at birth. As regards the illuminating power of female beauty, it is of common occurrence both in European and Asiatic Folklore. On p. 63 a princess is spoken of as "illuminating with her beauty the whole region," as if this were a common attribute of princesses. Other quotations could be added.

At p. 39 in *The Story of Somaprabhâ*, a girl child covers the whole of the attributes. The wife, Chandraprabhâ, "of a great merchant, Dharmagupta," of Pâṭaliputra (Patna) "became pregnant and brought forth a daughter [Somaprabhâ], beautiful in all her limbs. That girl, as soon as she was born, illuminated the chamber with her beauty, spoke distinctly, and got up and sat down."

It will be thus seen that speaking, walking and illuminating at birth are spoken of as "the signs" of a Miraculous Child. Mr. Penzer gives many instances from European Folklore, and from the point of view of the Miraculous Child, the whole question may be worth further enquiry.

13. The Fire Sacrifice and Immortality.

At pp. 245 ff. Mr. Penzer in an Appendix discusses at length the very old legend of *Urvaśî and Purûravas*, and on p. 248 he notices that one of the points in it is "the Fire-Sacrifice as a means of achieving Immortality." After going through the incident in the tale, from which the above point is evolved, he writes (p. 257) : "I think we can regard the fire-incident of the story of Urvaśî and Purûravas as showing the great symbolical significance of the Fire-Sacrifice as a means of obtaining Svarga, the Abode of the Blessed, and ensuring a final state of Immortality.

At pp. 100 ff. there is a remarkable mythological tale of the *Birth of Kârttikeya*, the Hindu God of War, as a miraculous offspring of Śiva, through the action of Agni, the God of Fire. Kârttikeya is a derivative term and means belonging to the Kṛittikâs, or the Pleiades, and the story of his connection with Śiva and Agni seems to be explicable only on the assumption of the meaning of the Fire-Sacrifice as a means of attaining Immortality.

In this story (p. 101) Śiva is so long engaged in "the sport of love with Umâ [Pârvatî] the daughter of Himâlaya that the gods are disturbed and call on Agni to intervene. "So he went to Śiva and by his heat stopped Śiva from his amorous play . . . . who as the impulse arose in him, deposited his seed in the fire. Neither the Fire nor Umâ was able to bear this. The goddess, distracted with anger and grief, said : 'I have not obtained a son from you after all.' And Śiva said to her : 'An obstacle has arisen in this matter, because you neglected to worship Gaṇeśa, the Lord of Obstacles [also of Beginnings]. Therefore adore him now that a son may speedily be born to us in the fire (p. 102).'" It will be seen then that the son was Umâ's [Pârvatî's] only vicariously. The story also raises the point of Umâ's status as a goddess, as she had to worship Gaṇeśa to get her desires. She was not then Devî, the Supreme Goddess, but merely a concubine, of Śiva. Was she thus regarded in Somadeva's

day? Or was he aware that any kind of "divine" story would go down in the old mediæval Court of Kashmir?

The story runs on: "When thus addressed by Śiva (p. 102), the goddess worshipped Gaṇeśa and the fire became pregnant with that germ of Śiva. Then, bearing the embryo of Śiva, the fire shone ever in the day, as if the sun had entered into it. And then it discharged into the Ganges the germ difficult to bear. . . . and when the Gaṇas, Śiva's [immortal] attendants, after a thousand years had developed it, it became a boy with six faces. Then, drinking milk with his six mouths from the breasts of the six Kṛittikâs [Pleiades] appointed by Gaurî [a name of Umâ or Pârvatî] the boy [Kârttikeya] grew big in a few days." Eventually there was war between Kârttikeya and Indra, but it was made up by Śiva, and Indra "consecrated" by ablutions Kârttikeya as general of his forces. So he became the God of War.

The story is nowhere clear, and Somadeva tells it as a reason for worshipping Gaṇeśa. He is confused throughout and, among other incompatibilities, calls (p. 103) Kârttikeya a son of Gaurî. In reality the story seems to be based on the idea of Immortality being attainable through the fire, *i.e.*, through the Fire-Sacrifice.

14. The Water of Immortality.

In his version of the legend of Kârttikeya Somadeva in hesitating fashion puts forward the theory that Immortality is attainable through the Fire-Sacrifice, and it will have been observed that he connects the Water with the Fire in the story by making the Fire discharge the germ of Immortality into the Water, *i.e.*, the Ganges. Somadeva has, however, more to say about the Water of Immortality, and in *The Story of Jîmûtavâhana's Adventures in a Former Birth* (pp. 150 ff.) we hear a good deal of the Water of Immortality in connection with the legend of Garuḍa. The story commences with *The Dispute about the Colour of the Sun's Horses.* Kadrû and Vinatâ, the two wives of Kaśyapa "had (p. 150) a dispute as the colour of the sun's horses," a statement which is by way of taking back the story as far as possible. Kadrû, the Mother of the Snakes, by a trick with their help wins, and "according to an agreement that the one who was wrong should become the slave of the other," enslaves her co-wife Vinatâ. Vinatâ was the mother of Garuḍa, the great hero in the form of a bird, and "the snakes, being afraid, said to him: 'O Garuḍa, the gods have begun to churn the sea of milk, [this connecting the legend with another very ancient and well-known one]; bring the nectar thence and give it to us as a substitute, and then take your mother away, for you are the chief of heroes." The nectar was *amṛita*, the Nectar of Immortality. (p. 155).

Then follows a longer story as to how Garuḍa, "who had obtained the nectar by his own valour," played a trick on the snakes by offering to place "the vessel of nectar on a pure bed of *darbha* [*kuśa*] grass," and then carrying it off again; so that the snakes "in despair licked that bed of *darbha* grass, thinking there might be a drop of spilt nectar on it. The effect was that their tongues were split, and they became double tongued for nothing (p. 152)." Garuḍa next proceeded to destroy the snakes, and the story then goes on to an attempt by Jîmûtavâhana to save one of the snakes from Garuḍa. Finally, Garuḍa, "brought the Nectar of Immortality from heaven and sprinkled it along the shore of the sea (pp. 155 f.)." Mr. Penzer (p. 151) refers the reader to Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabs* for the Eau de Jouvence, and on p. 155 gives further references in Europe to the Water of Life.

Now this Water of Life or of Immortality still plays a considerable part in modern India, and is closely mixed up with the ever-living Saint (Zindâ Pîr) or Hero, believed in there in every part of the country. It is, therefore, of some consequence to trace the origin of the idea. One would like to know for certain whether it is Indian or an absorption into India from the West. Years ago I made a large number of notes on the subject, which I am publishing in this *Journal* as research information in a series of remarks on "Buddermokân." This is a common name among sailors round the Indian coasts for shrines to their patron

saint, who is Badru'd-dîn Auliâ of Chittagong, and in his turn mixed up with Khwâja Khizar, who in his turn again is Al Khidhr, the great Water Saint. On enquiry I soon found myself on a quest after the Water God of the early Aryans (and perhaps of the early Semites as well), as Al Khidhr is a Muslim hero, and is moreover connected with the Asiatic legend of Alexander the Great and the Well of Immortality, and with Mehtar Ilyâs (the Prophet Elijah or Elias) of Russia and Eastern Europe. Al Khidhr, the ever-green, is the prototype of the Ever-living Saint, the Zindâ Pîr, Immortality in that form being applied practically to every saintly or supernatural hero, Muslim or Hindu, in modern Northern India at any rate. The bibliography of the subject seems endless, and through it is a formidable enquiry to tackle seriously, one cannot but hope that an indefatigable worker, such as Mr. Penzer, may find an opportunity to give us an explanatory note on it.

15. Summoning by Thought.

In folktales spirits and supernatural beings or objects are summoned by various methods, but in the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* a common method of summoning is simply by thinking of the object wanted. In the *Story of Vidûshaka*, the hero "obtains a splendid sword from a divinity and has only to think of it, and it comes to him (p. 58)." On p. 72 in the same story "the sword of the Fire God came [to the same hero] with a thought (pp. 74 f.)." and on p. 78 "a Râkshasa [demon] came to him the moment he was thought of." In vol. I, p. 60, a friendly Râkshasa appears to Vararuchi "on thought."

This very simple method of summoning a supernatural friend seems to be confined to this collection of stories, and it would at any rate be worth enquiring if this is really the case.

16. The Home of the Blest.

In that mine of folklore *The Story of Vidûshaka* we read (p. 67) "that a certain friend . . . . named Yogeśvarî, came to Bhadrâ [the hero's immortal Vidyâdharî wife]: and said to her in secret . . . . there is a great mountain named Udaya, the land of the Siddhas." This mountain lies beyond "the shore of the Eastern sea." The Siddha in ordinary Hindu mythology is a semi-divine being endowed with supernatural faculties, and the term is also used to denote a specially holy personage. In this volume (p. 111) he is an independent immortal: "once on a time a Siddha, that roamed the air, with whom he [the hero of the story of *Sundaraka and the Witches*] had struck up a friendship, gave him a spell for descending from the air." It may be noted also that, in this tale, immortals like the Vidyâdharas and the Siddhas are restricted to certain areas on the earth for all their superhuman powers.

In the search by the Brâhmaṇ Śaktideva for the *Golden City*, we find (p. 190): "There is a country named Kâmpilya, and in it there is a mountain named Uttara [the North], and on it there is a hermitage. There dwells my [Sûryatapas, a hermit of the Vindhya range] elder brother named Dîrghatapas: go to him, he being old may perhaps know of that [the Golden] city." So the hero goes on to the Eastern lands, to the Land of the Siddhas.

Mr. Penzer gives many instances of the Beautiful Palace of the Sun, which is North of the Earth, in European folktales. The Islands of the Blest in the West are common in folklore, European and Asiatic, and here we have the East and the North as the situation of the Home of the Blest. May it not be that story-tellers have always situated it at a spot beyond the reach of their audience?

17. Unintentional Injury.

In the story of *Jîmûtavâhana's Adventures in a Former Birth*, at p. 147, "a Vidyâdhara named Chitrângada" explains that he was cursed by the Rishi Nârada to become a lion, because when he "was going along the middle of the river [Ganges], for fear of disturbing the ascetics [on its banks], my garland by accident fell into its waters. Then the hermit Nârada, who was under the water, suddenly rose up, and, angry because the garland had fallen on his back, cursed me in the following words: 'On account of this insolence, depart, wicked one;

thou shalt become a lion,'" and so on. This is unreasonable enough, but the terrible consequences of absolutely unintentional injuries is, as Mr. Penzer shows, common in Folklore. May it be a reference to the observation of the effects of chance mistakes in ordinary human life ?

18. Portents: Twitching, Itching, Sneezing.

On p. 144 again the hero of Jîmûtavâhana's Adventures *in a Former Birth* was awaiting his immortal bride, and "her arrival was heralded by his right eye throbbing, as if through eagerness to meet her." Here Mr. Penzer remarks that involuntary twitchings and itchings of any part of the body are looked on everywhere with great superstition, and that in India the omens in the case of men and women are reversed. He also points out that omens from sneezing go back as far as the very old legend of *Urvaśî and Purûravas*. But on the whole Somadeva does not rely much on omens to help him in developing his tales.

19. Love-sickness and Death.

This is a universal folktale theme and turns up in *The Story of the Loving Couple who Died of Separation*, where a young merchant of Mathurâ started on a commercial journey and found as soon as he had left that his wife did not follow him. She had been too timid, "so her breath left her body (p. 9)." He returned when he heard of this, and "took her in his arms and wept over her, and immediately the vital spirits left his body." There is not much pathos in the story as Somadeva tells it, and for once his text is poor. But Mr. Penzer shows us in a footnote that Hindu literature has, *more suo*, analysed "Love-sickness" in detail and produced a list of the steps, ending in Death. There is nothing, in fact, which the literary Hindu has not tried to analyse.

20. Taboos.

As in the case of Portents, Somadeva is not lavish in the use of Taboos in his tales. The idea is, of course, common enough in Indian custom, as Mr. Penzer points out in his remarks on *Rahu and the Eclipses*, p. 82. The earliest known example occurs in the story of *Urvaśi and Purûravas*, where an immortal bride tells her mortal husband that he is not to let her see him naked, and when he does so inadvertently she disappears (pp. 245 f.). In *The Story of the Golden City* the immortal Vidyâdharî bride, Chandraprabhâ, puts a similar Taboo on Śaktideva, her mortal husband : "While you remain alone in this palace, you must by no means ascend the middle terrace (p. 222)." But he goes there out of curiosity, "for men are generally inclined to do that which is forbidden," and so he is sent back at once miraculously to his own house in the earthly city of Vardhamâna [Bardhwân].

20-a. Umbrellas.

In his *Appendix II* (pp. 263 ff.) Mr. Penzer has most valuable remarks on *Umbrellas*, and (p. 266) asks himself the question : Why the umbrella had such a universal importance throughout the East ? On p. 268 he suggests that the use of the umbrella over kings was a Taboo : "The sun should never be allowed to shine down on the sacred person of the king (p. 267)." Here we have an observation which is worthy of serious consideration.

21. Dreams.

Like several other expedients that are common in folktales, Dreams are not common in this volume. However, in the main story, the king of Vatsa, having made up his mind to fight with the king of Benares, proceeds "to propitiate Śiva by austerities (p. 84). . . . and after the king had fasted for three nights, . . . Śiva said to him in a Dream : 'I am satisfied with thee and thou shalt obtain an unimpeded triumph, and thou shalt soon have a son.'" It is to be observed here that the Dream of the favour of Śiva is the result of previous austerities. It is used to signify that the gods have heard the desires, which the austerities were intended to convey to them.

Again at p. 136, also in the main story, Vâsavadattâ, the queen of the same king of Vatsa is without a child, and becomes very anxious. Her husband says to her that they must

"propitiate Śiva, and after the Royal couple had fasted for three nights, that Lord [Śiva] was so pleased that he himself appeared to them and commanded them in a Dream : 'Rise up, from you shall spring a son.' . . . After some days had passed, a certain man with matted locks came and gave queen Vâsavadattâ a fruit in her Dream. Then the king rejoiced with the queen . . . . He considered the fulfilment of his wish to be not far off." Here the situation is precisely that noticed above. The Dream merely announces the reward of austerities undergone to obtain the favour of the gods and answers to prayers. This view of the purpose of a Dream is well worth following up.

22. Jonah in the Whale's Belly.

In *The Story of the Golden City*, Śaktideva the hero is shipwrecked. That is, "the ship . . . . burst and split asunder" in the ocean (p. 192), and "the ship being broken, ... as Śaktideva fell a large fish, opening its mouth and neck, swallowed him without injuring any of his limbs." Some time afterwards the fish is caught by "the king of the fishermen of the Island of Utsthala," who cut it open, "and Śaktideva came out alive from its belly, having endured a second wonderful imprisonment in the womb (p. 193)." He was quite uninjured, and proceeds to explain who he was and so on (p. 194).

Mr. Penzer in a useful note describes the spread of the legend, and the many attempts to give an explanation of it. I merely quote it here to show an old Indian form of it, as it is clearly a very ancient story, and it is not at all unlikely that it came to India from the West.

23. Rahu and the Eclipses.

In *The Story of Vidûshaka*, the hero (p. 63) returns at night "all clothed in darkness, through the air, bringing with him the princess . . . . as Râhu carries off a digit of the moon." On this Mr. Penzer (p. 81) has a long and valuable note, and I wish to draw attention here to the remark therein : "The interesting point about this myth is that the origin appears to be unknown," as "the story is not early Buddhist, nor ever ancient Indian." Mr. Penzer asks the question : "Is it Aryan or non-Aryan ?" Roughly the story is that an eclipse is caused by an attempt by a demon (Râhu) to swallow the sun or moon, and here is an opportunity for a thorough research by an Oriental scholar with a European and general training.

NOTES ON DRAVIDIAN.

BY L. V. RAMASWAMI IYER, M.A., B.L.

Accentual Influence and Inter-Vocal Plosives.

In Tamil, inter-vocal plosives always, and inter-vocal fricatives sometimes, have voiced values; similarly the plosive and fricative elements of consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives, and of nasals and fricatives, are also voiced. In Telugu, Canarese, the Central Indian Dravidian dialects and Tuḷu,[1] such a change is not universal. Malayalam literary dialect does not allow it at all ;[2] while in some of the ruder dialects like Tôḍa and Kôṭa,[3] this convertibility of surds and sonants is very rare. Koḍagu shares the tendency to the extent to which it exists in Tuḷu, in so far as the root-syllables of words are concerned, while in other syllables, the voicing of surds is very infrequent. The North Dravidian languages evidence such a change far less frequently than South-Dravidian. This tendency, therefore, varying as it does so largely from the one extreme to the other, cannot be described as *characteristically* Dravidian[2].

It is a very striking fact that Tamil fights shy of inter-vocal surds to such an extent that borrowings of foreign words containing pure inter-vocal surds are assimilated in Tamil either through sonatisation or with the reduplication or doubling of surds ; the language-consciousness feels that the purity of the surd-value could be preserved only when it is brought out

[1] See Brigel's observation on p. 7, § 17, of his Tuḷu Grammar.

[2] *Vide* my paper on "Dravidian Plosives" in the *Indian Antiquary*, March 1929.

[3] See the texts (accompanied by gramaphone records) published by the Madras Government recently.

in a reduplicated form. This fact[4] opens up an interesting line of enquiry. Is this doubling of inter-vocal surds—a prominent feature of Tamil-phonology—based upon the need for the preservation of the purity of the surd-value ? And if so, does this need indicate the existence of a certain amount of accentual influence on the surd, which, initially at any rate, marked off the comparative semantic importance of the syllable containing the surd ? An examination of the various instances of doubling of inter-vocal surds in Tamil and a comparison of these instances with corresponding cases in Telugu. Canarese, Tuḷu and other Dravidian languages. sheds light on this matter.

Tamil. *Doubling of inter-vocal surds occurs in :*	*Telugu.* *(Surds appear singly.)*	*Canarese.* *(Surds appear singly.)*
(1) Datival ending—*ku* *e.g., gôvindanukku.* etc.	Cf. *Râmâku, Bâliki, vâniki*, etc.	Cf. old Can. *maroku.*
(2) Declensional endings of roots terminating in surds *e.g., koppâl, vîṭṭukku.*	Cf. *pâṭuku pâṭulo.* etc.	Cf. *pâṭada*, etc.
(3) *-tt-, pp-, kk-* in reterite, future and present endings respectively added to certain roots.: *paditt-, paḍipp-. paḍikk-.*	Cf. Preterite *aḍitini, cêstini* ; Present *basc ceyutsu*— where *ts* < *k.*	Cf. Pret. *aritanu* (he knew) ; participial ending—*tum* in *geyutum* etc.
(4) Formative affixes as in *paḍukkei,* (bedding) *naḍattam, kiḍappu*, etc.	Cf. *paḍuka, telupu*, etc.	Cf. *arapu* (knowledge), *iruṭa* (darkness).
(5) Combinations of words indicative of a transitional meaning : *kâṭṭuppuli* (forest tiger) ; *iruppappeṭṭi* (iron box) ; *murukka kkâi* (a kind of fruit).	Cf. *inupapeṭṭi* (iron box).	....
(6) Derivative nouns directly from verbal themes : *eḻuttu* (letter) (< *eḻudu*) ; *âṭṭam* (play) (< *âḍu*), *pokkam.*	Cf. *âṭa* < *âḍu* *pâṭa* < *pâḍu.*	Cf. *âṭa* < *âḍu, nôṭa* < *nôḍu* (look).
(7) Transitives converted from intransitives : *vîṭṭu* (to fell) <*vîḻu* : *perukku*[5] (to increase) <*perugu.*	Cf. Telugu transitives like *perutsu* where *ts*<*k*	Cf. old Canarese *bîḻtu* (to fell), mod. Can. has *d* instead of *t.*

[4] Significantly enough, the Tamilian feels that the purity of the surd-value in inter-vocal positions could be preserved well only in a reduplicated state. In cases where the inter-vocal single surd has to be uttered with the pure value, as for instance in the pronunciation of foreign names like *Paṭel*, etc., the value actually brought out is that of a very thin and frail surd (falling under class IV or V of Jespersen's classification). Thus the enunciation of a pure surd intervocally in Tamil differs from that in Tulu, Telugu or Kannaḍa: the time involved between the forming of the stoppage and the explosion is considerably less, and the muscular tension lower. This probably explains the *doubling* of the surds in Tamil, in stress-influenced inter-vocal positions, whereby the full value of the surd is preserved. The doubling in such cases does not necessarily mean that its value is longer than that of the normal single surd ; it only means, that it is the longer sound of the frail Tamil surd referred to above.

Doubling of surds intervocally occurs in two main types of words. The first type is constituted of an ancient stock of dimoristic words like *muttu, taṭṭu, kaṭṭu* etc., which are common to all the southern dialects. The second type with which I am here concerned and of which instances are given here, is found in tense-affixes, formative syllables, declensional endings, etc.

[5] I am aware that what Caldwell described as the hardening of sonants in this and other forms of transitival formation (but what I would call in the light of the present essay the preservation of the pure surd-value) has been seriously questioned, and that the assimilative influence of an affix *-t-* has been postulated. It is true that in some cases, as in the combinations of *l, n* or *r* + *t*, and in a few past tense formations, the influence of *t* is incontestable. But there is no doubt that this explanation does not cover the numerous types shown above. (See my article on *Alveolar t, d in Dravidian* in the first number of the *Bulletin of the Rama Varma Research Institute, 1929.*)

(8) Causal verbs with p ($< v <$ *vei*) in some cases: *paḍippi, śeyvippi, naḍappi.*	Cf. *pilipintsu, naḍapintsu*, etc.	Cf. Canarese causals like *tirupu* (to screw).
(9) Inflexional Increment of neuter nouns: *-attu*	Inflexional Increment *ṭ*	....

Amongst the lesser dialects, Kui, Gôṇḍi and Kurukh of the north show plenty of pure surds intervocally in many contexts; while in the south Tuḷu shows pure surds in the declensional terminations, formative affixes and certain inflexional endings. Koḍagu shows pure surds in inflexional endings; *injatu* (existed); *palitatu* (shared); *eḍitâṇḍu* (taking): *timbakillate* (having nothing to eat), etc.

An examination of these instances would show that (1) the surds, intervocally, are generally kept pure in other languages than Tamil in positions which carry with them a certain importance from the point of view of meaning; (2) that, further, as in many cases where the Tamil forms show doubled surds, corresponding forms in Telugu, Canarese, etc., show single surds in a pure state, we shall not be wrong in postulating that the doubling of surds in these positions in Tamil was motived by the desire to prevent the operation of the unusually strong tendency in Tamil to "sonatise" surds inter-vocally.

The *rationale* of the process which preserves the purity of the surd value (in Tamil by doubling and in other languages by retaining the sound singly in a pure state) is that the higher semantic importance of the formative or derivative syllables or affixes evidently should have endowed them with a certain accent at least in the inceptive stages, and that thus a protecting influence should have been thus exercised over the purity of the surds. Whether this accent was *stress* or *intonation* or *both combined* (which last in my opinion is more plausible[6]) there seems to be no doubt that instances like derivative *takkam* (fitness) from *taṅgu* (to be fit), *pôkku* (to make to go) from *pôgu* (to go) and the other types of instances given above, point to a stage in the history of the language when accentual influence should have played a strong part in marking off the derived forms from the old forms.

The following conclusions may therefore be tentatively formulated: (*a*) that, though the voicing of surds in root-syllables occurred in some Dravidian dialects at a very early stage, this voicing did not affect the surds in formative, derivative and other distinctive affixes which may be presumed to have been introduced at a later stage; (*b*) that the maintenance of the purity of the surd-value was due to a certain semantic importance which these syllables carried with them and which was distinguished by a higher accent, at least in the earliest stages; (*c*) and that Tamil alone of all the Dravidian languages sought to achieve the preservation of the purity of the surds by reduplicating the surd-value in accordance with its own peculiar genius, on account of the fact that, owing to the phenomenally strong tendency of Tamil to sonatise inter-vocal surds, the surd in such positions should have become very frail and thin at an early stage.

MISCELLANEA.

A SEAL OF A JÂNAPADA.

When I offered a constitutional interpretation of the terms *Paura* and *Jânapada*[1] several critics asserted that the terms denoted merely a man of a *pura* (city) and a man of a *janapada* (country) respectively, without any constitutional significance. I must here mention the notable exception of Mr. Banamali Bhattacharya, Professor of Sanskrit at the Sylhet College, who published his opinion that the *Jânapada* on the evidence I adduced should be held to have been a constitutional body [in his opinion like a District Board].

The controversy is set at rest by a Nâlandâ seal. It is a seal stamped on clay and subsequently burnt and hardened. The lettering is clear and fully preserved. It is a seal of the *Jânapada* of *Purikâ*: with the legend,—*Purikâ-grâma-Jânapadasya* in Gupta characters of the fifth or sixth century. It is at present in the Nâlandâ museum, bearing No. 347. It was dug out at site No. 1-A in 1920-21 from a depth of 8 feet. I read it last October. When I wrote to the Government of India Epigraphist, Dr. Hirananda Sastri, who is going to edit the Nâlandâ seals, I understood from him that the same is his independent reading. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar has also read it exactly the same way. The writing is so perfect that there cannot be two opinions regarding the reading. The language being

6 I have discussed this view in another paper of mine published in 1922 in the *E.C.* Magazine.

1 *Hindu Polity*, pt. II, chaps. XXVII–XXVIII, an advanced copy of which was published in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, 1920.

Sanskrit, there is similarly a definiteness about the meaning, "[the seal] of the Jânapada of the *grâmas* of Purikâ.

Purikâ is noted by the Purâṇas (Pargiter, *The Purâṇa Text of the Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 49; *JRAS.*, 1910, pp. 445-6) as an ancient city which rose to be a small capital after the disappearance of the Śuṅgas of Vidiśâ. Purikâ figures in the inscriptions of Bharhut.

The Jânapada office was located at the capital[2]. Purikâ represented a small principality in its best days. Probably it remained a small unit under the Guptas.

Jânapada would represent the *grâmas* or townships, according to the *Vivâda-ratnâkara*.[3] *Purikâ-grâma-jânapada* would mean the Jânapada of the *grâmas* of Purikâ (*i.e.*, the Purikâ territory). It is also possible that the main Jânapada represented local Jânapadas in the Gupta times. In any case, this much is certain that Jânapada was a body and that in the Gupta times it was still a living institution.

It is worthy of notice that Aśoka refers to the Jânapada of his time in the singular.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

BOOK-NOTICE.

THE BAKHSHALI MANUSCRIPT: A STUDY IN MEDIÆVAL MATHEMATICS. A.S.I., New Imperial Series, vol. XLIII. By G. R. KAYE. $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$; pp. 156, vi; with 4 Tables, 48 Plates of collotype reproductions, and some Figures in the Text. Calcutta, 1927.

The Bakhshâlî Manuscript, comprising a mathematical treatise written in the Śâradâ script on birch bark, was found at Bakhshâlî near Mardân in 1881. The present volume contains facsimiles of the complete text, as far as it remains, of the manuscript, with a transliteration in the Roman character, an important introduction and a detailed description of the script. In his introduction Mr. Kaye surveys the contents of the manuscript, analyses the mathematical matter, describes the measures used —of the arc, of time, money, weight, length and capacity—and then discusses the sources of the work and the probable age thereof and of the manuscript preserved to us.

At the time of its discovery this manuscript aroused much interest in Orientalist circles as it was thought to be of great age, and it was even suggested that it might prove to be one of the Tripitakas which Kanishka ordered to be deposited in *stûpas*. The late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle, to whom the MS. was sent in the first instance, gave some preliminary descriptions of it, the fullest of which was published in vol. XVII of this Journal. He considered that, having regard to the find spot and the history of the frontier, it was at least older than the time of Maḥmûd of Ghazni, when that area was lost to Hindu civilization; that the characters used exhibited a "rather archaic type"; that the use of the *śloka* measure pointed to a date anterior to the 5th century A.D., when the *ârya* measure superseded the *śloka* in the mathematical works of the Hindus; that the language employed pointed to a date not later than the 3rd or 4th century; and that the way in which the terms *dînâra* and *dramma* were used seemed to indicate that these coins formed the ordinary currency of the day, which also suggested a date within the first three centuries of our era. He was of opinion, further, that the MS. probably preserved a fragment of an early Buddhist or Jain work on arithmetic, the manuscript itself being of later date. For these, and other, reasons Dr. Hoernle, though refraining from expressing a very definite opinion as to the age of the manuscript, was inclined to assign it to the early centuries of the Christian era. Mr. Kaye joins issue with Dr. Hoernle on all these points, and demonstrates the fallaciousness of many of his arguments. In the matter of the script, after a very full examination and comparison of the types used in this and other records, Mr. Kaye comes to the conclusion that "*all* the evidence that the Bakhshâlî script gives points to some time about the twelfth century, and there is not a single type against this conclusion." He shows that the *śloka* measure was used in numerous works on astronomy and mathematics up to the 12th century. He thinks the *dînâra* referred to was the copper, and not the gold, coin of that name. What Dr. Hoernle regarded as peculiar characteristics of language he finds to be common in Śâradâ inscriptions of the 11th and 12th centuries; and he comes to the "tentative conclusion" that the language of the manuscript is not appreciably earlier than the script itself.

Mr. Kaye has also pointed out—a question that appears to have escaped Dr. Hoernle—that certain leaves of the manuscript differentiate themselves from the rest by a bolder and, on the whole, a better style of writing, and present certain other distinctive peculiarities. Though not convinced that this section was the work of a separate author, he rather suspects that it was: in any case it is pretty certain that it was the work of a different scribe. The mathematical contents have been dealt with in a manner that discloses the hand of an expert. Mr. Kaye is to be congratulated on the completion of a difficult and laborious task. The volume forms a valuable addition to the records of the department. The plates have been excellently produced.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE K. R. CAMA ORIENTAL INSTITUTE.

Essay for the Sarosh K. R. Cama Prize of Rs. 500.

The Executive Committee of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute invites an Essay from Avestan scholars for the above prize of Rs. 500 containing "A lucid and thoroughly intelligible translation in English of the following Yashts, in due accordance with grammar and philology, with notes and comments wherever necessary."

1.	Âbân	Yasht	6.	Meher	Yasht
2.	Khorshed	,,	7.	Rashna	,,
3.	Mâh	,,	8.	Farvardin	,,
4.	Tir	,,	9.	Râm	,,
5.	Gosh	,,	10.	Din	,,

The essay bearing only the *nom-de-plume* of the writer on the front page should be submitted to the undersigned on or before the 31st December 1930. The full name and address of the writer should be submitted with the essay in a sealed cover bearing only the *nom-de-plume* on the outside.

172, HORNBY ROAD,
BOMBAY (INDIA),
1st *February* 1929.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI,
Joint Honorary Secretary.

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[2] *Hindu Polity*, II, 79.

[3] ग्रामो ग्रामवासि–समूहः p. 179, *samûha* the author defines by *saṅgha* (समूह : सङ्घः, p. 182). *Deśa saṅgha* was composed of *grâmas* or townships, p. 182. I have shown this identity of the Deśa-saṅgha and Jânapada, *H.P.*, II, 67.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

Alcoranas.—This strange word is illustrated by only one quotation, from Sir Thomas Herbert, in *Hobson-Jobson* as well as in the *New English Dictionary*. The following extract from one of the Jesuit Letters shows that the error is much older than the days of that author.

[1590.] "The Emperor [*scil.* Akbar] turned all the mosques of the city where he lived into stables for elephants or horses on the pretence of preparing for war. Soon, however, he destroyed the *Alcorans*, (which are the turrets from which the priests call with loud voices on Muhammad), saying that if the mosques could no longer be used for prayer, there was no need for the turrets." *Letter of the Jesuit Provincial*, dated November 1590, Trans. Maclagan, in *JASB.*, 1896, p. 62.

General Maclagan says that "other writers of the period commit the same mistake" and that it is an error for 'Minâras.' I venture to suggest that the word misrepresented is more probably (Al) 'Kangara,' which according to Richardson, means "a niched battlement of a castle, a pinnacle, a turret, a parapet wall, plumes upon helmets or ornaments upon crowns." *Persian-English Dictionary. s.v.*

Allygole, Alighol.—Both the derivations proposed are at best conjectural. Wilson suggests that it is from Arab. *'Ilî*, lofty, excellent, and Hind. *gola*, troop. Broughton asserts that these troops were so called from "charging in a dense mass and invoking 'Ali, the son-in-law of Mohammed." But the quotations from Wolfe Tone and Fraser show that the men were *Rohilla Paṭhâns*—of whom it is common knowledge that they were and are somewhat strict, if not bigoted, Sunnis, and, as such, hardly likely to have used the name of 'Ali as their battle-cry.

I venture to suggest that the word is made up of the Pers. *Ahl*, people, men, and *Qaul* or *Ghaul* which is defined by Yule himself (*s.v.* 'Gole') as "the main body of an army, a clustered body of troops, an irregular body of troops." Bâbur frequently uses 'Ghaul' for the centre of an army, and so also Badâonî (Lowe's Trans. II, 82 n., 197 n.). *Ahl-i-ghaul* or *Ahl-i-qaul*, would then mean 'men of the centre,' and would be easily corrupted into 'Allygole.' Cf. *Ahl-i-khâna*, *Ahl-i-bait*, *Ahl-i-kitâb*, *Ahl-i-sunnat* and about fifty other combinations with *ahl* in Richardson's Dictionary, *s.v. Ahl.*

Anna.—The earliest quotation is of 1708, but its vogue in English is of course very much older. In the second of the following extracts, we have a very early example of the use of the word in its secondary sense, *viz.*, to denote not merely the 16th part of the rupee, but the "corresponding fraction of any kind of property, especially in regard to coparcenary shares in land or in a speculation."

[1620.] "In the paper No. 2 is two skeynes of the third and fourth sortes wee usialye buye in Agra, . . . and is here worth at presant. . . . 4¼ rup[ees] gross per seare, out of which the pre-mentioned disturye abated, will cost 3 rup[ees] 9 *annyes* net the seare of 34½ pices weight per seare." Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618—1621, p. 194 [1620].

"Those I provided here . . . . was according to custome of the buzare, both for price and allowance, which is a Savoye per cent . . . . and makes 20 per cent. differance or abaitment, to saye, for 100 rupes gross wee payed 80 net, which is the 4 *aneys* or 4/16 distury." *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Balasore.—The derivation of Balasore from "*Baleśvara*, Skt. *bâla* strong, and *iśvara* lord, perhaps with reference to Krishna," given by Yule is identical with the one given by Hunter in his well-known work on Orissa: (App. II, p. 31), but Mr. Beames has challenged it. "The word *Iśvara*", he says, "is restricted to Śiva and very rarely applied to Krishna. There is no temple to the youthful Krishna in or near Bâlasore, whereas in the village of Old Balasore (Purâna Bâneśwar), which was the original place of that name, there exists a small, rude and very ancient temple of Baneśwara Mahâdeva." Mr. Beames is in favour of deriving it either from *ban*, Skt. *vana*, forest, or from *vâṇa*, arrow. "In favour of the first, may be adduced the large number of places beginning with *ban* all over Northern Orissa; in support of the

latter, may be mentioned the local legend which places the capital of the legendary king Bâṇa near Balasore and the legends connected with the Arrow which are common all over the north of Balasore and west of Midnâpore." *Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1883, pp. 142-3.

Batta.—'*Batta*,' mantimento, and '*Batta*,' agio, are quite distinct words, and Sir Henry Elliot was undoubtedly mistaken in not perceiving the difference between the two phonetically similar corruptions. *Batta*, mantimento, is the Gujarâtî and Mahrâttî *bhâthâ*, which is connected with *bhât*, paddy; *batta*, agio, is the Gujarâtî *vaṭâo* which is derived from the Sans. *Vritta*. The delusive resemblance between the two perversions is merely due to the tendency to pronounce the Sanscrit *bha* as a *b* (*e.g.*, Bharûch, Broach, Bhoi, Boy) and to change the 'Va' also into a *b*. (*e.g.*, Vadodrâ, Baroda, Vasâi, Bassâi, and Bassein). *Bhâthâ*, or *bhatthâ* is a noun and there is no corresponding verbal form. But besides *vaṭâv*, agio, all the Gujarâtî dictionaries give *vaṭâvvun*, to change, as a currency note or cheque, into cash, or a rupee into the small coins representing its fractional parts.

Beri Beri.—There is a very early example of the epidemic outbreak of a disease like Barbiers or Beri Beri in Abul Fazl. In his account of the Siege of Bhakkar in A.H. 982=A.C. 1574, he writes: "By the good fortune of the Shâhinshâh [Akbar], a famine broke out in the fort, and Sultân Mahmûd from excess of caution, or from meanness and avarice, distributed to his men [*i.e.*, the garrison] grain that had been stored up for twenty or thirty years, though he had abundance of new supplies. The result was that there was a great deal of disease and swellings. God's anger sent a pestilence." (*Akbarnâma*, trans. H. Beveridge, III, 128).

The grain referred to was most probably rice. Modern research has traced the disease to 'a microscopic spore developed' in that cereal.

Betel.—The following reference to the betel leaf is older than the earliest cited in *Hobson-Jobson* (Marco Polo).

[*c.* 1030.] "For their [the Hindus'] country is hot, the inner parts of the bodies are cold, the natural warmth becomes weak in them, and the power of digestion is so weak that they must strengthen it by eating the leaves of the betel after dinner and by chewing the betelnut." *Alberûnî's India*, Tr. Sachau, II, 152.

There is a curious and highly exaggerated account of the aphrodisiac virtues of the leaf in Ibn Batûta who declares that he had himself experienced them. Mas'ûdi also [*c.* 941] speaks of it as giving "an agreeable odour to the mouth, arresting the pernicious cold humours, stimulating the appetite and possessing *la virtue d'un aphrodisiaque*." *Prairies D'Or*, Trans. Barbier de Meynard, II, 84.

Barnî and Shams-i-Sirâj never use the word *pân*, which appears to have come into use among Muhammadan writers only in the 16th century. They uniformly speak of *tambûl* or *barg* which last is a literal rendering of the Hindi word, meaning leaf. The Betel-tax also is mentioned as early as the 14th century, and spoken of as 'Mandavî bark' [*recte* 'barg'] in the *Fatuhât-i-Firûzshâhî*, Trans. Elliot and Dowson, III, 377.

Bheel.—There is a much earlier reference to these people in Abul Fazl.

[*c.* 1600.] "It was the end of the day when one of the savage denizens of these wilds [Sipri in Mâlwa], who are in their language called Bhils, came to the camp and gave an indication of where the herd [of wild elephants] was." *Akbarnâma*, Tr. H. Beveridge, II, 354.

Bheesty.—As the authors declare that they have not been able to trace the history of this term, the following folk-etymology may not be without interest. "When Bâbur came to India he found the heat of the climate so unendurable, that he said that the only enviable people were the water-carriers and that they ought to be called *bihishtî*, paradisiacal." W. H. Lowe, Tr. of Badâonî's *Muntakhâbu 't-tawârîkh*, II. 242n.

Bowly.—Yule's earliest quotation is from Ibn Batûta (*c.* 1343). The following description from Alberûnî is of much older date.

[*c.* 1030.] "In every place to which some particular holiness is ascribed, the Hindus construct ponds intended for the ablutions. . . . They build them of great stories of an

enormous bulk. . . . in the form of steps (or terraces) like so many ledges ; and these terraces run all round the pond, reaching to a height of more than a man's stature. On the surface of the stones between two terraces they construct staircases rising like pinnacles." *Alberûnî's India*, Tr. Sachau, II, 144.

Ibn Batûta and Bâbur both speak of *bâîn* or *wâîn*. The Arab traveller Shamsu'd-dîn Dimishqi also uses the same word, though Dowson has not recognized the fact. "Each of them," he writes, "amassed a treasure amounting to seventy *babîns*, and all these treasures are still at my disposal." "The word *babîn*," Dowson adds, "signifies a very large cistern, into which there is a descent by a ladder on each of the four sides" (Elliot and Dowson, III, 585). Dowson seeks to connect the word with Hind. *Bâbnî*, a snake's hole, but the word as written by the author is بیئین *bâîn*, the first '*ye*' having been misread as a *be*. "Bowly" is a later form and a diminutive of the Gujarâtî *wâv* or Hindi *bâv*.

Bungalow.—"On the 3rd of this month [Jumâda I, A.H. 982=A.C. 1574], the Emperor came to Patna. . . . And one of the remarkable things is that in that kingdom there are some houses called *chapparband* fetching 30,000 or 40,000 rupees each, although they are only covered with wood." Badâonî, Tr. Lowe, II, 185.

And Abul Fazl in his description of the Sûba of Bengal says : "Their houses are made of bamboos, some of which are so constructed that the cost of a single one will be five thousand rupees or more and will last a long time." *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, Tr. Jarrett, II, 122.

The same writer informs us in his chronicle of the 14th year [A.C. 1569] of Akbar's reign that the Emperor "alighted in the centre of the citadel [of Agra] in the *Bangâlî-Maḥal*, which had been newly constructed," after returning from the conquest of Ranthambhor. *Akbarnâma*, Tr. Beveridge, II, 497.

It would also appear from Pelsaert's description of Agra, which is copied by de Laet, that in the reign of Jahângîr the palace in which "lived the foreign concubines of the king" was called the 'Bengaly Mahal.' *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, Tr. Hoyland, p. 40.

And the word Bangalah بنگلہ itself is used frequently in the History of Shâh Jahân written by 'Abdul Hamid Lâhorî about A.C. 1648. In his description of the great fire by which the palaces and kârkhânas of the Prince Shâh Shujâ—who was then Ṣûbadâr of Bengal —were destroyed, he says that the conflagration began in the Fort of Akbarnagar, and "reached in a short time the *bangalahâ* which were in the Mahal [Palace] of the Prince."

درون قلعۀ اکبر نگر آتش در گرفت چنانچہ در مختصر مہلتی بہ بنگلہائی کہ در محل پادشاہ زادۀ بیدار بخت بود رسید

Bâdshâhnâma. Bibl. Ind., Text. II, 177, last line.

And the word occurs thrice in the same writer's description of the "Ām-Khâs" buildings which were erected in Agra fort, by the orders of Shâh-Jahân in A.C. 1637.

و در جانب آن دو شاہ نشین است و در وسط این منزل اقبال و شاہ برج بنگلہ درسن مبارک است

در صحن این مبانی بنگلۀ ایست مشرف بہ دریای جون قرینۀ بنگلۀ مبارک

Ibid., vol. I, part II, 240, l. 12, and 241, ll. 7-8.

This word '*bangalah*' also occurs in the '*Alamgîrnâma, Bibl. Ind.*, Text, 451, 468 and the *Ma'âsir-i-'Âlamgîrî*, *Ibid.*, 468, which are both contemporary histories of Aurangzeb.

These extracts from 'native historians' give no countenance to Yule's suggestion that "when Europeans began to build houses of this character in Behâr and Upper India, these were called *Banglâ* or 'Bengal-fashion' houses ; that the name was adopted by the Europeans themselves and their followers, and so was brought back to Bengal itself, as well as carried to other parts of India." On the contrary, they show that the word was used for certain fine buildings (and not mere 'huts') attached to the imperial residences in Bengal, Kashmîr and Delhi long before "the Europeans began to build houses of this character" anywhere.

Caharres.—[1619.] "If the rains prevent the despatch of the hides, etc., the liquor should be sent by *Caharres* on Masoores, expresse." Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-21), p. 105.

[1621.] "I fynd the packs soe heavy that they are nott portable either on oxen nor by *Caharr,* though offer double the freight accustomed between this and Mobuleepore." [Mahâbalipur]. *Ibid.* p. 283.

The word appears to have been adopted into Indian Persian so early as the fourteenth century and occurs in Barnî, *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhi. Bibl. Ind.*, Text, 86, l. 2; 400, l. 5.

Canara.—Perhaps the earliest reference to Canara by a foreign writer is in Mas'ûdî. Unfortunately, it has not been recognised by the translators or commentators and has escaped even Yule on account of the imperfections of the Semitic script and the blundering of copyists. He writes:

[*c.* 941.] "Let us now resume our short account of the kings of Sind and India. The language of Sind is different from that of India. . . . The inhabitants of Mânkîr [*i.e.*, Mânyakheṭa *i.e.*, Mâlkhed, now in the Nizâm's dominions] which is the capital of the Balhârâ [the Râshtrakûṭas] speak the *Kîrîya* language which has this name from *Kira,* the place where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saimûr, Subârâ, Tâna and other towns, a language called *Lâriya* is spoken." Elliot and Dowson, I, 24. Here 'Lâriya' stands for the language of Lâṭa or Gujarât, but it has not been recognised that *Kîrîya* and *Kira* are really *Kanariya* and *Kanara*, and that the copyists have read an '*yâ,*' where the author wrote a *nûn*. If there was any doubt on the subject it must be dispelled by the following passage from Alberûnî, who in enumerating the various Indian alphabets, the Malwârî, Saindhava, Andhrî, Lârî, and Gaurî, says of the *Karnâṭa,* that it is "used in *Karnâṭadeśa,* whence those troops come which in the army are known as *Kannara.*" *India,* Sachau's Trans., I, 173.

Carcana.—[1620.] "I have increased my *Cor Conna* to almost a hundred workmen; but here I will stop untill I hear further from Surat." Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 198.

Chawbuck.—The earliest example cited from an English author is from Fryer's Letters [1673]. The following is much earlier:—

[1618.] "The Duche at Mesulepatnam have receaved a great affront by the Governor of that place, whoo did first *Chabucke*, or beat with a wand, one of the princepalls of the Duche Merchants." Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-21), p. 48. See also pp. 111 and 343.

Cherry Fouj.—The authors are in doubt as regards the derivation of the first part of this curious word, and suggest it is from *charî*, 'movable.' Mr. Crooke tries to connect it with *charhî* for *charhnî*, 'preparation for battle.' I venture to say that it is from *cheery-cheedi*. 'sparrow.' The *cheery fouj* was a *squadrone volante*, a light detachment whose object was to fly about and levy contributions in the most distant parts of the country, and nothing could be more appropriate than the comparison with those 'chartered libertines,' the sparrows. Cf. the use of 'Fly' for a quick travelling carriage (*Hobson-Jobson*, p. 355) and the word 'Fly palanquin.' Badâonî uses the curious phrase *Chauzah-i-harâwal*, 'chickens of the van' in some such sense as the French *enfants perdus* and our 'forlorn hope.'

Chhota Hazree.—Mr. Crooke suggests that the "earlier sense of this word was religious," because the Shiâs prepare *ḥâẓirî* in the name of Abbâs, the brother of the martyred Husain. There is no ground for supposing any such connection, and the rationale of the secondary sense is quite clear. *Mâ ḥaẓar* means, in Arabic, 'that which is ready,' or as Richardson puts it in his Dictionary, "whatever is ready or prepared in haste as victuals, etc.," and the phrase is frequently used for "such food as is available for being placed before a guest." Khâfi Khân, *Muntakhâbu 'l-lubâb, Bibl. Ind.*, Text, I, 652; *Ma'âṣiru 'l-umarâ, Ibid.*, I, 570. *Tabaqât-i-Akbari,* Lucknow Text. I. 305, l. 6 = Elliot and Dowson. V. 362; *Bâburnâma*. Tr. A. S. Beveridge, 407.

Chillumchee.—This is one of the few words in regard to which the authors confess that they cannot trace it to its source, "though the form of the word seems Turkish." I venture to say that it is derived from the Turkish *chalma*, "a water vessel carried on the saddle-bow, a water bottle

on a journey, *i.e.*, the thing called âftâba or âbtâba in Persian." A. S. Beveridge's Trans. of the *Bâburnâma*, p. 624, note. So also Shaw in his Vocabulary of Eastern Turkî (*JASB.*, 1883, Extra Number) says چلیم *Chilîm* means a *hookah* or hubble-bubble.

Chopper.—[1621.] "The 24th presant [March 1621]. . . . at the west parte of the subarbes belonginge to this citye [Patnâ]. . . . a tirable fier kindled, which havinge consumed al those partes. . . . broke into the citte and. . . . came into the verye harte thereof where our abode is; whoe beinge enviorned with neighboringe *choperes* (whereof indeede the whole cittye consists) it was no more than tyme to looke to our owne." Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 247. The earliest example cited by Yule is dated 1773.

Choultry.—This word is said to be "peculiar to S. India and of doubtful etymology." It is ultimately derived, as Mr. Crooke points out, from *chatur* and *çâla*, but the immediately proximate form to which it owes the spelling under notice is the Indian Persian 'Chautara' or 'Chabûtra,' which occurs frequently so early as the fourteenth century.

"They raised a black pavilion on the *Chautara Nâsira*. . . . and kings and princes of Arabia and Persia took up their stations around it." Amîr Khusrû's *Târîkh-i-'Alâî* in Elliot and Dowson, III, 84.

"The young Sultân [Shamsu'd-dîn Kaiqubâd] was taken to the *Chabûtara-i-Nâsirî*, which became his Court, and there the nobles and great men attended upon him." Barnî, *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî*, *Ibid.*, III, 134.

"A grand court was held by the Sultân ['Âlâu'd-dîn Khalji] in the *Chautara-i-Subhânî.*" *Ibid.*, in Elliot and Dowson, III, 198.

The intermediate form 'Choutrye' occurs in a letter from Patna in 1620, in Foster, *English Factories*, 1618-1621, p. 198.

[1620.] "I have taken a house in the greate bazare, neare unto the Cutwalls *choutrye*; the rent 6¾ rupes per month." Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 198. See also pp. 269, 273.

Coir.—In the following extract we have perhaps the earliest mention by an English writer of this useful article.

[1583-1591.] "I went from Basora to Ormus downe the Gulfe of Persia in a certaine shippe made of boordes and sowed together with *cayro* which is threede made of the huske of cocoes, and certaine canes or strawe leaves sowed upon the seames of the bordes; which is the cause that they leake very much." Ralph Fitch, in Foster's *Early Travels in India*, p. 11.

Cossid.—Yule's first quotation is from Hedges (1682). Here is an earlier one.

[1619.] "Soon after some of the young factors returning home late were set upon by a number of the Governor's 'pions,' who wounded Hutchinson, Lancaster and some others, beat a poor *Cassett*, and later shot five times into the door of the house" [the Surat factory]. Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 145. See also *ib.*, pp. 248 and 337.

Cot.—[*c.* 1030.] "The inhabitants of Kashmîr are pedestrians, they have no riding animals nor elephants. The noble among them ride in palankins called *katt*, carried on the shoulders of men." Alberûnî's *India*, Tr. Sachau, 1, 206.

Here 'palankins' is obviously Sachau's own gloss. The Arabic word used is said to signify *throne*. Cf. Elliot and Dowson, I, 63. کھت *Khat*, (Hindi. *Khāt*) however, occurs in Barnî. (*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî, Bibl. Ind.*, Text, 117, l. 3 from foot) and also in *Shams-i-Sirâj*, *Ibid.*, 506, l. 2. (Fourteenth century) in the sense of 'bedstead.'

Cutcha.—[1619.] "List of goods sent from Agra to Surat. . . . Indigo 278 Fardles; Samanaes 14 fardles; Carpets 11 packs. . . . Sugar Candy '26 palnaes.' Total 338 fardles=169 Camels' lading, whereof 99 camells ladinge are *cutcha*, and make *pucka* 58: so we pay 157 Camells ladinge *pucka* of 9 maunds per Camell." Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-1621, pp. 73-4.

Dawk.—In the note on Dawk, all that the authors say in regard to its etymology is that it seems to them that Ibn Batûta's "*ḍâwah* is some misunderstanding of *ḍâk*." This is not very illuminating, but if it means that *ḍâk* is the original or most correct form and *ḍâwah* a corruption, I venture to say that the truth is exactly the reverse. *Ḍâk* is really derived from the Sanskrit *dhâvaka*, runner, from *dhâv* to run. And the Mahrâtti form *dhâwa* is actually used by Barnî and Badâonî. In the passage from the first of these authors quoted by Yule at the head of his article, we find: "At every half or quarter kos, *runners* are posted." Here, the Persian text reads thus:

و در هر منزلی اسپان الاغ و در تمامی راه در مسافت نیم کروه و دانگ کروه دهاوگان نششتندی

Elliot and Dowson, III, 203; *Bibl. Ind.*, Text, p. 331, l. 1.

And at p. 244 of Dowson's translation, Barni, in speaking of the troubles in Dhâr and Mâlwâ in the reign of Muhammad Tughlaq, writes: "Famine prevailed there: the *posts* were all gone off the road."

Here, again, the word rendered by *posts* is '*dhâwa*.'

و در مالوه هم قحط افتاده بود و دهاوه بکلّی از تمام راه برخاسته

Bibl. Ind., Text, p. 331, l. 1.

This word occurs also in two other passages which have not been translated by Dowson. Text, 330, l. 18 and 447 last line. And Badâonî likewise informs us:

"In the year H. 727 (A.D. 1326-27) the Sultân [Muhammad Tughlaq] having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of *dhâwa*, that is to say *pâiks*, or runners, as guards at distances of one *kuroh* along the whole road." Ranking's translation, I. 302. *Bibl. Ind.*, Text, I, 226. There can be little doubt, I think, that Dawk, Dâk, is directly derived from this *dhâvaka* or *dhâvah*, runner. And that the original meaning of the indigenous word was 'runner' is further shown by the fact that the contemporary author of the *Masâliku-l-Absâr* says in his description of the Postal system of Muhammad Tughlaq that "at each of the posts ten swift *runners* were stationed, whose duty it was to convey letters to the next station without delay" and uses the Arabic word *Shuttār* شطّار for 'runners.' Elliot and Dowson, III, 576 and 581. Similarly the author of the *Tabaqât-i-Akbari* in his account of the *ḍâk chowki* system of 'Alauddin Khalji, says that at every *kuroh* (or kos), *pâiks* were stationed, and explains that that Hindi word *pâik* signifies پیاده روان جلد 'fast running footmen.' Lucknow Text, 82, ll. 12-13. And lastly, Waṣṣâf explicitly declares that infantry, *i.e.*, these *pâiks* are called in the language of the people of India *Dakk*. Elliot and Dowson, III, 43.

I may add that *dhâv*, to run, is given in Molesworth's Marâṭhî Dictionary, and *Dhow*, or *Dow*—used for "an old fashioned vessel of Arab build" is most probably derived from the same root and signifies 'runner,' just like the synonymous word *pattâmâr* which is derived from Konkani *pathmâr*, courier. (Yule, *s. v.*).

Deuti.—At the head of his note on this word, Yule has cited a passage from Bâbur's Memoirs. But the following extract shows that it had been incorporated in the *lingua franca* almost two hundred years before the coming of the Mughal. In his description of the assassination of Sultân Qutbu'd-dîn Mubârak Khaljî, Barnî writes:

"All persons that were in the palace or upon the roof were slain by the Parwârîs [after the murder] who filled all the upper story. The watchmen fled and hid themselves. The Parwârîs lighted torches; they then cast the headless trunk of the Sultân into the courtyard." *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* in Elliot and Dowson, III, 223.

The word used for *torches* in the original is *dîwaṭhâ*. *Bibl. Ind.*, Text, 408, l. 6; and *mush'alhâ* and *dîwaṭhâ* occur also at 408, l. 1.*

(To be continued.)

* [In the illustrative quotations, the Italics are mine. The word which is the subject of discussion has been so printed in order to enable the reader to spot it at a glance and find the context in which it occurs. Italic type has been also used for other words and phrases of Oriental origin.—S. H. H.]

NOTES ON KHOTAN AND LADAKH.

(From a Tibetan point of view.)

BY PROF. A. H. FRANCKE, PH.D.

(Continued from p. 112.)

II

Notes on the Second Advance of the Chinese to Turkestan.

When the power of the Kushâṇas declined, the little states of Turkestan gained a certain amount of independence. But not for a long time did they enjoy it, for the Chinese were always ready to enter at once on any lost ground. During this time of semi-independence the so-called Sino-Kharoshṭî coins probably came into existence. They are found in great quantities in Khotan (particularly at Yotkan), and have been studied by Hoernle : see his *Report on Central Asiatic Antiquities*, I, pp. 1-16. On the obverse they exhibit the picture of a prancing horse, similar to the representation on the coins of Maues, Azes, etc., A.D. 50-80, surrounded by Kharoshṭî characters. The reverse is covered with Chinese script of archaic type. Professor Hoernle was able to decipher the Kharoshṭî legends, and the following names were found : Gugramada, Gugradama, Gugramaya, Gugramoda and Gugratida. As we see, all these names begin with the same word : *gugra.* This reminds us of the genealogical tree of the Khotan kings, where all the names begin with the same word, viz., *vijaya*, victory. Now, if it could be proved that in one of the native languages of Turkestan, *gugra* means victory, or perhaps victor, we might attribute these coins to the Khotan line of kings. The Chinese legend on the obverse only gives the amount of copper in Chinese weight.

When the people, called Juan-Juan, were beaten by the Chinese, the Chinese supremacy over all the nations of Central Asia was re-established, and in A.D. 447 the Chinese empire extended once more to the frontiers of Persia. Turkestan was, of course, also a province of this great empire. Its former name had been the " Western lands ;" but now, particularly under the T'ang dynasty, the name " the Four Garrisons," referring to Turkestan, became generally substituted. According to the *T'ang-chu*, the following districts are comprised under this designation : (1) Kashgar or Sule ; (2) Kuchâ or An-hsi ; (3) Khotan or Yüt'ien, (4) Tokmak. We thus observe that the Four Garrisons were situated on the Northern, Southern and Western margin of the Turkestan desert, and one to the West of the Alai mountains. This last (Tokmak) was soon lost, and in its place Karashahr, to the East of Kuchâ, was made a garrison.

All the garrisons had formerly been independent states, and in Khotan, for instance, the Vijaya dynasty was ruling. As was surmised in a former paper the kings had accepted the title *amâtya*, or minister, when they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Kushâṇas. The Chinese left them in practically the same position, but urged them to consider the Chinese emperor as their overlord, pronouncing the title Amâtya(as) *A-mo-chih.*

As regards the line of the kings of Khotan, the following names are given :

(1) Kustana, the son of Aśoka (legendary).

(2) Yeula, his son, whose date may be fixed according to a note in the Han Annals as *c.* 25=27 A.D. ;[2] for in these years, it is stated that Yülen, the king of Khotan, was reduced by the king of Yarkand. Then a Khotan general revolted and became king for some time. He was succeeded by

(3) Yeula's son Vijayasambhava. Then follow eleven generations without any notes.

(4) Vijayadharma, who conquered Kashgar, (*c.* 220—264 A.D.)

(5) Vijayasiṃha. This king is perhaps identical with Avijita-siṃha, found by Rapson in a Kharoshṭî document from Turkestan (not yet published).

(6) Vijayakîrti, who conquered Kanika (Kanishka). This note may mean that he finally threw off the yoke of the Kushâṇas or their successors. Again ten to eleven generations without any notes, and from Chinese sources we know that during that

[2] This and all the following dates are given according to Sten Konow's article, "Khotan Studies" in *JRAS*, 1917, p. 339.

period, the peace of Turkestan was disturbed by invasions of the Dru-gu, A.D. 445; the Juan-Juan, 447; the Ephthalites, 500-550; the Western Turks, A.D. 565-631.

(7) Vijayasaṅgrâma was originally subject to the Tukue (Dru-gu) and sent an envoy to China in A.D. 632. Apparently with the help of the Chinese, he conquered the Dru-gu. The Chinese call him Wei-chih-wu-mi.

(8) Vijayasiṃha. During his reign, Hiuen-tsang visited Khotan in 644. He does not give the king's name, but mentions an Indian paṇdit from Nalanda, called Dharmapâla, as being present in Khotan. The Chinese records call him Fu-tu-sin.

(9) Vijaya, without comment.

(10) Vijayapâla, nothing known of him.

(11) Vijayaśatra, nothing said about him.

With regard to the title A-mo-chih, E. Chavannes has the following note in his article, "Chinese documents" in *Ancient Khotan*, p. 523: "Le titre d'A-mo-thse est cité par le T'ang-chou comme le titre du roi de Sou-le (Kashgar). . . . En outre, dans le texte des deux brevets d'investiture par lesquels le gouvernement chinois confera en l'an 728, le titre de roi au roi de Khotan et au roi de Kashgar; le roi de Khotan a le titre d'a-mo-tche de Yü-t'ien, tandis que le roi de Kashgar est appelé A-mo-tche de Soule." Thus it appears that the title of Amâtya was kept up only with reference to these two little sovereigns.

Now, whilst we thus know quite a number of the original names of the Khotan kings, we have only Chinese fragments of names of the Kashgar kings. We may suppose that they were Sanskrit names, like those of the other names of Turkestan kings.

A little more has come to light with regard to Kuchâ from the researches of Sylvain Lévi and H. Lüders,[3] who deciphered the following names (see H. Lüders, *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Ostturkestans*, *Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Ak. d. W.* 1922, S. 243 ff.); Vasuyaśas, Suvarṇapuṣpa, Suvarṇadeva. These were addressed by the title *mahârâja*, and dependent on them were probably minor kings, who are styled only *râja*, or king. Lüders mentions such a Râja of Bharuka. Bharuka is probably the place Poh-lu-ka, mentioned by Hiuen-tsang.

As regards Buddhist life about A.D. 400 in these little states, we have a very full description of it in the life-story of Kumârajîva, the Buddhist teacher, who was born in Kuchâ: (see J. Nobels translation of it in *Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Ak. d. W.*, 1927, S. 206-233). Kumârajîva was at first a student of the Hînayâna, but later on was converted to the Mahâyâna creed, which he introduced into China. Other reporters on Buddhist life in Turkestan are the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian, Hiuen-tsang and I-tsing, whose reports were freely used by Stein.

Very remarkable were the Buddhist festivals of Khotan. They were similar to the *rathôtsavas* of the Indians and are described by Fa-hian. On such occasions the Buddhist images of Khotan were moved about on huge cars.

Another rather extraordinary kind of worship is that connected with the holy rats of Turkestan. Hiuen-tsang tells a legend current at his time, *viz.*, that the ancestors of these rats had once rescued the king of Turkestan from his enemies, the Hiungnu, and that for this deed they received offerings at a place called Kaptar-Mazar. This is the very place where pigeons are kept nowadays at a Muhammadan shrine and fed by travellers. Sir Aurel Stein found even a painted panel with a representation of the chief of these rats. Now, in the "Notes on the Gośṛinga-vyâkaraṇa" attached to *Ancient Khotan*, p. 584, 5, we read the following lines: "In the north, before the Kâśyapa Caitya on mount Gośṛinga the image Phye-se (or Phyi-se) would protect the religion and the country. . . . king and ministers taking vows of penance must resort to that part of Gośṛiṅga, where is the image of Phye-se and the Saṅgha of the Kâśyapa Caitya." Here the name of the image is Tibetan and is of particular interest. For *phye-se* or *phyi-se* means mouse or rat, and it is evident, that the image of this most famous sanctuary also represented the chief of the rats.[4]

3 See the article *Zur Geschichte und Geographie Turkestan's; Sitz. d. Pr. Akad. d. W.* 1922, p. 243.

4 See F. W. Thomas, in *Asia Major II*, p. 254. F. W. Thomas says that Phye-se appears to represent Vairocana or Vaiśravaṇa. That is right only in so far as one of the attributes of Vaiśravaṇa is a rat.

LIST OF CHINESE COINS.

Collected in Khotan by A. H. Francke and identified by Fräulein Annemarie von Gabain

N.B. In column 1, Find spots. Yo. = Yotkan, A. = Aksipil, H. = Hanguya, Kho. = Khotan, Y.A. = Yengi Arik.

TABLE.

Find Spot	Cat No.	No. of Coins.	Chinese Inscription.	Chinese Period.	European Date
Yo.	115	3	于 [illegible]		Cf. *Ancient Khotan*. Vol. I. p 205.
					,, ,, Vol. II, Pl. lxxxix, Nr. 5
A.	108	1	五銖		,, ,, Vol. II, Pl. lxxxix. Nr. 19–21
H.	116	3	,,		,,
Kho.	27	28½	,,		,,
Kho.	63				
Y.A.	23	1	,,		,,
Yo.	114*a*	1	,,		,,
Kho.	33	1	開 元	K'ai-yüan	713–42 (occur also later on)
Y.A.	17	2	,,	,,	,,
Y.A.	21				
A.	105	6	乹 元	K'ien yüan	758–60
H.	114	3	,,	,,	,,
Kho	32				
Kho.	63	21	,,	,,	,,
Kho.	56				
Y.A.	18	1	,,	,,	,,
Yo.	125	2	,,	,,	,,
Yo.	114				
A.	105*a*	1	大 歴	Ta-li	766–80
Kho	28	1½	,,	,,	,,
Yo.	126	1	,,	,,	,,
Y.A.	22	3	宋 元	Sung-yüan	960–75
Kho	20	1	慶 歴	K'ing-li	1041–49
Kho	49	2	至 和	Tschi-huo	1051–56
Kho.	23				
A.	104	4	熙 寧	Hi-ning	1068–78
A.	105*a*	1	,,	,,	,,
H.	112	1½	,,	,,	,,
Kho.	18				
Kho.	51	21	,,	,,	,,
Kho.	62				
A.	77	3	元 豐	Yüan-feng	1078–86
A.	79				

Find Spot.	Cat. No	No of Coins.	Chinese Inscription.	Chinese Period.	European Date.
H.	115	1	元豐	Yüan-feng	1078–86
Kho.	25				
Kho.	29	34	,,	,,	,,
Kho.	52				
Y.A.	16	1	,,	,,	,,
A.	107	1	元祐	Yüan-yu	1086–94
H.	111	1	,,	,,	,,
Kho.	31				
Kho.	21				
Kho.	48	12	,,	,,	,,
Kho.	15*a*				
Kho.	29*a*				
Y.A.	25	1	,,	,,	,,
Y.A.	19	15 two of these 元祐, the rest cannot be deciphered			
Kho.	17	1	紹聖	Schao-scheng	1094–98
Kho.	15				
Kho.	47	5	元符	Yüan-fu	1098–1101
A.	78	1	聖宗	Scheng-tsung	1101–25
Kho.	53				
Kho.	22	7	,,	,,	,,
A.	80				
A	106	3	崇寧	Tsch'ung-ning	1102–07
H.	113	1½	,,	,,	,,
Kho.	30				
Kho.	45	8	,,	,,	,,
H.	123	½	政和	Tscheng-huo [?]	1111–18
Kho.	26				
Kho.	54	7	,,	,,	,,
Kho.	19				
Kho.	24	1	宣和	Süan-huo	1119–26
Kho.	50				
Kho.	46	1	建炎	Kien-yen	1127–29
Kho.	13	3	紹興	Schao-hing	1131–63

As regards the site of Gośṛiṅga, Sir Aurel Stein believes that it was built at the place where is now found the Muhammadan shrine of Kohmârî on the left bank of the Yurung-Kash river, where it leaves the hills. Sir Aurel Stein is certainly right in his identification. I should like to add, however, that about ten miles higher up, on the same river, there is situated a place, which is marked on the map as Lang-ruh.[5] Here the ancient Tibetan name has survived, for the Tibetan *glaṅ-ru*, pronounced *laṅg-ru*, means "ox-horn," just as does Gośṛiṅga. I do not mean by this, however, that the site of the old famous monastery of Gośṛiṅga would have to be moved upstream by this discovery of its Tibetan name. I merely wish to observe that, according to my observations, Tibetan monasteries often comprise a lot of ground. Their territories stretch up in a valley for miles. At certain distances from the chief buildings, there are found hermitages or houses of small brotherhoods, perhaps of different nationalities. Therefore, I consider it quite possible, that several miles distant from the chief buildings of Gośṛiṅga, there was found a smaller establishment, peopled by Tibetan Buddhists and named in the Tibetan language, and it is just the latter name that has survived till now.

As regards relics of the Chinese times of Turkestan, Chinese coins of the T'ang dynasty are very common, especially at Yotkan. My collection was examined by Fräulein von Gabain, and a list was drawn up, which contained even specimens which had not yet been found by Sir Aurel Stein. (See Plate, opposite.)

With regard to Chinese documents, fragments of Buddhist writings are very common among them. They are practically in all cases portions of the Buddhist canon, which has remained unaltered down to the present time, and are therefore not received with great enthusiasm by scholars. Far more welcome are documents on wood and paper, which were issued by Chinese officials and often dated in the reigns of various emperors. Several of these documents have been published in Appendix A of *Ancient Khotan*. My own collection also contains several similar documents.

The time of the Chinese régime was a period of high Buddhist culture. Sanskrit Buddhist works were studied in the original, and translations undertaken into Śâkian, the language of Khotan, and into Tokharian. A certain kind of character was used both for Śâkian and Sanskrit, which has now become known by the name of Kashgar-Brâhmî. Sanskrit works, which have been found in the sands of Turkestan, are the *Prâjnapâramitâs*, in particular *Vajracchedikâ*; *Saddharmapuṇḍarîka*, *Buddhacarita*, *Guṇaparyantastotra*. A Buddhist work translated into Śâkian, was at first believed to be a version of the *Maitreyasamiti*, but does not quite answer to that title.

During the time of the Chinese, also other forms of religion entered Turkestan from the west. The Nestorian form of Christianity was introduced into Kashgar, Yarkand and the oases of the north, and Manicheism followed it closely. Both these forms of religion availed themselves of the Syriac form of writing, and Syriac characters were soon learned by the Uigurs, who used them for their translations of Buddhist, Christian and Manichean books. Later on the Syriac characters were even introduced into Mongolia.

As regards Turkestan art work, sculptures and stucco works were apparently continued in the Gandhâra style; but here we may observe that, as the demand was great, moulds were often made and the same figure reproduced many times. For the art of painting, Persian methods were partly adopted.

It is noteworthy that the excavations at Yotkan and other places bring to light also any amount of glass beads, very artistically made, like those of modern Venetian work. It is very difficult to say what country they came from. But it ought to be added, that exactly the same type of glass-beads were excavated also at *Balu-mkhar* in Ladakh: (see *Indian Antiquary*, 1905, p. 203 ff.)

5 As also noticed by F. W. Thomas: see his article "The language of Ancient Khotan," *Asia Major*, vol. II, p. 262.

There is another point in which the antiquities of Khotan remind us of those of Ladakh. There are certain designs of a blood-red colour, which are not found in highly artistic later (Hellenistic) pottery. They are relics of an older age.

As regards politics, Western Tibet or Ladakh did not come under the Chinese, when the power of the Kushâṇas declined. It was apparently governed by local chiefs, whose names have occasionally been preserved in inscriptions and tales. Thus, at Khalatse, according to a Gupta inscription, a certain Satyamati (or Srîma-charpati) and, according to oral reports, fifty or sixty miles higher up the Indus valley, a certain Sûryamati, are mentioned.

III.

The Times of Tibetan Dominion in Turkestan.

During the reign of the Chinese T'ang dynasty, the sovereignty of the Chinese over Turkestan was seriously menaced by other nations, among whom the Tibetans were the most conspicuous. As the Chinese admit themselves, the Tibetan power in Turkestan was already very strong in the latter half of the seventh century. During the eighth century, heavy wars took place about the possession of the country, when the Tibetans were allied with the Arabs, and the Chinese with the Kashmirians. During that time, the power of the Uigurs (Turks) was also in the ascendant, and in A.D. 791, when the Chinese left the territory of "the Four Garrisons" altogether, the Tibetans remained there as over-lords; but they had soon to divide their possession with the Uigurs. About A.D. 830-40, the Tibetans, weakened through civil wars, disappeared from those districts, leaving them to the Uigurs.

Now, what have the Tibetans themselves to report about those times of their greatest power? Until the Tibetan Annals, discovered at Tun-huang, have been published, we have to make use of the Chronicles. Thus, from the *Ladakhi Chronicles* we learn the following:

(1) King *Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po*, c. 600=A.D. 650, "The Hor-regions of the north were conquered." In addition to this, there is also a note in the *Khotan Chronicles in Tibetan*, where it is stated that in the days of the Khotan king Vijayakîrti, *Li-yul* (Khotan) was conquered by *Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po's* General *mGar-luṅ-btsan*, who is well known in history. According to the Chinese *T'ang-chu*, this conquest took place in A.D. 665, which is too late for king *Sroṅ-btsan-sgam-po*. But it is quite possible, that the king began this war in his lifetime, and that the general brought it to a happy end after the king's death.

(2) King *Guṅ-sroṅ-'adu-rje*, c. 679=A.D. 705. "The following districts were conquered. In the east, to the Hoang-ho; in the south, as far as *Blo-bo* and *Shiṅ-kuṅ* (Nepal) (there is a *Shiṅkun* Pass also on the frontier between Zangskar and Lahoul). In the north as far as *Kra-krag-dar-chen* (which is certainly in Turkestan; it may be Karakash and Cherchen). In the west as far as *Naṅ-goṅ* (Baltistan)."

(3) King *Khri-lde-btsug-brtan*, A.D. 705-755. No conquests are mentioned.

(4) King *Khri-sroṅ-lde-btsan*, A.D. 755-797. "The following countries were conquered: [parts of] China in the east; [parts] of India in the south, *sBal-ti* (Baltistan) and *'aBru-shal* (Gilgit) in the west; *Sai-cho O-don-kasdkar* of the Turks in the north." *Sai-cho* stands probably for *Sai-phyogs*, district. *O-don* is *U-then* (Khotan) and *Kas-dkar* is Kashgar.

(5) King *Mu-khri-btsan-po*, A.D. 798-804. "Not all those who had bowed before his father, bowed before him."

(6) King *Ral-pa-can*, A.D. 804-816 "In the east were conquered: the mountains of *Po-lon-shan* on the frontier of China; in the south, *Blo-bo* (east of Nepal), *Mon* (Indian mountain tribes); *Li* (in Kunawar); *Zahor* (Mandi); *Gangasagara* Ganga [in Kashmir] in the west: *'aBru-shal* on the Persian frontier; in the north, all the provinces of Hor (Turkestan)."

Although the Tibetan records in their briefness cannot be compared to the very full Chinese records, yet they give the impression that they tell the truth. No. 3, for instance, where no conquests are mentioned, and No. 5, where it is said that not all who had bowed before

the father-king, were ready to bow to the present king, seem to refer to the times when the Chinese power once more overshadowed that of the Tibetans.

Then, again, the Tibetan power rose, and we know from archæological finds that what the Tibetans say of their hold on Turkestan is well founded. The great multitude of Tibetan documents on wood and on paper, in which the Tibetans appear as governors and men in authority, leave no doubt that for about half a century (say, 780-830) they were firmly established in Turkestan. Of great interest are the Tibetan letters of recommendation, handed by Tibetan officials to Chinese Buddhist pilgrims on their way to the west and south. They were translated by F. W. Thomas in *JRAS.*, 1927.

If we look at the Chinese designation of Turkestan as the land of "the Four Garrisons," we learn from the *Li-yul-luṅ-bstan*, that this term was known to the Tibetans, although they speak of "three places" only (*yul-gsum*). These three places are mentioned in that book as follows: *Liyul* (Khotan), *Shu-lig* (Kashgar, Sule); and *Anse* (Kuchâ, An-'hsi).[6] In the fragments of correspondence found in the desert Kashgar is called *Sulig*; and for Khotan *Li* and *U-then* are often given. The difference between the two designations seems to be that *Li* means the whole kingdom, and *U-then* (*O-don*) the capital only.

As regards the title of *A-ma-ca*, it seems to have been used only as a title of the kings of Khotan, and no longer of the kings of Kashgar, in those days.

The following is the continuation of the list of these kings, the first half of which was given in the previous chapter.

(12) Vijayakîrti. First Tibetan invasion of Khotan, A.D. 665, Chinese name, *Fu-tu-hiung*.

(13) Vijayasaṅgrâma, sent an embassy to China in A.D. 717, Chinese name, *King*; killed by the Drugu.

(14) Vijayasaṅgrâma or Vijayavikrâma, entered into an alliance with the Drugu and was killed by the Chinese A.D. 728 Chinese name, *Fu-shih-chan*.

(15) Vijayadharma, had a Chinese minister called Sir-the-si, A.D., 736 Chinese name, *Fu-tu-ta*.

(16) Vijayasambhava, Chinese name, *Sheng*; A.D. 740.

(17) Vijayavâhana (bohan). Chinese name, *Wei-cheh-yao*; A.D. 760. (Last in Sarat Chandra Das' list.)

The first scholar to identify these kings with names found in the Śâkian documents of the desert was Sten Konow. In one of the documents, he discovered the name Viśabohan, and this was found to correspond with Vijayavâhana, who also occurred in some of the manuscripts already searched by Hoernle (*JASB.*, 1901, p. 36). Then in a Śâkian document entrusted to him by Stael-Holstein, he discovered the name Viśasambhat, which was identified with Vijaya-sambhava. Together with Karlgren, he also successfully compared the reigns of all these kings with the Chinese accounts. We may say that their identification has become complete. (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 339 ff.; *Ostasiat. Zeitshr.* VIII, p. 223 ff.; *Acta* (or. 1928, p. 16). Although this is very satisfactory, any further material which can be added from other sources will be greeted with pleasure.

It has been possible to adduce such fresh material from Tibetan sources. Among the Tibetan documents found in ruined sites in Turkestan, there are several which contain the title *a-ma-ca*. Now, *a-ma-ca*, *amâtya*, minister, was the title given by the Tibetan government to the kings of Khotan, and if we meet with such a title in documents from Turkestan, we at once, suspect that under this title is hidden one or other of the old kings of Khotan. It was thus that, when all such documents available were examined, the following kings could be identified :—*a-ma-ca lha-Zuṅ-gre* with *Saṅgrâma*; *a-ma-ca-Zen-do* with *Sambhata* or *Sambhava*; *a-ma-ca-Wen-du* with *Vâhana*.[7]

[6] Another Tibetan name of Kuchâ was *Kva-chu*.

[7] Instead of No. 15, Vijayadharma, the Tibetans mention his minister. Sir-the-si calling him Shir-de of Li (Khotan). *Sitzungsberichte pr. Ak. d. Wiss.* 1928, XXXI.

The chief contents of the documents examined are concerned with the transport of provisions; for though it must have been very hard for the Tibetans to provide victuals for large armies in desert countries, yet the *a-ma-cas*, or vassal-kings, were not forgotten and received their due share.

One of the kings, Saṅgrâma the first, is of particular interest for the Tibetan historian; for this Khotan king married a Tibetan princess. She is called (*Ancient Khotan*, p. 582) a daughter of Phrom-ge-sar, who was apparently a king of Ladakh. *Phrom* is a clerical error for *Khrom*.[8] The names Phrom and Khrom are both pronounced Throm, and this fact may have caused the mistake. As we learn from the *Chronicles of Ladakh* (see *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, p. 93), Ladakh was in the year A.D. 900 still "held by the descendants of Gesar": that means, that the dynasty called itself after Gesar. We also know that Khrom-Ge-sar-gdan, the capital, "throne of *Ge-sar*," is an ancient name of Leh, which is still found in modern inscriptions; and thus we are led to believe that this particular princess came from Leh. In the *Khotan Chronicles* it is stated that she came from Kashmîr: that means only that, instead of taking the short road across the Saser pass, she went to Khotan by way of Kashmîr, which is the less dangerous.

Tibetan documents have, up to the present, been found at the following places in Turkestan: (1) in Mazar-Tâgh, *i.e.*, in the desert north of Khotan; (2) in Domoko, east of Khotan; (3) in Endere, 200 miles east of Khotan; (4) in Mirân, 50 miles east of Charchlik, in the Lob-nor district; (5) in the Turfan district, chiefly at Murtuq, Tuyôq, Khotcho and Ili-köl. In the latter district we notice, too, that the Tibetan script was used even for other languages, for instance, Turkish and Chinese.

As regards places in the west of Turkestan, *i.e.*, Khotan proper, Yarkand and Kashgar, these have not yet yielded any Tibetan documents, as there practically no manuscripts whatever have been found in the sands. But that is not to be wondered at.

Sir Aurel Stein remarks incidentally that the population of Turkestan may possess an admixture of Tibetan blood. That is quite possible, and I may mention two local names in that connection. The name of the village of Budia probably stands for an ancient Bhuṭṭia, which is an ancient Indian name for the people of Tibet. Then also the name *Glaṅ-ru*, the Tibetan form of the name of the Gośriṅga monastery already mentioned, clearly points to Tibetan inmates of that famous monastery.

Relics of the Tibetan rule in Turkestan are chiefly documents on wood and paper of secular and Buddhist character. Finds of Tibetan coins must not be expected, for it is quite probable that the coins used in those days were the current Chinese cash. The old documents often speak of *doṅ-tse* coins, but we do not yet know what value was hidden under that expression. The present system of Tibetan coinage is not old and was probably introduced from Nepal. But Tibetan seals are often found in the sands of Turkestan, and several of them have been published by Stein.

As regards Buddhist Tibetan documents on paper, it is remarkable that many of them appear to be of rather modern origin. Several of those found at Khotcho, for instance, are written in modern orthography. We are led to believe, therefore, that even after the time of Tibetan government in Turkestan, the Tibetan form of Buddhism remained in the northern parts of the country. It must have existed up to the fourteenth century, for the modern orthography was introduced with the first publication of the *bKâ-' agyur* (Kanjur), about A.D. 1300.

As regards the Lob-nor or Charchlik district, it is not yet possible to say anything definite with regard to politics. In the third century A.D. there appears a kingdom called Shan-shan and the names of five kings from there were discovered in Kushâṇa documents by Rapson and Lüders (*Oxford Congress*).

At the time of the Tibetan power, Lob-nor was apparently held by a tribe of 'A-zha (or Ha-ża), whose identity has not yet become quite clear. F. W. Thomas believes them to be a separate branch of the Indo-Chinese family. Compare his article "*The Ha-ża*," in *JRAS.*, 1928.

(*To be continued.*)

8 The same mistake is found also in S. Ch. Das' Tibetan English Dictionary. The note on *Phrom ge-sar* was apparently taken from the same source.

VEDIC STUDIES.

BY A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., PH.D.

(*Continued from p.* 107.)

8. Admasad.

This word, about whose explanation there has been much dispute, is enumerated in 4, 1, amongst difficult words, by the author of the *Nighaṇṭu* ; and Yâska, in his commentary on this section, has explained the word as *admasad admânnaṃ bhavaty admasâdinîti vâ' nnasâninîti vâ*, that is, as Durga explains, *gṛhâdhikâre niyuktâ anna-sâdhikâ strî.* This explanation is adopted, in his commentary on RV. 1, 124, 4, by Sâyaṇa who explains the word as *adyata ity adma annam | tasya pâkâya gṛhe sîdatîti admasat pâcikâ yoṣit*, but who gives in addition another explanation of the word—*yad vâ admeti gṛha-nâma | varûtham admeti tan-nâmasu pâṭhât | tatra sîdatîty admasaj jananî.* In the other verses, however, where this word occurs (6, 30, 3; 7, 83, 7; 8, 44, 29) he gives the derivation *admani sîdatîty admasad* and takes the word as a masculine, interpreting *adma* as *haviḥ* in 7, 83, 7 and 8, 44, 29 and also in 6, 4, 4, where the nearly-allied word *admasadvâ* is used. In 8, 43, 19, he interprets *adma-sadyâya* as *annasya bhajanâya.*

Like Sâyaṇa, Roth too in the PW. understands the word as equivalent to *annasad* or 'one who sits down to food'; he however interprets it as *Gast beim Mahle* and the allied word *admasadya* as *Tischgenossenschaft*, an interpretation which was accepted by Bergaigne (*Études*, p. 43) but dissented from by Haug (GGA. 1875, p. 80). Geldner, on the other hand, favoured, in *Ved. St.* 2, 179, the explanation reported by Durga as put forward by 'some' that the word signifies *makṣikâ* or fly, observing that, in 7, 83, 7, the Vasiṣṭhas style themselves flies jokingly. In his *Glossar*, however, he has modified this opinion and said that the word denotes 'fly' in 1, 124, 4 (in his *RV. Über*, too, he has accordingly translated pâda c as, 'wie eine Fliege weckt sie die Schläfer') and 6, 30, 3, while in 7, 83, 7 it denotes 'der bei dem Opfermahle sitzende Priester'.

Geldner's explanation (in *Ved. St.*, 2, 179) has been criticised by Oldenberg on p. 91 of his *Vedaforschung* where this savant has declared his preference for that proposed by Roth, with the reservation however that he does not believe that it is 'vollkommen sicher'. Similarly, Hillebrandt too (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 1, n. 3) has rejected the explanation of Geldner and adopted that of Roth in his translation of 1, 124, 4. Dr. Neisser, on the other hand (*Zum Wörterbuch des RV*), agrees with Geldner in thinking that the word means 'auf die Speise sich setzend', that it denotes 'fly' in 1, 124, 4 and 6, 30, 3, and that it is, in the other verses, an attribute of Agni and of the priest.

None of these explanations seems to me to be satisfactory. The word *admasad* occurs in but four passages ; and I find it difficult to believe with Sâyaṇa and Geldner that, in one passage, it denotes 'fly' or 'cook' (fem.) and in another 'priest'. Similarly I find it difficult to accept Roth's explanation that it means 'guest'; for, nowhere, either in the RV or in any other Vedic or post-Vedic book, do we ever hear of a guest awakening those that are asleep. On the contrary, RV. 8, 44, 1 : *samidhâ 'gnim duvasyata ghṛtair bodhayatâtithim | âsmin havyâ juhotana* seems to suggest that, in the time of the Ṛgveda, it was the host that awakened the guest in order to feed him.

Likewise, Yâska's explanation, too, of the word as 'one who sits down to or in food (*annasad*), is without doubt wrong. The *Nighaṇṭu* mentions in 2, 7 as synonyms of *anna* the following twenty-eight words, namely, *andhaḥ, vâjaḥ, payaḥ, prayaḥ, pṛkṣaḥ, pituḥ, vayaḥ, sinam, avaḥ, kṣu, dhâsiḥ, irâ, iḷâ, iṣam, ûrk, rasaḥ, svadhâ, arkaḥ, kṣadma, nemaḥ, sasam, namaḥ, âyuḥ, sûnṛtâ, brahma, varcaḥ, kîlâlam* and *yaśaḥ*, of which all are found in the RV with the exception of *nemaḥ*. But no verb meaning 'to sit' is found used in the RV in any passage in connection with the locative or dative case of any of these twenty-seven words or of their synonyms *anna* and *havis* also. Nor, I believe, can an instance be met with elsewhere in Vedic or later literature where human beings or divinities are said or exhorted 'to sit in (loc.) or for (dat.) food.' The expression commonly used in such a situation in later times is *bhoktum* or *bhojanâya upaviśati* or its equivalents, and not *anne* or *annâya upaviśati* and its equivalents. And in the RV

itself, a poet, in a similar situation, has said (7, 57, 2) *â vîtaye sadata pipriyânâh.* Similarly, the idea of *Tischgenossenschaft* is expressed in Sanskrit not by *admasadya* or its equivalents but by the word *sahabhojana* or its equivalents.

It thus becomes evident that neither the explanation of Yâska nor those of the above-mentioned exegetists, based on it, are correct and that the meaning of the word *admasad* is still a riddle. As it happens, the four passages in which the word occurs, as well as other connected passages of the RV., furnish enough clues to enable one to solve this riddle.

It is shown by 1, 124. 4c : *admasan na sasato bodhayantî* that the awakening of others is a characteristic of the *admasadaḥ* ; and it is similarly made clear by 6, 30, 3c : *ni parvatâ admasado na seduḥ* that sitting down is another characteristic of the *admasadaḥ*. A comparison therefore of the *upamânas* in the RV passages in which sitting is the *sâmânya-dharma* with the words that are used as subjects of verbs meaning 'to awaken' in other RV passages [47] will show us what persons or things are described by the RV poets as both awakening others and sitting down and will thus enable us to determine the meaning of *admasad*.

The passages containing similes with 'sitting' as *sâmânya-dharma*, [48] in addition to 6, 30, 3 : *ni parvatâ admasado na seduḥ*, are :

9, 38, 4 : śyeno na vikṣu sîdati ;
8, 21, 5 : sîdantas te vayo yathâ ;
9, 57, 3 : śyeno na vaṃsu ṣîdati ;
1, 65, 9 : śvasity apsu haṃso na sîdan;
1, 85, 7 : vayo na sîdann adhi barhiṣi priye ;
9, 61, 21 : sîdañc chyeno na yonim â ;
9, 92, 6 : sîdan mṛgo na mahiṣo vaneṣu;
9, 96, 23 : sîdan vaneṣu śakuno na patvâ ;
9, 62, 4 : śyeno na yonim â sadat ;
9, 86, 35 : śyeno na vaṃsu kalaśeṣu sîdasi ;
9, 72, 5 : ver na druṣac camvor â sadad dhariḥ ;
10, 43, 4 : vayo na vṛkṣaṃ supalâśam â sadan ;
1, 168, 3 : marutaḥ somâso hṛtsu pîtâso duvaso nâsate ;
9, 82, 1 : śyeno na yoniṃ ghṛtavantam âsadam ;
9, 71, 6 : śyeno na yoniṃ sadanaṃ dhiyâ kṛtam hiraṇyayam âsadam ;
10, 115, 3 : taṃ vo viṃ na druṣadam ;
6, 3, 5 : ver na druṣadvâ raghupatmajaṃhâḥ ;
1, 104, 1 : tam â ni ṣîda svâno nârvâ ;
9, 7, 5 : viśo râjeva sîdati ;
9, 64, 29 : sîdanto vanuṣo yathâ ;
9, 92, 2 : sîdan hoteva sadane camûṣu ;
7, 30, 3 : ny agnih sîdad asuro na hotâ;
4, 35, 8 : śyenâ ived adhi divi ni ṣeda ;
10, 43, 2 : râjeva sadma ni ṣadâdhi barhiṣi ;
7, 32, 2 : madhau na makṣa âsate; and
3, 41, 2 : satto hotâ na ṛtviyaḥ ;

and the *upamânas* used in such similes are accordingly *śyenaḥ, vayaḥ, somaḥ, makṣaḥ, arvâ, mṛgo mahiṣaḥ, śakunaḥ, haṃsaḥ, râjâ, hotâ* and also *admasad*. The words used as subjects of the verb *jâgṛ* 'to awaken' are *uṣâḥ, somaḥ, agniḥ*, and *dûtaḥ*, and of the verb *budh*(caus.)' to awaken' are *śvâ, jâraḥ, jâriṇî ?, agniḥ, indraḥ, uṣâḥ, śruṣṭîvâ, jaritâ, yajña-hotâ*, [49] and also *admasad*.

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[47] Excluding 1, 124, 4, there are but three passages in the RV namely, 1, 134, 3 : (*vâyo*) *prabodhayâ purandhiṃ jâra â sasatîm iva* : 7, 67, 1 : (*stomaḥ*) *yo vâṃ dûto na dhiṣṇyâv ajîgaḥ* ; and 7, 73, 3 : *śruṣṭîveva preṣito vâm abodhi prati stomair jaramâṇo vasiṣṭhaḥ* which contain similes in which the *sâmânya-dharma* is the awakening of others. As these are too few in number, I have included in the comparison all the persons or things that are described in the RV as awakening others and not merely those mentioned in the three similes mentioned above.

[48] In reality, the *sâmânya-dharma* in the first eighteen of the passages cited here is not 'sitting', but swift movement ; see p. 111 in vol. LVI above and also n. 16 there.

[49] The *jaritṛ* and *yajña-hotṛ* are explicitly mentioned as subjects of the verb *bodhay* in 10, 42, 2 and 8, 9, 17. In addition, there is no doubt that the verses 5, 14, 1 ; 1, 22, 1 and 8, 44, 1 (which according to Sâyaṇa are addressed to the *stotṛ, adhvaryu* and *ṛtvijah* respectively) are addressed to the priest and that we have to understand *jaritṛ* or similar word as the subject. In 7, 44, 2 too, the subject *vayam* refers without doubt to the priests or singers.

It will be seen from the above that, excluding the *admasad*, the only person or thing to which the RV poets attribute the characteristic of 'sitting' and which they at the same time describe as awakening others, is the priest who is called *hotṛ* in 3, 41, 2 ; 7, 30, 3 ; and 9, 92, 2 cited above, and *jaritṛ* and *yajña-hotṛ* in 10, 42, 2 : *pra bodhaya jaritar jâram indram* and 8, 9, 17 : *pra bodhayoṣo aśvinâ pra devi sûnṛte mahi | pra yajñahotar ânuṣak pra madâya śravo bṛhat ||* And it follows hence that the word *admasad* denotes in all probability the *hotṛ* or the priest who chants the prayers addressed to the gods.[50]

This conclusion is confirmed by 7, 83, 7 : *satyâ nṛṇâm admasadâm upastutiḥ* from which we learn that *admasadana* is an attribute of human beings and 8, 43, 19: *agniṃ dhîbhir manîṣiṇo medhirâso vipaścitaḥ | admasadyâya hinvire ||* in which it is said that the priests urged Agni to become, or assume the function of, an *admasad*. It becomes evident from these passages that *admasadana* is an attribute common to men and Agni ; and it follows hence that *admasadana* is in all probability equivalent to *hotṛtva*. For, as observed by Prof. Macdonnell (*Ved. Myth.*, p. 96) : "In consequence of his main function in the Veda of officiating at the sacrifice, Agni comes to be celebrated as the divine counterpart of the earthly priesthood. He is therefore often called generically the 'priest' (*ṛtvij, vipra*) or specifically the 'domestic priest' (*purohita*), and constantly, more frequently in fact than by any other name, the 'offerer' (*hotṛ*), or chief priest, who is poet and spokesman in one. He is a Hotṛ appointed by men (8, 49, 1 ; 10, 7, 5) and by gods (6, 16, 1). He is the most adorable, the most eminent of Hotṛs (10, 2, 1; 91, 8)."

The word *upastuti* too in 7, 83, 7c cited above can, by its very nature be associated only with priests and is in fact so associated with them in the RV, as likewise are its synonyms *gîr, stuti, stoma*, etc. And this fact too indicates that the expression *admasado naraḥ* in the above pâda signifies priests that praise, that is, that it is a synonym of *hotâraḥ* or *jaritâraḥ*.

The above-mentioned considerations thus place it beyond doubt that *admasad* means *hotṛ* or the priest who chants hymns of praise. And that being so, the question arises in our mind, "What is the literal meaning of the word *admasad*, and why does it denote the *hotṛ* ?" The clue to the answer of this question is contained in Sâyaṇa's words : *yad vâ admeti gṛha-nâma | varûtham admeti tan-nâmasu pûṭhât | tatra sîdatîty admasaj janânî* cited on p. 152 above. The reference here is presumably to *Nighaṇṭu* 3, 4, which enumerates twenty-two synonyms of *gṛha* ; but, curiously enough, the word *varûtha* only is found amongst these twenty-two names and not *adman* which is mentioned by Sâyaṇa.[51] The dictionaries of Monier-Williams and Apte, however, mention in connection with this word the meaning of house also ; and there is thus no doubt that *adman* is a synonym of *gṛha*.

admasad therefore means literally 'one who sits in the house', and through *rûḍhi*, it denotes the *hotṛ* who sits, and sings, in his 'abode'. This abode or seat is called by the name

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50 I may perhaps observe here that the position is in no way altered if, instead of the *upamânas* in the above-cited similes we include in our purview all the words that are found used in the RV passages as subjects of verbs meaning 'to sit'. A great majority of such words (*e.g., agniḥ, indraḥ, marutaḥ*, etc.) refer to divinities or to quasi-divinities (*venah, gnâḥ, apsarasaḥ, pitaraḥ, spaśaḥ*). Since it is clear from 7, 83, 7 : *satyâ nṛṇâm admasadâm upastutiḥ* that *admasad* denotes human beings we have to pass over all such words as also over all the words that denote inanimate things (*parvatâḥ, mayûkhâḥ, gavyûtiḥ, cakram, rajaḥ*) or birds, insects and beasts (*śyenah, vayaḥ, haṃsaḥ, śakunaḥ, sakuniḥ, gâvaḥ, mṛgo mahiṣaḥ, makṣaḥ*) and also *admasad* whose meaning we are investigating, and include in our comparison such words only as refer to human beings. These are—*naraḥ, manuṣyâḥ, kanyâ, dasyuḥ, ṛṣayaḥ, râjâ, vîrâḥ* ; and *hotâ, potâ, brahmâ, stotâraḥ, sûrayaḥ, brahmakṛtaḥ, sakhâyaḥ*. The last-mentioned four or five words are synonyms of *hotṛ*.

hotṛ, referring to the priest, is found as subject in about 10 of the passages in question, and referring to or in apposition with Agni, in about 15 passages.

51 All the editions of the *Nighaṇṭu* mention as the twenty-second word of this section the word *ajma*, of the use of which in the sense of *gṛha* not one instance has so far been met with. It is not therefore improbable that the original text of the *Nighaṇṭu* read *adma* and not *ajma* in 3, 4. It is in any case very likely that the text which was known to Sâyaṇa included the word *adma* in 3, 4 amongst *gṛha-nâmâni*.

For the rest, it is my belief that *adman* is mentioned in some of the Sanskrit lexicons as having the meaning *gṛha*, though I have not, so far, come across any such passage in the lexicons that I have examined.

of *sadma* (this is one of the twenty-two *gṛha-nâmâni* enumerated in *Nighaṇṭu* 3, 4) in 1, 73, 1 : (agniḥ) *hoteva sadma vidhato vi târît*; 1, 73, 3: *nakṣad dhotâ pari sadma mitâ yan*; 7, 18, 22 : *hoteva sadma pary emi rebhan*; 9, 92, 6: *pari sadmeva paśumânti hotâ*; 9, 97, 1: *pary eti rebhan miteva sadma paśumânti hotâ*: and by the name of *sadana* in 9, 92, 2 : *sîdan hoteva sadane camûṣu.* It is also called *hotṛṣadana* in 2, 9, 1 : *ni hotâ hotṛṣadane vidânas tveṣo dîdivâñ asadat sudakṣaḥ.*

The *hotṛ* and his 'abode'[52] were, as is natural, very familiar to the RV poets ; and he was, in their minds, so closely associated with his abode that his going to it, singing, and his sitting in it, became, as is evidenced by the above-cited passages, common figures of comparison. It is no wonder therefore that, in the circumstances, the word *admasad* became an appellative of the *hotṛ* 'who sits in the abode.'

In any case, there is no doubt that *admasad* signifies '*hotṛ*' and I shall now show that this meaning fits well into the context in all the passages where this word and the allied words *admasadya* and *admasadvan* occur.

1, 124, 4 : *upo adarśi śundhyuvo na vakṣo*
nodhâ ivâvir akṛta priyâṇi |
admasan na sasato bodhayantî
śaśvattamâgât punar eyuṣîṇâm ||

This has already been translated above ; see p. 30 in Vol. LVI *ante*. Regarding the *hotṛ's* awakening of those that are asleep, compare 8, 9, 17 and 10, 42, 2 cited above, in which the *hotṛ* is exhorted to awaken the deities. Compare also 10, 29, 1 : *śucir vâṃ stomo bhuraṇâv ajîgaḥ*; 7, 67, 1 : *yo* (*sc. stomaḥ*) *vâṃ dûto na dhiṣṇyâv ajîgaḥ*; 7, 73, 3 : *śruṣṭîveva preṣito vâm abodhi prati stomair jaramâṇo vasiṣṭhaḥ* in which the hymns of praise sung by the priests are said to have awakened the Aśvins. And regarding the Dawn's awakening of sleepers, compare 1, 113, 9 : *uṣo yan mânuṣân yakṣyamâṇâñ ajîgaḥ*; 6, 65, 1 : *kṣitîr ucchantî mânuṣîr ajîgaḥ* and the passages referred to by Grassmann s.v. *budh* (*bodhayantî*).

6, 30, 3 : *adyâ cin nû cit tad âpo nadînâṃ*
yad âbhyo arado gâtum indra |
ni parvatâ admasado na sedus
tvayâ dṛḷhâni sukrato rajâṃsi ||

"Even now and in the time to come, O Indra, (endures) the work (that thou didst in respect) of the rivers when thou didst cut out a path for them. The mountains sat down, like *hotṛs* (at thy behest) . The worlds, O wise one, have been made firm by thee". *nû cit*=in the time to come ; see Geldner, Glossar (s.v.). Yâska (*Nirukta*, 4, 17), and following him, Sâyaṇa, however, interpret it as *purâ*. The words 'at thy behest' have to be understood here ; compare Sâyaṇa : *tvad-âjñayâ parvatâ girayo niṣeduḥ*. The *tertium comparationis* in pâda c is, according to Sâyaṇa, and Geldner (*Ved. St.*, 2, 179) *naiścalyena upaveśanam*. But the simile *sîdan hoteva* occurs in 9, 92, 2 : *acchâ nṛcakṣâ asarat pavitre nâma dadhânaḥ kavir asya yonau* | *sîdan hoteva sadane camûṣûpem agmann ṛṣayaḥ sapta viprâḥ* || which says that the Soma-juice settled in the bowls like the *hotṛ* in his abode. Now, the Soma-juice settling in bowls, vats or jars is, in 9, 38, 4 ; 9, 57, 3 and other passages cited on p. 154 above, compared with the falcon sitting (*i.e.*, going to sit) in his nest ; and the *tertium comparationis* in these verses is, as I have already pointed out, not 'sitting' but 'swift movement'. This is the case in 9, 92, 2, and also in 9, 92, 6: *pari sadmeva paśumânti hotâ râjâ na satyaḥ samitîr iyânaḥ* | *somaḥ punânaḥ kalaśâñ ayâsît sîdan mṛgo na mahiṣo vaneṣu* || and 9, 97, 1 : *sutaḥ pavitram aty eti rebhan miteva sadma paśumânti hotâ*. Compare also 1, 180, 9 : *pra syandrâ yâtho manuṣo na hotâ* "O ye swift ones (*sc.* Aśvins), you go (as swiftly) as the human *hotṛ*, *i.e.*, as the *hotṛ*

[52] This abode seems to be identical with the *hotṛ-ṣadana* or *hotṛ-dhiṣṇya* (*hotṛ-khara*) of the later ritual books or with the *sadas* of which the *hotṛ-dhiṣṇya* formed part. See *Śrautapadârthanirvacana* (2nd ed.), p. 27 (no. 219), p. 247 (no. 181), and p. 243 (no. 175) ; Caland-Henry, *L'Agniṣṭoma*, I, §§ 89—99, and Pl. IV.

priest", and 1, 73, 1 : *hoteva sadma vidhato vi târît*" (Agni) went to the worshippers (as swiftly) as the *hotṛ* does to his abode" where too the *sâmânya-dharma* is swift going.

The simile *admasado na seduḥ* in pâda c of the above verse is but a paraphrase of the simile *sîdan hoteva* ; and hence the *tertium comparationis* in this pâda too is swift movement. The meaning of the pâda is, "At thy behest, the mountains sat down (*i.e.*, began to sit down) as quickly as *hotṛs*." Compare 2, 11, 7 : *ni parvataḥ sâdi aprayucchan*, "the mountain, taking heed, sat (at thy behest) ; that is, the mountain, heeded thy behest and sat"; and 2, 11, 6 : *araṃsta parvataś cit sariṣyan*," even the mountain that was moving stopped (and settled on the earth at thy behest)". The reference here is to the well-known story of Indra cutting off the wings of the flying mountains and making them settle permanently on the earth ; see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 1, 174.

7, 83, 7 : *daśa râjânaḥ samitâ ayajyavaḥ*
sudāsam indrâvaruṇâ na yuyudhuḥ |
satyâ nṛṇâm admasadâm upastutir
devā eṣâm abhavan devahûtiṣu ||

"The ten impious kings, O Indra and Varuṇa, did not fight (*i.e.*, did not gain a victory over) Sudâs in battle. The praising of the *hotṛ* priests bore fruit; the gods stood by them when they were invoked." The battle of Sudâs with the ten kings is described more fully in the hymn VII, 18 ; see Sâyaṇa's commentary thereon and Geldner's *Kommentar*.

8, 44, 29 : *dhîro hy asy admasad*
vipro na jâgṛviḥ sadâ |
agne dîdayasi dyavi ||

"Thou, O Agni, art a wise *hotṛ*, watchful always like a priest. Thou shinest in the heavens." The expression *dhîraḥ admasad* is equivalent to *hotâ kavikratuḥ* (1, 1, 5), *hotâ viduṣṭaraḥ* (1, 105, 13-14), *vipro hotâ* (1, 14, 9) and other similar expressions. The epithet *jâgṛvi* is frequently applied to Agni ; see Grassmann, s.v., and the *viprâḥ* or priests are described as *jâgṛvâṃsaḥ* in 1, 22, 21 and 3, 10, 9.

It is possible to construe the words *vipro na* with the preceding word *admasad* ; and this is what Geldner has in fact done in *Ved. St.*, 2, 180. The meaning of the first two pâdas would then be, "Thou, O Agni, art wise, a chanter sitting in the abode like a priest, and always watchful". The word *admasad* has both the *yaugika* and *rûḍhi* meanings here and denotes the '*hotṛ* who sits in the abode'. Regarding the simile, compare 10, 78, 1 : *vipráso na manmabhiḥ svâdhyaḥ* "like priests with hymns, singing songs"; compare also 7, 30, 3 : *ny agniḥ sîdad asuro na hotâ huvâno atra subhagâya devân*[53] "The mighty Agni sat (in the abode) like the *hotṛ*, calling the gods here for good fortune."

6, 4, 4 : *vadmâ hi sûno asy admasadvâ*
cakre agnir januṣâjmânnam |
sa tvaṃ na ûrjasana ûrjaṃ dhâ
râjeva jer avṛke kṣeṣy antaḥ ||

"Thou, O son (of strength), art (our) speaker, (our) *hotṛ*. Agni, from his birth (*i.e.*, as soon as he was born), made his way to food. Bestow on us vigour, O thou vigour-bestower ; thou conquerest like a king and dwellest in a secure place," *sûno* in pâda a stands without doubt for *sûno sahasaḥ* ; compare 6, 13, 6 : *vadmâ sûno sahaso no vihâyâḥ* and Oldenberg, ZDMG, 55, 291. Pâda b is somewhat obscure ; Roth (ZDMG, 48, 679), regards *januṣâ* in *januṣâjmânnam* as standing for *januṣâm*, while Grassmann is inclined to substitute *ajman* for *ajma*.

[53] The description of the *hotṛ* as the 'sitter in the abode,' the allusion in the verses cited above (on p. 156) to him and his *sadman*, to his going to the *sadman* singing, and to his awakening of sleeping men and deities with his chants, as also the juxtaposition of the words *hotṛ* and *huvâna* in this verse, all indicate that his function, in the time of the RV as in that of the Śrauta-sûtras, was to chant hymns of prayer. Hence Yâska (comp. *Nirukta*, 7, 15 : *hotâraṃ hvâtâram*) seems to be right in deriving the word from *hu* 'to call,' and Aurṇavâbha wrong in deriving it from *hu* 'to offer oblations.'

Ludwig, without proposing any alteration translates pâda *b* as " Von jeher hat Agni sich seine ban und seine speise gemacht". This does not seem to be very satisfactory ; and I therefore construe *annam* as depending on *ajma* (*annam prati ajma*) and translate it as above. Compare 4, 7, 10 : *sadyo jâtasya dadṛśânam ojo yad asya vâto anu vâti śociḥ | vṛṇakti tigmâm ataseṣu jihvâṃ sthirâ cid annâ dayate vi jambhaiḥ* " His might is seen as soon as he is born. When the wind blows behind his flame, he winds his sharp tongue round the brushwood. He cuts with his jaws even the firm food."

8, 43, 19 : *agniṃ dhîbhir manîṣiṇo*
medhirâso vipaścitaḥ |
admasadyâya hinvire ||

"The wise, intelligent and inspired priests urged Agni with hymns (*i.e.*, prayers) to become *hotṛ*". Compare 3, 29, 8 : *sîda hotaḥ sva u loke cikitvân* ; 1, 76, 2 : *ehy agna iha hotâ ni ṣîda* ; and 2, 36, 4 : *uśan hotar ni ṣadâ yoniṣu triṣu* in which Agni is exhorted to assume the office of *hotṛ* ; compare also 6, 4, 1 : 6, 11, 1 ; 6, 11, 4 ; 6, 15, 16 : 3, 4, 3 : 3. 62. 12 : 7, 39, 1, etc., in which verses too Agni is prayed to to become *hotṛ*.

(*To be continued.*)

AN INSCRIPTION OF IRAYA CHINKA (RAJA SIMHA) PERUMAL.

BY K. N. DANIEL.

THIS inscription is on a stone measuring 74 inches × 56 inches, which is placed in front of the cross at the gate of the Roman Catholic Syrian church at Tâḷakkât near the Iranjjalakuda railway station. Mr. M. P. Varkki, the Excise Inspector of the place, who takes such a keen interest in historical researches, discovered this inscription and getting an estampage taken, sent it to Mr. T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T., Trivandrum. The estampage not being good, Mr. Joseph could not make out much ; he wrote about it in the *Western Star*, but published no reading.

The tradition regarding this stone which I learned from Mr. M. P. Varkki is the following :—The Christians of the place wanted to build a church on the spot where the present church stands. The Hindus objected to this because it was very close to their temple. One night the Christians secretly erected a stone cross here. The next day the Hindus being exasperated brought a big elephant to pull down the cross. In this attempt, the stone of the cross having gone tightly between the two tusks of the elephant it became impossible for the elephant to extricate itself. Then the *Veḷichchappâṭ* (oracle) of the temple said that the attempt to pull down the cross was a sin on their part and they should expiate the sin by giving them the inscribed stone under consideration. Accordingly the Christians got this stone. We need not, of course, take the details of the tradition as correct. The Hindus molested the Christians in their attempt to build a church very close to their temple and afterwards felt sorry for their action and expiated it by giving them this stone, on which they knew something is written about the Christians. This is the sum and substance of the tradition. A parallel to this is also worth mentioning. When a cross was erected on the road near the church of Chengannoor the Vanjippuzha Chief (a petty king) objected to this. Afterwards he felt that he was punished by God for this and he expiated it by offering to light the cross daily, and this was going on till very lately.

I went to Tâḷakkâṭ and spent much time there. The last four lines are hopelessly damaged. I can make out only a few words here and there. I give below the reading of the first eighteen lines.

Text.

1. Svasti Śri Irâya Chiṅkapperumâṇaṭi.
2. Kaḷâl[1] Tâ aikkâṭṭukkamaikkappaṭṭa vâṇikark.
3. Ku ûrâr avirôtattâr pîṭikai kaṭṭuvân amaitta i.
4. tam chirupaḷḷi atiril mêkkum pêrâlil vaṭa

[1] One more *la* before *la* seems to have been written and cancelled.

5. Ku kkaḷappaḷḷiyir kiḻakku kiḻttirukkôyir (te) va
6. pûmikku tterku itiṉakattu ûraḷar taṭukkavuntaṭa-
7. mâravum pîṭikai keṭṭilumtantaiyai [2] kko
8. ṉṟu tâyai kaḷattiram vaichchârâvo-
9. (iru) patinkôl kottirku patiṉâḷi ney koṭuppatu
10. pâṭṭamâḷar eṭuttu koḷvitu annâlvaruñchoṉṟa
11. iṟaiyuntiṟaiyuṅkoḷvitu ivakaḷ cheṉṟu
12. vilaiyiṭṭa charakkellâruṅkoḷvatu
13. imaiñch vâṇiyaril maṇikkirâmattârâkuñchâttampaṭûkaṉum
14. Iravi Châttaṉu(m) ivarkaḷiruvarkku miranṭu muippîṭikai
15. lunneyyillai iranṭu kuṭiyiliruvarkku eppèrppaṭṭa i
16. raiyumillai ikkachchattirkuṭi-
17. kkupaya—kâṇamuntaṭṭârkkû
18. liyumillai kachchattilkku.

Translation.

Hail Prosperity. The plot of ground which the people of the place unanimously gave for building shops to the merchants allotted to Tàḷakkâtu by Iraya Chinka Perumal; west of Chirupalli boundary, north of the banian tree, east of Kalappalli, south of the land which belongs to the god of Kilthirukkoyil. Within these boundaries if the chiefs of the village cause any obstruction or build shops they are committing the sin of killing the father and taking the mother to wife. For a shop of 20 *kols* of dimension ten *nalis* of ghee must be given. The lessees shall take it. The rents and taxes fixed by those four persons shall be collected. All shall buy the articles to which these have fixed prices . . . . Of these merchants, Chattampatukan and Iravi Chattan, who are Manikkiramakkar. need not give *ghî* for the two shops. The two persons of these two families need not pay any tax at all. For these resolutions no tax need be paid nor the fee to the goldsmith.

Notes.

Iraya Chinka (Râja Siṁha) Perumal is not known to us except through this inscription.

The boundaries of the land cannot now be identified. Cherupalli is not now known. There is a paddy field called Kalappalli Vayal west of the church. There is a temple known as Kilthirukovil at a distance of a mile and a half from the church. Anyhow the land mentioned in the inscription was somewhere near the church.

The land was leased to some persons and they were allowed to collect a certain rate of *ghî*. rents and taxes fixed by four assessors.

Maṇikkirâmakkâr. Of the merchants allotted to Tâḷakkâṭu, two were Chattan Patukan and Iravi Chattan[3], who were holding the title of Manikkiramakkar and were free from all taxes. In the Koṭṭayam Plate of Vîra Râghava we read of the great merchant Iravi Korttan who received the title of Manikkiramam and many privileges.

We, therefore, are led to the conclusion that Iraya Chinka Perumal was in all probability a successor of Vîra Râghava.

Palæography. The original form of *lu* which we find in the inscriptions of Râjaśekhara, Vira Râghava. Parkara Iravi and, last of all, in one inscription of Maranchataiyan (eighth century) is found in this inscription too (line 7). The second stage of its development which we find in the inscriptions of Parkara Iravi (*vide* my paper, *Indian Antiquary*, vol. LIII) is found in this also (line 15). But the last stage of its development, which is mostly found in the inscriptions of Parkara Iravi and uniformly in all the subsequent inscriptions, is not to be seen here. This is presumptive evidence for thinking that Iraya Chinka was a predecessor of Parkara Iravi.

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[2] A *Y* (*tantaiyaiy*) is written by mistake.

[3] It is not Iravi Kottan, as Mr. T. K. Joseph says, but undoubtedly Iravi Chattan.

MISCELLANEA.

SOME ANCIENT SANSKRIT VERSES USED TO-DAY.

Dr. R. Zimmermann, S.J., Professor of Sanskrit Literature, St. Xavier's College, Bombay, favours us with the following communication in reference to the note printed under this heading at p. 57, *supra*.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM, *Jt.-Editor*.

Śâstri Bhavânîshankar Sukthankar has supplied me with the *mantra* for Thursday, which is wanting among "Some Ancient Sanskrit Verses Used To-day," *Indian Antiquary*, March 1929, p. 57. It occurs repeatedly in the Yajurveda, but is originally Ṛgveda 2, 23, 15. The Śâstri has satisfied himself that the *mantra* is largely used just by Yajurvedins to-day. I enclose the text.

R. ZIMMERMANN.

ॐ बृहस्पते अति यदर्यो अर्हाद्द्युमद्विभाति क्रतुमज्जनेषु ।
यद्दीदयच्छवस ऋतप्रजात तदस्मासु द्रविणं धेहि चित्रम् ॥ ऋ० २. २३. १५

BOOK-NOTICE.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA, VOL. I., Pt. II, COMPARATIVE VOCABULARY, by SIR G. A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E., 13½×10 in.: pp. 30, 339 ; Calcutta, 1928.

The appearance of this volume will be warmly welcomed by all students of comparative philology. The original scheme of the Survey does not seem to have embraced a comparative vocabulary on these lines ; and we owe it to Sir George Grierson's untiring devotion to his great task that he has prepared these comparative tables not only for all the Indian languages and dialects of any importance, but has also included within their scope many languages not dealt with in the Survey, some of which are not even spoken in India, and one of which, Si-hia, has been dead for many centuries. The vocabulary, which has been arranged in a convenient form for purposes of reference, contains 168 words or grammatical forms, each translated into 364 languages and dialects, with a view to comparison, "either for corroborating, or for exploding previous theories". The list of English words selected might, as Sir George notes, have been improved, but his hands have been tied in this respect by the standard lists originally circulated to correspondents.

Owing to the inclusion of languages not dealt with in the Survey, it has been found necessary to modify the system of transcription therein adopted, in fact, to elaborate it in several respects. Vowel sounds have been further differentiated, and several changes have been made in the transliteration of consonants. Readers of the preceding volumes will at once notice the changes made. Take, for example, the case of aspirated consonants. In the earlier volumes of the Survey, when strong, or when the degree is unknown, the aspiration is indicated by the letter *h*. Where the aspiration was known to be weak, as in Balochî, it is shown by an inverted comma. Sir George has decided that it would be dangerous to make this distinction in this vocabulary, as in the case of many languages we have not sufficient information about the true force of the consonantal sounds. He has therefore employed the inverted comma throughout. The result is, to take a single example, that we find the familiar word *ghar*, 'house', current in most of the Indo-Âryan Branch languages and dialects, now spelt *g'ar*. The palatal *s*, usually represented by *ś*, now becomes *ṡ*. Greek letters are used for certain spirants in Arabic and the Erânian Branch languages, and in some of the Dardic languages.

A much more difficult and laborious task has been the ascertainment and marking of tones, involved by the inclusion of languages of the Far East, such as Chinese, Siamese and Annamese, as well as Burmese and Shan. The tone being inherent in a word and necessary for its significance, it is essential that it should be indicated. Sir George illustrates this tersely by citing the instance of the Siamese word for 'come'. It is *mâ*, and to have this significance it must be uttered with a mid level tone. If it is uttered with any other tone it means something else. Thus, with a low level tone it means 'soak', with a high level tone followed by a fall it means 'a horse,' with a falling tone it means 'beautiful', and with a rising tone it means 'a dog.' A clear system has been devised for representing the nine simple tones and their combinations. All this has been lucidly described in the Introduction, which should be carefully read before use is made of the vocabulary. Following the explanatory paragraphs, further details are given under each group of languages in which tones have had to be recorded, and the sources from which the necessary information has been collected are stated. The enormous labour involved in collating the equivalents of the 168 words and phrases in all these languages and dialects and applying the new and elaborate system of transcription can hardly be conceived by the ordinary reader ; and when we are told that every page has been "compared at least three times with the original manuscript" we cannot fail to admire the indefatigable zeal and heed to accuracy of detail that characterizes all the work to which Sir George Grierson sets his hand. The scope of this volume is so far in advance of anything attempted before that its publication will mark a new era in the comparative study of languages.

It may be noted that the "Index Verborum" at the end of the volume will be found most useful in turning up the pages devoted to any particular word, the equivalents of which it is desired to study.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE SARNEṢVARA TEMPLE (ABOUT A MILE FROM UDAIPUR) INSCRIPTION, SAM. 1010 (A.D. 953.

AN INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ALLATA OF MEWAR; VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1010.

BY R. R. HALDER.

THIS inscription, which originally appears to have belonged to a Varâha temple at Âhâḍa (the old capital of Mewâṛ), is now placed in the temple of Śiva called Sârnêśvara about a mile from Udayapur in the Mewâṛ territory. It was previously published in the *Bhâvanagar Prâchîna Śodhasaṅgraha*, pt. I, and also in the *Bhâvanagar Inscriptions*, but as the readings there are incorrect in several places, I re-edit it from an ink-impression placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Mahâmahopâdhyâya Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer.

The inscription contains 17 verses written in 5½ lines, which cover a space of about 4′ 5″ × 6″. It is generally in a good state of preservation, though some letters here and there are indistinct. The engraving is excellent, and the average size of the letters is about ⅜.″

The *characters* belong to the northern class of alphabets, commonly known as *kuṭila lipi*, belonging to the period about the tenth century A.D.

The language is Sanskrit and the composition is good.

As regards orthography, the following may be noted :—

(*a*) *va* is used for *ba* in प्रारव्धं (l. 5), and vice versa in देवगृहं (l. 5), बसुगुल्च° (l. 5).

(*b*) Consonants are doubled, but not always, with a superscript *r*, as in गर्ग्ग° (l. 2), सर्व्वदेवो° (l. 3), कर्ण्णाट° (l. 3), etc.

(*c*) *Anusvâra* is used (1) for nasals in शृंगा (l. 4), चंच° (l. 1), धूर्तंधरा° (l. 4), etc.; (2) at the end of stichs and hemistichs in द्वय (l. 4), स्फुट (l. 5), etc.; and (3) is redundant in वँशि (l. 3).

Other mistakes and irregularities are pointed out in the footnotes accompanying the text.

The inscription records the construction of the temple of Viṣṇu in his Varâha form during the reign of the Guhila king Allaṭa of Mewâṛ. It also mentions the names of the *goṣṭhikas* of the temple, including some of the prominent persons of the State.

The contents of the inscription may be summarised thus :—

After the usual benedictory verse in line 1, the inscription records, in verse 2, the names of the queen Mahâlakshmî, her son Allaṭa, then king, and his son Naravâhana. V. 3 gives the names of the persons appointed by Allaṭa to the duties of *Achchhapaṭala* (Akṣapaṭala, a depository of legal documents, or Accountant-General's Office), as Mayura and Samudra, and of the *Sândhivigrahika* (an officer for peace and war), as Durlabharâja. Nâga, the chief bard, is mentioned in v. 4, and Rudrâditya, the chief of medical men, in the next verse. V. 8 states that the temple was built while Mammaṭa was the minister. Besides the above-mentioned persons, vv. 2–8 contain the names of a number of *goṣṭhikas*[1] (members of the assembly relating to the temple), among whom the name of Hûṇa (v. 8) is significant. In the Âṭapur[2] inscription of Śaktikumâra, Allaṭa is said to have a queen named Hariyadevî, daughter of a Huṇa prince. In v. 9 we are told that the temple was built for the spiritual merit of the persons mentioned in the inscription. V. 10 contains the order of the king that the gifts fixed for the worship of the god Viṣṇu should not be refused by the merchants of Karṇâṭa,[3] Madhyadeśa,[4] Lâṭa[5] and Ṭakka,[6] or by any others who came there.

The record (vv. 11–13) then fixes the donations for the maintenance of the temple as follows :—

One *dramma*[7] should be taken on (the sale of) an elephant, two *rûpakas*[8] on a horse,

1 For *Goṣṭhî* see *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 189, n. 3.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 39, p. 187.

3 Part of the Carnatic between Râmnâd and Seringapatam. See also *Imp. Gaz.*, vol. IX, pp. 301-2.

4 The country bounded by the river Sarasvatî in Kurukṣetra, Allahabad, the Himâlaya and the Vindhya.

5 Southern Gujarât, including Khandesh, situated between the river Mahî and the lower Tâptî.

6 The country between the Vipâśâ (The Bias) and the Sindhu rivers in the Panjâb. See also Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. N. Majumdar, p. 171.

7 A silver coin, the value of which was from four to six ânâs.

8 A silver coin, the weight of which was about 3 *rattis*.

one-fortieth of a *dramma* on a horned animal, one *tulâ*[9] from a *lâṭa*[10] and one *âḍhaka*[11] from a *haṭṭa*.[12]

On the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of a month, one *ghaṭikâ-pala*[13] (of milk) from every iron saucepan (of confectioners), one *pêṭaka*[14] from the gamblers, one *pala*[15] of oil from every oil mill, one *rûpaka* from the *randhanî*[16] at the end of a month, and one *chatuḥsar* (four-stringed garland) from the flower-sellers every day. V. 14 informs us that the temple was begun by the clever artist Agraṭa on the 5th day of the bright half of Kârtika, 1008 (8th October 951 A.D.), while the next verse says that the image of Hari (Viṣṇu) in his incarnation as Varâha (boar) was set up in it on the 7th day of the bright half of Vaiśâkha of the Vikrama era 1010, corresponding to 23rd April 953 A.D. V. 16 states that such was the arrangement made by the illustrious king Allaṭa, and mentions the names of two scribes (*Kâyasthas*), *viz.*, Pâla and Vellaka. The last verse (v. 17) adds a few more names to those of the *gosṭhikas* already mentioned in vv. 2–8.

The above inscription shows the prosperous condition of Âhâḍa during the reign of Allaṭa, since it was visited by merchants from distant parts of the country.

TEXT.

Line 1. ओं[17] [illegible] चक्रोमीचर्वाचयः । [illegible] कालिन्दतनयापूरा इव हरेर्भुजाः ॥(१)
राज[illegible]श्रुत[illegible]गजोप्यल्ल मेदर्नपतिः । तदीयपुत्रो नरवाहनाभिधः सगुन्दल्लः सोढकसिद्धशी-
लकाः ॥ (२) [illegible]द्विकदुर्ल्लभराजो मातृदेवसहितः रुद्रदेवः । यल्लटाच्छप[illegible]भिनियुक्तौ विश्रुतावपि

Line 2. म[illegible]मुरौ । (३) व[illegible]नार[illegible]द्विजनागरद्रौ समूदकौ माधवनारकौ च । त्रिशिपिः प्रमातागुहिपोथ गर्ग्गाग्निविक्रमो
[illegible]तश्च नागः ॥(४) भिषगधिराजो रुद्रादित्यो वज्रटल्लिम्वादित्यच्छप्रा: । भम्मुल्लसंगमवीरसजोल्लाः वैश्रवणा-
विक्रमक्तिम्मोहः(हाः) ॥ (५) संग[illegible]वेल्ल[illegible]नागाजल्लोल्लकवासुदेवदुम्बटकाः । यक्षक्याद्या दे-

Line 3. शी तथा वं(व)णिग्देवराजश्च ॥ (६) प्रतीहारयशःपुष्णो रुद्रहासोथ राहटः । धर्म्मः कायिकसाहारः श्रीधरो
वन्ध[illegible]स्तथा ॥ (७) हूणश्च कुमराजोन्यः सर्व्वदेवोपि गोष्ठिकः । कृतमायतनं चेदममात्ये मम्मटे सति ॥(८) पुण्यप्रवन्ध-
परि[18]पाकि[illegible]योर्मी संसारसागरमसारमिमं गभीरं । [19]बुधाद्रिराजशिखरो[रथ]मचीकरंत पोतायमानमि-

Line 4. दमायतनं मुरारेः । (९) का[illegible]मध्यदेशोद्भवलाटटक्का अन्येपि केचिदिह ये वणिजो विशन्ति । तैः कल्पितं
मधुरिपोः प्रतिपूजनाय दानं न केनचिदपि व्यभिचारणीयम् ॥ (१०) द्रम्ममेकं करी दद्यात्तुरगो रूपकद्वयं (।)
द्रम्मार्द्धविंशकं शृंगी ला[illegible]हट्टे तुलाढकौ (।) (११) एकादशीशुक्लदिनेऽखिलायः[20] कंदूद्धृतां(ता) स्याद्घटिका-
पण(ल)स्य (।) द्यूते(तं)धरायामपि[21] पे-

Line 5. [टकं] स्यादेकैकशस्तैलपलं च घाणे ॥ (१२) रन्धनीनां गते मासे रूपकोथ चतुःसरं (।) प्रत्यहं मालिकानां
च दानमेतदिह स्फुटं ॥ (१३) कार्त्तिकसितपंचम्यामग्रटनाम्ना सुसूत्रधारेण (।) प्रारब्धं[22] देवगृहं[23]
काले[24] वसुशून्यदिक्संख्ये ॥ (१४) दशदिग्विक्रमकाले वैशाखे शुद्धसप्तमीदिवसे । हरिरिह निवेशितोयं
घटितप्रतिमो वराहेण ॥ (१५) तथा निरूपिताशेषश्रीमदल्ल[टः]...

Line 6. [ले]खितारौ च कायस्थौ पालवेल्लकसंज्ञकौ ॥ (१६) गोगप्रभासमहिधरनारायणस(म)द्र सर्व्वदेवाद्याः ।
अम्मकसहिताः सर्व्वे निश्चितामिह गोष्ठिका ह्येते ॥ (१७)

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[9] Literally a 'balance'; hence that measure of grain which is held in a balance in weighing once. In Mewâṛ, generally 5 *sers* of grain make a *tulá* or *takṛi*.

[10] The division of crops between a peasant and the state is called *láṭá* or *láṭa* in Mewâṛ.

[11] A measure of grain containing about 3½ *sers*.

[12] A petty market which is held in a village once in a week is called *háṭa, haṭṭa* or *haṭawáṛá*.

[13] A ladle having a small jar attached to its end.

[14] This probably means the amount of money won by a gambler at one venture.

[15] A ladle generally containing about 4 *tolas*.

[16] This probably refers to a feast held for the entertainment of the members of a community.

[17] Expressed by a symbol. [18] Better read °परिपक्तिम°. [19] Read बुद्धा°.

[20] *Visarga* is engraved below the line. [21] म is engraved below the line.

[22] Read °ब्धं°. [23] Read देव°. [24] Read वसु°.

VEDIC STUDIES.

By A. VENKATASUBBIAH, M.A., Ph.D.

(*Continued from page* 158.)

9. Ukhacchid.

The word *ukhacchid* is found used in one verse only, namely in RV. 4. 19. 9 :

vamrîbhiḥ putram agruvo adânam niveśanâd dhariva â jabhartha |
vy andho akhyad ahim âdadâno nir bhûd ukhacchit sam aranta parva||

which is addressed to Indra and contains allusions to some deeds of his that were regarded as wonderful. The first half-verse means 'O thou with bay horses, thou didst bring out from the resting-place the son of the unmarried woman who was being eaten by ants.' The situation referred to here is obscure : Ludwig (RV. V, 84) thinks that the reference is to the saving of a child that was regarded as dead and abandoned on an anthill, Geldner (*Kommentar*, p. 69), that the situation is the same as that referred to in 4, 30, 16 ; 2, 165, 7 and 2, 13, 2 and similar to that referred to in 1. 112, 8, while Hillebrandt (*Lieder des RV.*, p. 47, n. 1) suggests that the situation may have reference to the custom of confining in stocks or of burying. However that may be, there is no uncertainty about the meaning of the half-verse which does not offer any exegetical difficulty.

It is otherwise with the second half-verse in which the *hapax legomenon* (*ukhacchid*) occurs. This word was explained as 'brüchig wie ein Topf ; Morsch' by Roth (in PW.) and by Kaegi (70 *Lieder*). Windisch, however, in *Festgruss an Bohtlingk*, p. 115, pointed out that the distich *vy andho akhyat* . . . . is similar to the second half of 8, 79, 2 ; *prem andhaḥ khyan niḥ śroṇo bhût*, that the healing of the blind man and of the cripple is elsewhere too in the RV. (2, 13, 2 ; 1, 112, 8 ; 10, 25, 11) mentioned together, and hence suggested that the word *ukhacchid* here has some reference to lameness, that it is formed from *ukhâ* which occurs in the *gaṇa krodâdi* mentioned in P. 4, 1, 56 and which is explained as *sphik* in Vardhamâna's *vṛtti* on his *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* (1. 43), and that it means 'one who is suffering from a fractured hip.' This view has found favour with Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*, 1, 283) and Geldner (*l.c.*) who therefore agree with Windisch in thinking that the second half of 4, 19, 9 refers to the same incidents as are alluded to in 8, 79, 2 ; 2, 13, 12 and 10, 25, 11. It has on the other hand been dissented from by Hillebrandt (*l.c.*) who, concerning the words *vy andho akhyad ahim âdadânaḥ* in the third pâda, makes reference to Pischel's view (*Ved. St.*, 1, 183; n. 1) that they refer to a story similar to that related in the Pañcatantra, Bühler-Kielhorn's ed., V, p. 66, and who thinks that the fourth pâda is concerned with some kind of ordeal of which the breaking of a pot, *ghaṭa-sphoṭa*, formed part. Hillebrandt therefore interprets *ukhacchid* as 'the pot-breaker' and *parva* as *ukhâparva* or pieces of the broken pot and translates the second distich as "Der Blinde wurde Sehend als er die Schlange fasste. Der Topfzerbrecher wurde frei : es fügten sich die Glieder zusammen."

Now the verse 4, 19, 9 differs from the verses 2, 13, 2 ; 1, 112, 8 ; and 10, 25, 11 referred to above in that its second distich mentions a detail, namely, that the blind man was taking or about to take a serpent, which is not alluded to in these verses ; and this fact, as also the further fact that this distich has three finite verbs (and not two) lead me not only to agree with Pischel in his view referred to above, but to go further and to think that the fourth pâda too refers likewise to other incidents of the same story.

This story, briefly told, is as follows : In a town named Madhupura in the north ruled a king named Madhusena. To him was once born a girl-child with three breasts (*tristanî*). Hearing of this inauspicious event, the king had some learned Brâhmaṇas called and asked them what he should do in the circumstances. The Brâhmanas said that a girl with three breasts would bring death to any one who married her and also to her father as soon as he looked at her. They therefore advised the king not to see his daughter, but to have her reared in a secluded place and when she was grown up to give her in marriage to some one and then send her out of the kingdom.

The king accordingly had the girl brought up in a secluded place and when she was grown up gave her in marriage, with a dower of 100000 gold pieces, to a blind man (because no one else would have her), and then sent out of his kingdom his daughter and her husband the blind man, along with a crooked man named Mantharaka who used to lead the blind man with the help of a stick. The three then went to a town in another kingdom, and there the blind man bought a house and began to live happily, spending all his time reclining on a couch while the crooked man attended to the affairs of the household.

For the subsequent portion of the story, I shall reproduce here the words of the original text itself (pp. 66-67 of Bühler's edition[54]) : *evaṃ gacchatâ kâlena tristanyâḥ kubjakena vikṛtiḥ samapadyata . . . . athânyedyus tristanyâ mantharako 'bhihitaḥ | bhoḥ subhaga yady eṣo 'ndhaḥ kathaṃ cid vyâpâdyate tad âvayoḥ sukhena kâlo yâti | tad anviṣyaytâm kutra cid viṣaṃ yenâsmai tat pradâya sukhinî bhavâmi | anyadâ kubjakena paribhramatâ mṛtaḥ kṛṣṇa-sarpaḥ prâptaḥ | taṃ gṛhîtvâ prahṛṣṭa-manâ gṛham abhyetya tâm âha | subhage labdho 'yam kṛṣṇa-sarpaḥ | tad enaṃ khaṇḍaśaḥ kṛtvâ prabhûta-śuṇṭhyâdibhiḥ saṃskâryâmuṣmai vikala-netrâya matsyâmiṣam iti bhaṇitvâ prayaccha yena drâg vinaśyati | yato 'sya matsyâmiṣaṃ sadâ priyam | evam uktvâ mantharako bâhye gataḥ | sâpi pradîptavahnau kṛṣṇa-sarpaṃ khaṇḍaśaḥ kṛtvâ takram âdâya gṛha-vyâpârâkulâ taṃ vikalâkṣaṃ sa-praśrayam uvâca | âryaputra tavâbhîṣṭaṃ matsya-mâṃsaṃ samânîtaṃ yatas tvam sadaiva tat pṛcchasi | te ca matsyâ vahnau pâcanâya tiṣṭhanti | tad yâvad ahaṃ gṛhakṛtyaṃ karomi tâvat tvaṃ darvîm âdâya kṣaṇam ekaṃ tân pracâlaya | so 'pi tad âkarṇya hṛṣṭamanâḥ sṛkviṇî parilihan drutam utthâya darvîm âdâya pramathitum ârabdhaḥ | atha tasya matsyân mathato viṣa-garbha-bâṣpeṇa saṃspṛṣṭaṃ nîla-paṭalaṃ cakṣur-bhyâm agalat | asâv apy andho bahu-guṇaṃ manyamâno viśeṣân netrâbhyâṃ bâṣpagrahaṇam akarot | tato labdhadṛṣṭir jâto yâvat paśyati tâvat takramadhye kṛṣṇa-sarpa-khaṇḍâni kevalâny evâvalokayati | tato vyacintayat | aho kim etat | mama matsyâmiṣaṃ kathitam âsîd anayâ | etâni tu kṛṣṇa-sarpa-khaṇḍâni | tat tâvad vijânâmi samyak tristanyâś ceṣṭitaṃ kiṃ mama vadhopâya-kramaḥ kubjasya votâho anyasya vâ kasya cit | evaṃ vicintya svâkâraṃ gûhayann andhavat karma karoti yathâ purâ | atrântare kubjaḥ samâgatya niśśaṅkatayâ 'liṅgana-cumbanâdibhis tristanîṃ sevitum upacakrame | so 'py andhas tam avalokayann api yâvan na kiṃ cic chastraṃ paśyati tâvat kopa-vyâkula-manâḥ pûrvavac chayanaṃ gatvâ kubjaṃ caraṇâbhyâṃ saṃgṛhya sâmar-thyât svamastakopari bhrâmayitvâ tristanîṃ hṛdaye vyatâdayat | atha kubja-prahâreṇa tasyâs tṛtîyaḥ stana urasi praviṣṭaḥ | tathâ balân mastakopari bhrâmaṇena kubjaḥ prâñjalatâṃ gataḥ |*

It will be observed that the story is concerned with the disappearance of the infirmities of three persons—of a blind man to whom pieces of a black serpent were about to be offered for food and who recovered his sight ; of a princess with three breasts whose third breast, the story relates, 'entered into the bosom or chest', (*tṛtîyaḥ stana urasi praviṣṭaḥ* ; Simpl.) or 'entered within' (*antaḥ praviṣṭaḥ* ; Pûrṇabhadra), that is, disappeared : and of a crooked man[55] who became straight 'on account of having been brandished with force round the head'

[54] I shall hereafter refer to this Pañcatantra as *textus simplicior* or as *simpl.*

[55] The word *kubjaka* which I have here translated as 'crooked man' has been uniformly explained as 'hunchback' by the Pañcatantra translators : see, for instance, Kale (p. 57) and Hertel in his edition of Pûrṇabhadra's *Pañcatantra*, p. 285 and *Table of Contents*. This does not seem to me to be correct. For, the author of the story while relating that the blind man, the *kubjaka* and the three-breasted princess were healed of their infirmities, that the blind man recovered his sight and the princess got rid of her third breast, does not **say** that the hump of the *kubjaka* disappeared. He says instead that the *kubjaka* 'became straight,' *prâñjalatâṃ gataḥ* (comp. also the reading *kubjaḥ saralatâṃ gataḥ* of the MS. Bh. reported by Hertel in this connection on p. 198 of HOS. Vol. XII) on account of his body having been brandished with force round the head of the blind man (*Simpl.*) or on account of his body striking with force against the third breast of the princess. It follows therefore that the author wanted to denote with the word *kubjaka* a crooked person and not a hunchback. The brandishing of his body by the blind man round his head caused the joints to set properly together so that his crookedness disappeared and he became straight. Another instance of a crooked person (*kubjaka*) being made straight is, I may point out, referred to in *Bhâgavata*, X (1), 45, 1 f. This time it is a woman named Trivakrâ 'Crooked in three places,' and not a man ; and we learn from vv. 6-8 : *prasanno bhagavân kubjâṃ trivakrâṃ rucirânanâm | ṛjvîṃ kartuṃ manaś cakre darśayan darśane phalam || padbhyâm âkramya prapade dvyaṅguly-uttâna-pâninâ | pragṛhya cubuke 'dhyâtmam udanînamad acyutaḥ || sâ tadarju-samânâṅgî bṛhac-chroṇi-payodharâ | mukunda-sparśanât sadyo babhûva pramadottamâ ||* that she was made straight by Śrî-Kṛṣṇa who, placing his feet over hers and two fingers under her chin, pushed upwards with force so that her body became straight and she [illegible]

(*balân mastakopari bhrâmaṇena kubjaḥ prâñjalatâṃ gataḥ*, Simpl.) of the blind man or 'on account of his back coming into contact with the breast' (*pṛṣṭha-pradeśa-stana-sparśât kubjaḥ prâñjalatâṃ gataḥ*, Pûrṇabhadra) of the princess.

The first of these, viz., the recovery of sight by the blind man, is referred to by the words *vy andho akhyad ahim âdadânaḥ* of the third pâda of the RV. verse 4, 19, 9, and the last, the incident of the crooked man becoming straight, is, it seems to me, alluded to by the words *sam aranta parva* 'the joints set themselves properly together (whereupon the crookedness of the body would disappear and the man become straight)' in pâda 4; see footnote 55 given above. The incident of the disappearance of the third breast is therefore, I believe, in all probability referred to by the words *nir bhûd ukhacchit* of the same pâda.

bhû with *nis* means not only 'to come out: to walk' but also 'to vanish, to disappear, to become exterminated': compare the PW. s. v. *nirbhûti* and Whitney's translation of AV. 16, 5, 6: *nirbhûtyâḥ putro'si*. The sentence *nir bhûd ukhacchit* means therefore 'the *ukhacchid* disappeared, or became exterminated.'

The above Pañcatantra story is, in the *Simpl.*, summed up in the stanza: *andhakaḥ kubjakaś caiva tristanî râja-kanyakâ | trayo 'py anyâyataḥ siddhâḥ sammukhe karmaṇi sthite ||* which makes out that the *siddhi* (*i.e.*, getting rid of their infirmities) of these three persons was due to the propitiousness of *karman* or destiny. In the Pañcatantra text of Pûrṇabhadra, on the other hand, the stanza occurs in the form (Hertel's ed.; p. 285): *andhakaḥ kubjakaś caiva râja-kanyâ ca tristanî | anayo 'pi nayaṃ yâti yâvac chrîr bhajate naram ||* according to which the getting rid from their infirmities of the three persons is due to the favourable influence of Śrî or the goddess or prosperity. Still another version of the stanza, *andhakaḥ kubjakaś caiva tristanî râja-kanyakâ | te trayo 'nyâyataḥ siddhâḥ sânukûle vidhâtari ||* is given in the MS. N of the latter text (see HOS. Vol. XII, p. 195) which attributes it to the favourableness of Vidhâtṛ or Providence. These varying versions show that different accounts were current regarding the deity through whose instrumentality the three persons were healed of their infirmities; and it is not improbable that the author of the verse RV. 4, 19, 9 had in mind a version of the story which ascribed these wonderful healings to Indra.

For the rest, it may be remarked that the ascription of the honour of having performed a certain deed to different deities is not peculiar to the different versions of the Pañcatantra, but can be met with in the RV hymns also. Thus, not to speak of the conquest of Vṛtra or Vala and of the destruction of forts (*puraḥ*) and the setting free of cows, exploits which are ascribed to Indra and sometimes to Bṛhaspati, to the Maruts, to Agni, and to the Aṅgirases, it is said in RV. 1, 51, 13: *adadâ arbhâṃ mahate vacasyave kakṣîvate vṛcayâm indra sunvate* that Kakṣîvân got a wife through the favour of Indra while in 1, 116, 7: *yuvaṃ narâ stuvate pajriyâya kakṣîvate aradatam puraṃdhim* it is said that the Aśvins gave a wife to Kakṣîvân. Similarly, it is said in 1, 112, 8: *prândhaṃ śroṇaṃ cakṣasa etave kṛthaḥ* that the Aśvins caused the blind man to see and the lame man to walk, while in 8, 79, 2: *prem andhaḥ khyan niḥ śroṇo bhût* and 10, 25, 11: *prândhaṃ śroṇaṃ ca târiṣat* it is said that the blind man saw and the lame man walked through the grace of Soma; and in 2, 13, 12: *prândhaṃ śroṇaṃ ca śravayan sâsy ukthyaḥ*; 2, 15, 7: *prati śroṇaḥ sthâd vy anag acaṣṭa*; and 4, 30, 19: *anu dvâ jahitâ nayo 'ndhaṃ śroṇaṃ ca vṛtrahan*, these wonderful deeds are ascribed to Indra.

It is therefore not unlikely that the author of the RV verse 4, 19, 9 was acquainted with a story very similar to the Pañcatantra story related above, in which the credit of freeing the blind man, the crooked man and the three-breasted princess from the infirmities that afflicted them, was ascribed to Indra: and I consider that the verse 4, 19, 9 has reference to such a story and that the words *nir bhûd ukhacchit* in the fourth pâda allude to the disappearance of the third breast of the princess. *ukhacchid* therefore means 'breast' or 'glandular swelling or enlargement resembling a breast'; and I would translate the second distich of the above verse as, "The blind man, who was about to take the serpent, saw; the glandular swelling resembling a breast disappeared: the joints set themselves together properly."

It may, in passing, be observed that the *textus simplicior* of the Pañcatantra contains another story which, or one very like which, seems to be referred to in another verse of the RV, to wit, in the third pâda of 10, 28, 4 [56]: *lopâśaḥ siṃham pratyañcam atsâḥ.* 'The *lopâśa*[57] crept towards the lion (and yet escaped death at its hands [through my, Indra's grace]').

The story of how a hungry lion entered into a *lopâśa's* cave and lay concealed there with the intention of springing upon and killing the animal that would next enter it, of how the *lopâśa* unwittingly entered into it, and of how it escaped death, is related in the Pañcatantra,[58] (*Simpl.*) III. p. 69 ff. As in the story of the three-breasted princess, so in this story too no mention is made of Indra as helping deity, and the *lopâśa*, it is said, owed his escape to his own presence of mind.

In this instance too it is my opinion that the author of the verse 10, 28, 4 had in his mind a story very similar to that related in the Pañcatantra (*Simpl.*), but in which Indra was represented as aiding the *lopâśa* to escape from the lion.

(*To be continued.*)

COLLECTION OF SUN (FOOD FOR MONKS) IN BURMA.

By SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, BT.

In 1888 Sir Saint-Hill Eardley-Wilmot gave me two photos he had taken in Upper Burma, which got put away and accidentally came to light again lately. One of these represents the morning collection of food in a village by novices for Buddhist monks—a common sight all over Burma. The leader of the party carries a typical monk's "begging bowl" and those following him carry baskets of food on bamboo poles.

The custom is universal and is well described in *Burma* by Max and Bertha Ferrars (1901), a profusely and beautifully illustrated volume. At pp. 14 and 20 there are illustrations of both monks and novices carrying round "begging bowls" and of a village woman pouring food (probably rice) with a spoon into one of them. Chapter III is devoted to the adolescence of a Burman and describes the customs relating thereto in considerable detail and with intimate knowledge. "Between the ages of ten and sixteen Burma lads enter upon the monastic novitiate, an occasion celebrated with a brilliant fête" (p. 14). On this occasion a lad is prepared to renounce the world for a season and is called a *shinlaung*. He enters upon the duties of a novice and a course of religious and ethical education at a *kyaung* or monastery, which he takes—indeed has to take—very seriously.

"For their sustenance the novices and regular recluses depend upon alms. They receive these in kind and according to daily need. Their appeal is mute. The morning after his reception the novice with his brethren will halt in front of his own parents' house and the houses of the neighbours to receive such dole of food as is offered. He will not look to right or left, but keep his eyes rooted on the ground, making no sign beyond raising the cover of his alms-bowl. The recluse may not ask for anything whatever, nor even express a predilection. The food, ripe or ready-cooked, as the case may be, is doled indiscriminately into the *thabèit* [bowl] from the east side, usually by a woman of the house. A woman should not stand in the shadow of a recluse, of a shrine, *zedi*, temple or image. She should not occupy an upper floor when a recluse happens to be beneath, nor enter a *thein* [shrine], nor occupy a higher place with respect to men. Food given in a religious spirit, as above described, is called *sun*. The recluses when collecting *sun* are generally followed by a couple of scholars bearing a yoke and basket to receive larger offerings on behalf of the monastery."

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[56] The hymns 10, 27 and 10, 28 are full of allusions to stories; see Pischel, *Ved. St.*, 1, 181 f.

[57] *lopâśa* is a word that is rarely used. According to the lexicographers, it signifies 'jackal'. It is of interest to note that this rare word is used in the above mentioned RV verse and also in the Pañcatantra story referred to above.

[58] Neither this story (of *The Jackal and Speaking Cave*) nor the above-related story of the *Blind man, Crooked man, and Three-breasted princess* formed part of the original Pañcatantra; see Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung*, p. 17; *Tantrâkhyâyika-Übersetzung*, 1, 126 f. Edgerton, *The Pañcatantra Reconstructed*, 1, 186 f.; and my own article on "The Pañcatantra of Durgasiṃha" in Vol. 7 of the *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the stories themselves are very old.

BUDDHISM IN BURMA



MORNING COLLECTION OF *Sun* (FOOD FOR MONKS)

Photo: Eardley Wilmot.

A NOTE ON THE SVETAMBAR AND DIGAMBAR SECTS.

BY PURAN CHAND NAHAR, M.A., B.L.

MUCH activity is seen both among western and eastern scholars to unfold the hidden pages of the past history of the Jains, the followers of the Jinas or the Tîrthaṅkaras, their philosophy and rules of conduct. Apart from several works from the pen of educated Indian Jain or non-Jain scholars, it is very gratifying to look to the big volumes on Jainism from Germany and France containing the results of modern researches on the Digambar and Śvetâmbar sects. The very words at the first sight conjure up before the casual reader the idea of nudity, or remote antiquity, and the idea of the dressed, or a later period.

But the fact is otherwise. Let us remember the period of the Vedas. Although the very word Prâkṛit conveys the idea of the earlier existence and Sanskrit of the later, after undergoing change, yet there is hardly any Prâkṛit literature that we come across existing before the Vedas. It has now been accepted in all quarters that Pârśvanâtha, the 23rd Tîrthaṅkara, was a historical personage: and the Jain ascetics of his period and those of his predecessors' times used to wear clothes. It is only at a later period, during the régime of Mahâvîra, the 24th Tîrthaṅkara that the fashion of discarding clothes had its origin, perhaps due to the prevalence of extreme asceticism at the time.

The word Nirgrantha, generally applied to the order of the Jains, did not literally mean without any clothes or naked, but did mean without any bond, or free from bondage or *karma*. It is certainly difficult to trace the cause which led our Lord Mahâvîra to embrace nudity. But so far as we can gather from the then existing circumstances it is clear that the time of Mahâvira was a period of great religious revival, and religious speculation was at its height. A very large number of mendicants, heretics and religious speculators were traversing the country from one end to the other, and it was a time of very hard religious competition, and severe austerities and absolute renunciation were the only criterion of excellence. Mahâvîra advocated giving up of clothes for only the highest order known as Jinakalpî, but not for anybody or everybody of the order or for all ages. And it is only among the Digambars that the fashion of nudity has survived even to the present day, and as a matter of fact we actually find southern Digambar *sâdhus* practising this as an indispensable part of their conduct.

It has now been proved without a shadow of doubt that image worship is a very ancient institution, and the Jains also used to worship images. It was several centuries after Mahâvîra that his followers divided themselves into Śvetâmbars and Digambars. The ancient images of Tîrthaṅkaras consecrated before the division cannot properly be said to belong to any particular sect, rather they belong to the Jains as a whole, irrespective of any other question. We find a good number of sitting Jain images without any signs of nudity, which can be assigned almost with certainty to early times before the division. It was sometime after the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra that far reaching changes took place in the principles as propagated by Him and laid down by Jain *âgamas*.

The most important diversity in the principle which gradually developed and ultimately led to the schism is the assignment of a distinctly inferior status to woman by denying her the possibility of full spiritual emancipation. This little fact, hardly noticed, is of profound significance in fixing with a good deal of certainty a considerably later date for the origin of the Digambars. For such narrow dogmas had their birth in times when a strong reaction had already set in against the broad-minded democratic religions of Buddha and Mahâvîra sweeping before them the false and petty distinctions of caste and creed, and when people were reverting back to old standards of conservatism and bigotry.

It was Lord Mahâvira who established the blessed order of the *Śrî-saṅgha* or *Caturvidha-saṅgha*, composed of sâdhus and *sâdhvîs*, *srâvakas* and *srâvikâs*, with equal share in the order.

No question of superiority or inferiority was involved. A soul is a soul whether it be of man or woman, and no obstacle stands in the way of full spiritual liberation for one who can destroy by *nirjarâ* all *karmas*.

With such cardinal difference of principles, the followers could not remain united, and they gradually drifted apart. Those that advocated the most conservative ideas became known as the Digambar sect, and in order to establish the new theory, these Digambars had to discard the whole of the then existing Jain canons, which are respected and recognised by the Śvetâmbars alone, who are the other remaining original followers of Mahâvîra, propagating the same old principles as those of Mahâvira.

I need hardly say that the Digambars hold just the opposite view and boast of their antiquity, placing the origin of the Śvetâmbars at a very late period. There is good scope for research in this important and interesting subject of the antiquity of these sects. Any scholar can satisfy himself after a glance at page 25 of Vincent Smith's *Jain Stupa and other Antiquities of Mathura* that Lord Mahâvira is depicted there as being taken from the womb of Devânandâ by Harinegameshi, a god. This ancient story is entirely discarded and has no place in any Digambar work, while every Śvetâmbar Jain believes the story of this *garbhâpahâra*, which is another point of difference between the two sects. It has also to be noted that the different *Gaṇas*, *Kulas* *Śikhâs* and *Gacchas* found inscribed on these relics of antiquity are identical with those mentioned in the *Kalpasûtra* and other old Jain *âgamas* respected by the Śvetâmbars, while these names do not occur in any of the Digambar works. And these facts above referred to are very significant in tracing the question of antiquity, as the sculptures with inscriptions are all genuine irrefutable pieces of evidence that place the Śvetâmbars at a very early period.

Lord Mahâvira and his principles were as liberal as could be expected, and all souls, whether of a Śvetâmbar or a Digambar, or a non-Jain even, could attain *nirvâṇa*; while according to the Digambars, only a male Jain holding Digambar doctrine may be liberated. The true ancient principles of the religion of the Tirthaṅkaras are simply this much, that a soul which realizes the oneness of all and is seated in equality, is fully entitled to emancipation. The Śvetâmbars hold this view and will ever hold the same in spite of all reproaches from the other sect. This liberal idea is quite clear from the ancient Jain texts. The age of these texts has, of late, also been scientifically tested, but unfortunately the Digambars do not recognize them. It is perhaps by reason of these short-sighted principles of the Digambar Jains that they did not flourish during Muhammadan times, and it is only during these latter days of English rule that they are trying to gain popularity.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROFESSOR S H HODIVALA, M.A.

(Continued from page 146.)

Devadasi.—All the passages cited in *Hobson-Jobson* relate to Southern India, but dancing-girls appear to have been attached to Hindu temples in other parts of this country also in former times. There is a very early reference to them in Alberûni.

[c. 1030.] "The Hindus are not very severe in punishing whoredom. The fault, however, in this lies with the kings, not with the nation. But for this, no Brahman or priest would suffer in their idol-temples the women who sing, dance and play. The kings make them an attraction for their cities, a bait of pleasure for their subjects, for no other but financial reasons. By the revenues which they derive from the business both as fines and taxes, they want to recover the expenses which their treasury has to spend on the army."

Alberûnî's India, Sachau's Translation. II, 157.

And the Arab historian Ibn-al-Athir, writing of the temple of Somnâth, sacked by Mahmûd of Ghazna in 1024 A.C., says :—

[c. 1230.] "Amongst the other attendants of this temple there were three hundred barbers appointed to shave the heads of the pilgrims. There were also three hundred musicians and five hundred dancing-girls attached to it; and it was customary even for the kings and râjas of India to send their daughters for the service of the temple."

Târîkh-i-Alfî, in Elliot and Dowson. II, 472.

Lastly, Tavernier declares that he had seen near Cambay "a pagoda to which the majority of the courtesans of India come to make their offerings . . . When the old courtesans have amassed a sum of money in their youth, they buy with it young slaves, to whom they teach dances and lascivious songs, and all the tricks of their infamous trade. When these young girls have reached the age of eleven or twelve years their mistresses take them to this pagoda, and they believe that it will be good fortune to them to be offered and abandoned to this idol."

Travels, ed. Ball. I, 71.

The temple has not been identified either by Ball or by Crooke, but the reference is most probably to the temple of Bahûcharâji.

Dewaleea.—The derivation given by Yule on the authority of Drummond's *Illustrations of Guzaratee* published in 1808, looks like an instance of 'folk etymology,' but it has this to be said in its favour, that it is vouched for by Manucci, who tells a long story of an Armenian acquaintance of his own making a sham declaration of bankruptcy in Patna, and writes:

"When the time came for paying the merchants, he, in pursuance of the custom of the country, lighted two candles in the morning, as a sign that he had become bankrupt: he sat at his house with no turban on his head . . The merchants thronged to learn the cause . . To all he replied with a sad countenance . . . by the word 'Divalia', which means bankrupt."

Storia do Mogor, Tr. Irvine. II, 84.

Dewally.—In the following extract we have evidence of the feast being called by this name even in the days of Mahmûd of Ghazna.

[c. 1030] "The 1st Kârttika or new moon's day, when the sun marches in Libra, is called *Dîbâlî*. . . In the night they light a great number of lamps in every place so that the air is perfectly clear"

Alberûnî's India, Tr. Sachau, II, 182.

Dhurna.—This curious Hindu custom appears to have arrested the attention of the early Arab travellers.

[c. 1154.] "The Indians are naturally inclined to justice, and never depart from it in their actions . . . Among other characteristic marks of their love of truth and horror of vice, the following is related :—When a man has a right to demand anything of another, and he happens to meet him, he has only to draw a circular line upon the ground and to

make his debtor enter it, which the latter never fails to do, and the debtor cannot leave this circle without satisfying his creditor, or obtaining the remission of the debt."

Al Idrisi, *Nuzhatu-l-Mushtâq* in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I, 88.

There is an actual example of "Dhurna" in the history of Sultân Fîrûz Tughlaq. The contemporary historian says that when that ruler issued orders for the levying of the *jizya* from the Brâhmans, who had been theretofore exempted from its payment,

[c. 1375.] "The Brahmans of all the four cities [of Dehli] then assembled and went to the *Kushk-i-Shikâr* [the Imperial palace] . . . and wanted to know why they were now subjected to the indignity of having to pay it. They were determined to collect wood and burn themselves under the walls of the palace rather than pay the tax . . . The Brahmans remained fasting for several days at the palace until they were on the point of death."

Shams-i-Sirâj, *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* in Elliot and Dowson, III, 366.

Doombur.—The authors say that "the old story of little carts being attached to the quarters of these sheep is found in many books, but it is difficult to trace any modern evidence of the fact." The following passage from the *Âîn-i-Akbarî* may be, therefore, not without interest. In his account of the Sûba of Bengal, Abul Fazl writes:

[c. 1595.] "Parrots abound and a fine species of goat of the Barbary breed which they castrate: from their extreme fatness they are unable to walk and are carried on litters."

Trans. Jarrett, II, 152.

As three centuries have elapsed since the *Âîn* was written, and more authentic testimony of less questionable modernity may be fairly required, I subjoin the following statement from an article on the Thibetan Wool-trade by Mr. P. Simpson which appeared in the *Times of India Illustrated Weekly* on 4th November 1928 (p. 18): "All of us have heard of, or seen, the 'fat-tailed' sheep but it may not be generally known that in order to prevent injury to the tail, it is placed in a sledge or trolly, and as the sheep walk along, their tails are carried for them behind!"

Dusserah.—There is the following description of this festival in the *Kitâb-i-Millal wa Nahal* of Shahrastâni. "According to their religion the Dahkynyah [worshippers of Dakshâ or Pârvati] make an idol in the shape of a woman [the wife of Shiva] having a crown on her head, and many hands. They have a festival once a year about the equinox when the Sun enters the sign of the Balance. On that day they erect a large arbour in front of that idol, to which they bring offerings of sheep and other animals; they do not slaughter them but strike their necks with swords. They also kill human beings for sacrifices when they can catch them by stratagem, until the festival is completed, but they have a bad reputation among all Hindus on account of the stratagem."

Shahrastâni, Book of Religious Sects. *Tr.* E. Rehatsek in *Journal, Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XIV, p. 65.

Ganda.—There is a very early reference to the 'Ganda' by name in Alberûni, who distinguishes, however, between it and the 'Kargadan' which he declares is the true 'Rhinoceros.'

[c. 1030.] "The *ganda*," he writes, "exists in large numbers in India, more particularly about the Ganges . . . The Brahmins have the privilege of eating the flesh of the *ganda* . . . I thought that the *ganda* was the rhinoceros (or *karkadann*), but a man who had visited Sufala in the country of the Negroes told me that the *kark*, which the negroes call *impîlâ* . . . comes nearer this description than the rhinoceros."

Alberunî's India, Sachau's Trans. I, 203-4.

Gazat.—The authors say that this word is 'domestic Hindûstâni' for 'dessert.' But this can be hardly correct as گزک '*gazak*' is very commonly used in Persian for fruits and other things taken as relish after drinking wine. And it is used in this sense by the Emperor Jahângîr in his *Memoirs*. Speaking of the fruits of Kashmir, he says in praise of the *ashkan*, that "it is smaller than the *âlu bâlû*, but so superior to it in taste and delicacy, that, whereas three or four only of the latter could be taken after wine as *gazak*, nearly a hundred of the former could be eaten with pleasure in the course of a day." (Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, II.)

Sayyad Ahmad Khân's editn Aligarh, 1864, p. 306, l. 5 from foot. See also p. 313, l. 15.

Gingall, Ginjall, Jinjall.—Yule says of this word that it is of uncertain origin. Mr. Crooke declares that it is a corruption of *jazâil*, but the derivation of the latter itself from the Arab. *jazîl*, big is highly problematical. I suggest that Gingall, or Ginjall is really derived from *gajnâl*, a Hindi word which occurs first in the *Ain*. " His Majesty," Abul Fazl writes, " made another kind of gun, which can easily be carried by a single elephant: such guns have the name of *Gajnâls*. Guns which a single man may carry, are called *Narnâls*." *Op. cit.*, Tr. Blochmann, I, 113. These *gajnâls* were also called *hathnâls*, and camel guns called ' Shuturnâls ' are also mentioned by other writers. Now the ' Gingall ' was a ' swivel or wall-piece ' which had a stand or tripod, and was so heavy that it had to be ' carried by two men and fired by a third.' This would correspond closely to a gun mounted on the back of an elephant. It may be perhaps necessary to say that *Gaj* and *Hath* both signify ' elephant,' and that this kind of metathesis of the consonants is very common in ' Hobson Jobson.' Thus ' Puleeta ', [Palîta] is a metathesis of the Arabic *Falîta*, and ' Talisman ' of the Arabic *Tilsamâta*, and at p. 694, the learned authors observe that " natives convert ' *Gaganbher*, which means ' sheep of the sky,' and is a name of the pelican, into *Gangâbheri*, ' sheep of the Ganges.' Compare also the forms Zerzelim, Girgelim, Gingerlee, Gingerly, Gingerlee, Gingelly (*Ibid.*, 373-375).

As for Jazâil, it is probable that it also is another corruption of *gajnâl*, through Jajnâl. Thus Jajnâl, Jaznâl, Jaznâil, Jazâil.

Godown.—Yule's earliest quotation from an English source is dated 1612.

[1583-91.] " In your house [in Pegu] you have a warehouse which they call Godon, which is made of bricke to put your goods in: for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or five hundred houses, so that, if the Godon were not, you should bee in danger to have all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice."

Ralph Fitch, in Foster's *Early Travels in India*, p. 30.

Gomashtah.—[1621.] " Two of the bills [of exchange] were at once accepted, but the third was at first rejected, the shroffs saying it was not by their shawe [Hind. Shâh, Shâhu, banker], but by one Calyane [Kalyân] of Agra, whose *gomashtye* has now left Patna."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 248.

Gorregorri.—[*c.* 1700.] " There are many seats where the Persians imbibe tobacco from crystal *gurigurîs*, called by them ' caliaõ ' (*qa'liyân*), which are long and narrow-necked circular flasks filled with water, having a vessel of tinned copper or of silver . . . stuck into its (the flask's) mouth, and filled with tobacco."

Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*. Trans. Irvine, I, 36.

Grassia.—[1610.] " The fourteenth [march], to Sunnenarra [Sunera] 8 coss, way much stony and theevish, a people called Graciae inhabiting the hils on the left hand, which often ungraciously entertayn caravans."

William Finch, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 142-43.

[1621.] " Ten dayes since hee [Yâqûb Beg, governor of Broach] went from hence with all his souldiers to fight against the Gracees at Majaculmarye, 15 course hence Brodera [Baroda] waye; where hath been many hurt and slaine on both sides "

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 299.

Gubber.—Sir H. Yule was not unnaturally puzzled by the obvious discrepancy between the value of the coin called ' Gabar ' by the author of the *Târîkh-i-Tâhirî* and the ' Gubber ' of Lockyer and Milburn. The explanation is that the latter—the ' Gubber ' or gold ducat of sorts—was an entirely different coin from the ' Gabar,' which is a miswriting or misreading of *kabîr*. This can be easily proved by the value of the *kabîr* as given by Abul Fazl. That author says that an Ibrâhîmi was equal to 40 *kabîrs* and 14 *kabîrs* were equal to a rupee of Akbar Shâh (*Aîn*, Tr. Jarrett, II, 56). In other words, the *kabîr* was equal to about $\frac{1}{14}$th of an Akbari rupee. Now of the *Gabar* of the *Târîkh-i-Tâhirî*, we are told that it was equal to 12 *mîrîs* and 72 *mîrîs* were equal to the *tanka* of Sindh in the days of Shâh Ḥusain Arghûn.

who was a contemporary of Humâyûn. Now I have shown in the 'Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics' that this *tanka* of Sindh was identical with the *shâhrukhi* or *misqâli*, and was worth about $\frac{2}{5}$ of an Akbari rupee (pp. 9-10). In other words, this 'gabar' was equal to $\frac{1}{[illegible]} \times \frac{2}{5} = \frac{1}{[illegible]}$th of an Akbari rupee. And we have seen that the *kabîr* of Abul Fazl was worth about $\frac{1}{[illegible]}$th of the same coin. This establishes their identity, and shows that this 'Gabar' could not possibly have had anything to do with the 'Gubber' or gold ducat, which was worth about 4 rupees.

Gup.—[1617.] "Mullâ Asad, the story-teller . . . came on the same day [12th Khurdad 1027 A.H. 1617 A.C.] from Tattah and waited on me. As he was a reciter and story-teller full of sweetness and smartness I liked his society . . . I ordered him always to be present at the meetings for talk (*gap*)."

Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî. Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, I. 377. Text, 186, l. 21.

Also Khâfi Khân, *Bibl. Ind.*, Text. II, 287.

Gureebpurwar, Gurreebnuwaz.—"They uncover not their heads when as they doe reverence to their superiours, but in stead of that bow their bodies putting their right hands to the top of their heads after that they have touched the earth with them . . . They have good words to expresse their wel-wishes, as this: *Greeb-a-Nemoaz*: that is, *I wish the prayers of the poore*: and many other like these most significant."

E. Terry, in *Early Travels in India*, ed. Foster, p. 308-09.

Hindostanee.—The earliest quotation is from Tom Coryat (1616). Below will be found one which is dated in 1597.

"At Christmas [1597] our Brother Benedict de Goes prepared a manger and cradle as exquisite as those of Goa itself . . . In the evening, masses were said with great ceremony and a pastoral dialogue on the subject of the Nativity was enacted by some youths in the Persian tongue with some *Hindostani* proverbs interspersed. [*Adjunctis aliquot Industani sententiis.*]"

Letter written by Jerome Xavier after his return from Kashmîr [1598]. Tr. Maclagan in Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1896, p. 72.

Hooly.—[1030.] "The full moon's day of Phâlguna is a feast to the women, called *Odâd* (?), or also *dhola* (*i.e.*, *dola*) when they make fires on places . . . and they throw the fire out of the village."

Alberûni's *India* Tr. Sachau, II. 183-84. "Dhola" is the *Dol-jâtrâ*, the Bengali name of the festival.

Hoondy.—[1619.] "They advise the despatch of bills of exchange for rupees 'hundies' 17100. The present rate of exchange is $42\frac{3}{4}$ rupees per hundred mahmudis."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621). p 85. See also pp. 146, 182, 236, 248.

Interloper.—[1618.] "But if it [the trade with Persia] bee not roundly followed at first wee shall in time finde the Dutch to interlope and when they once enter all is spoyled for they are better able to serve them [the Persians] with all sortes of spices at cheaper rate than wee and these commodities will bid any nation welcome to Persia."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 30. Yule's earliest example is of 1627.

Judea, Odia.—[1511.] "In the year 1511, in the month of April, Alfonso de Albuquerque went from the citie of Cochin unto Malacca . . . . and Alfonso sent . . a Portugall named Duarte Fernandes with letters . . unto the king of the Mantias, which now is called Sion, standing in the South. Coasting along, they passed through the strait of Cincapura, and sailed towards the north, went along the coast of Patane, unto the citie of Cuy, and from thence to *Odia*, which is the chiefe citie of the kingdome, standing in 14 degrees of northerly latitude."

Galvano, *Discoveries of the World*. Tr. Bethune (Hakluyt Society), p. 112.

Junkameer.—The derivation which is given of this South Indian form—from the Malayâlam *Chungakâran*, from Tamil *Chungam*, customs, is probably correct, but Burnell does not seem to have been aware that 'Chungam' itself must be a loan word in both these Dravidian languages. *Chungî* is commonly used all over Northern India for the octroi duties levied by our

Municipalities. It is really a Persian word, as *chang* signifies in that language "the claw of a bird, the paw, the expanded hand or the fingers somewhat hooked." Indeed *changi-ghalla*, the tax on corn, is mentioned in the *Futûhât-i-Fîrûzshâhî*—written in the fourteenth century—as one of the 23 "frivolous, unlawful and unjust cesses" which Firûz Shâh Tughlaq says he ordered to be abolished (Elliot and Dowson, III, 377).

Changi or *chungi* thus is equivalent to 'handful,' and is synonymous with the *mutthi* of Gujarât, etc.

Khot.—It is said in the note on this word that it occurs especially in the Konkan and is apparently traceable to the time of the 'Âdilshâhi dynasty of Bijâpur. It is true that its use seems confined *in our own times* to a small part of the Bombay Presidency, and this would appear to have misled the authors into thinking that it is a purely 'Mahrâtî word.' But this supposition can be hardly correct, as the word occurs repeatedly in almost all the senses attributed to it (*viz.*, "a hereditary zemindar with proprietary rights, a patel or head-man of the village, a revenue farmer without hereditary rights, etc") in the *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* of Barnî (*c.* 1358). Witness the following: Speaking of the regulations of 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî for depressing the Hindus, he writes:

"There was to be one rule for the payment of tribute applicable to all, from the *khûta* to the *balâhar* and the heaviest tribute was not to fall upon the poorest . . . Half (of the produce) was to be paid without any diminution, and this rule was to apply to *khûtas* and *balâhars* without the slightest distinction. The *khûtas* were also to be deprived of all their peculiar privileges . . . They (*scil.* these regulations) were so strictly carried out that the chaudharis and *khûts* and *muqaddims* were not able to ride on horseback, to find weapons, to get fine clothes, or to indulge in betel . . . the people were brought to such a state of obedience that one revenue officer would string twenty *khûts*, *muqaddims*, or *chaudharis* together by the neck, and enforce payment by blows." *Op. cit.* in Elliot and Dowson, III, 182, 183. See also 184 and 185; *Bibl. Ind.*, Text, 287, 288, 291. I ought perhaps to say that the word *balâhar* has been explained by Sir H. Elliot (*Supplementary Glossary*, ed. Beames, II, 249) as "a low caste village servant, a village guide or messenger."

The learned Blochmann and Major Fuller who translated several portions of Barnî's history were both puzzled by this word, as they did not know that the word is still used for a certain class of landlords in Bombay. Indeed Blochmann thought that it was a rare Arabic word signifying a 'fine strong man.' There can be little doubt that Blochmann was wrong, and that by *khûts* and *balâhars* we are to understand "landlords and tenants." See Elliot and Dowson, III (Appendix), 623.

Kuttaur.—[c. 1030.] "They [the Hindus] fasten the *kuthâra*, *i.e.*, the dagger, at the waist on the right side" [instead of on the left, as the Muhammadans do].

Alberûnî's India, Trans. Sachau, I, 181. See also *ibid.*, I, 120.

Lemon.—In his note on this word, Yule says that it has "come into European languages through the Ar. *laimûn*, and is, according to Hehn, of Indian origin." The following extracts conclusively show that Hehn was right and that the Arabs became acquainted with the lemon only in the tenth century.

[c. 951.] "The land of Mansûra [in Sindh] also produces a fruit of the size of the apple, which is called *Laimûn* and is exceedingly sour."

Kitâbu-l-aqâlîm of Istakhrî, Tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I, 27.

See also Ibn Haukal, *Ashkâlu-l-bilâd* [c. 976] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

And Idrisi, who wrote in the twelfth century, repeats what Istakhri had said before him, and writes:

[c. 1154.] "The country [*scil.* Mansûra] produces dates and sugarcanes in abundance. There are hardly any other fruits, if we except one, a sort of fruit called *laimûn*, as big as an apple and of a very sour taste, and another which resembles the peach both in shape and taste."

Elliot and Dowson I 78

Long Cloth. -The earliest quotation is of 1670 and Mr. Crooke has quoted with approval the opinion of Sir G. Birdwood, who dates its introduction to Europe about 1675, but the following passages prove that the word is much older.

[1621] " The rest of her lading is long cloathe (the sorte not unknowne to yourselves) and some stuffes of Bengale with such other commodities as these parts [Masulipatam] afford."

" The commodities received from thence [Masulipatam] fittinge for Englande we have laden in the 'Charles' as appeares from our invoice. . . . beinge dyamonds, longe cloth, and gum-lacke."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621) pp. 303, 343.

Mahout.--The earliest quotation is from Hesychius Then there is a very long gap and the next example is from the *Ain* of Abul Fazl (c. 1595) It may therefore, be worth pointing out that the word occurs in the *Târîkh-i-Firûzshâhî* of Barni (c. 1358) in a passage which is not translated in Elliot and Dowson Speaking of the 44 elephants belonging to Sultân Shamsu'd-din Ilyâs of Bengal, which were captured by Firûz Tughlaq in the first expedition against Lakhnauti, he says that " the old elephant-drivers (*pîlbânân*) and *mahâwats* of the Imperial elephant stables declared with one voice and on oath before the throne that such fine elephants had never arrived in Dehli in any reign or from any other country." *Bibl. Ind.*, Text, 593, l. 2 from foot.

Maladoo.--May I suggest that it is hardly necessary to go to the Portuguese *Malhado*, ' beaten up ' for the origin of this word. *Malîda* is a very well-known preparation in Musalman cookery, and is made of flour, sugar, almonds, pistachios, etc., thoroughly kneaded or pounded, beaten up and baked and fried in *ghî*. The word is derived from the Pers. *mâlîdan*, to rub, grind, crush or pound. Richardson, *sub voce*.

Markhor.—" The Shinwâri Afghâns killed and brought a *mârkhûr* (. . . a serpent-eating goat), the like of which I had never seen or imagined. I ordered my artists to paint him. He weighed four Hindustani maunds; the length of his horns was 1½ gaz."

Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî, Tr Rogers and Beveridge, I 112-3.

See also II, 88.

Mascabar.— If ' Mascabar ' is an Indo-Portuguese word for the last day of the month, it must be a corruption, not of *mâs-kâ-bâr*, as Mr Crooke suggests, but of *amâs-kâ-bâr*. *Amâs* from Sans. *amâvasya*, is commonly used for the last day of the month. If ' Mascabar ' means ' monthly statement or account,' it must stand for *mâsik-vâr*, as Platts says.

Mole-Islam.—The derivation suggested by Mr. Crooke is inadmissible. The " true orthography " is ' *maula-i-Islâm*,' and the meaning ' client or dependent of Islam.' " The clients, *mawâlî* (singular, *maula*) or non-Arab Muslims, are frequently mentioned by Browne (*Literary History of Persia* I, 229, 230, 233-5, 242, 247, 260, 263, 264, 266), who says that, far from being treated by the Government as equal to their Arab co-religionists of Arab birth, they were regarded as subject races, exploited and despised by their rulers." See also Jurji Zaydân, *History of Tabaristan*, Trans. Browne, 145-146. *Maula* also occurs in Barni's *Târîkh-i-Firûzshâhî* where Dowson renders it by ' slave,' (III, 175) and a Malik 'Ali is described by the same author as the *maulâzâda*, 'son of a slave', of Sultân Balban. (*Ibid.*, 137.) See *Bibl. Ind.*, Text, 278, ll. 8, 15; 181, l. 6; also 37, 118, 134, 210. These clients or slaves were almost always persons converted by a Musalman to his own faith. When Mahmûd Begada of Gujarât, converted these Hindus, he, like a devout and humble follower of Muhammad would not call them Maulâs or slaves of himself, but *maulâ-i-Islâm* or ' clients of Islâm.'

Myna, Mina.—[1620.] " With our goods wee have sent a cupell of pratlinge birds called *mynnas*, which wee have bought to bee sent to the company, and intreate you carre maye bee taken for theire conveyence to Suratt."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 199 See also pp. 200 214.

(*To be continued.*)

NOTE ON TENTA-KARÂLA.

By KALIPADA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IN the learned article entitled *The Varṇaratnâkara* published in the second volume of the *Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Conference*, Dr. Sunitikumara Chatterjee says that Jyotirîśvara, the author, has given a description of the gambling saloon therein :—" Jyotirîś-vara calls a gambling house a *teṇṭa-sâra*, i.e., *teṇṭasâlâ*, and there used to be a temple of the Devî near by. He also knew the word *teṇṭa-karâla* (p. 39a), in what sense exactly we do not know, but apparently to mean a person who visited a gambling house ; and over four centuries before him Râjaśekhara has used the word in the feminine form (*teṇṭâ-karâla*) as a term of abuse, in his *Karpûra-mañjarî*."

Paṇḍita Hargovind Dâs Seth in his *Pâia sadda mahaṇṇavo* says that *ṭiṇṭa* is a *deśî* word found in *Bhavisatta kahâ* (ed. Dr. H. Jacobi, 1918) in conjunction with *śâlâ*, meaning a gambling house or club. *Ṭiṇṭâ*, similarly a *deśî* word, occurs in *Supâsanâha caria* (Benares edition, 1918-1919, p. 465) in compound with *śâlâ* with the same meaning. The third variant is *ṭeṇṭâ* occurring in *Deśînâma-mâlâ* in similar sense (*juâkhânâ, juâ khelne kâ aḍḍâ*).

It has been noted above that the word occurs in Râjaśekhara's *Karpûra-mañjarî*. Vidûṣaka addresses Vicakṣaṇâ, the Queen's attendant, thus[1] :—

Re paraputtaviṭṭâliṇi bhamaraṭeṇṭe teṇṭâkarâle tuḍitasaṃghaḍide paraṃparâ paṇḍicassa maha kiṃ dusanaṃ âsi ; and further on (p. 20)—

Î dâsîe putti ṭeṇṭâkarâle kosasadacaṭṭini racchâloṭṭaṇi evaṃ maṃ bhaṇâsi.

Dr. Sten Konow has translated the word *ṭeṇṭâkarâla* as "terror of the gambling house" (p. 229). In the glossary *ṭeṇṭâ-karâla* is explained as "terrible in the gambling places, or a Durgâ of the gambling places." He refers us to the *Deśînâma-mâlâ* of Hemachandra, edited by Pischel and Bühler, Pt. I (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XVII—1880), where it means "a gambling place." The different readings are *ṭiṃṭe°-, taṃṭe°-, ṭeṭâ°-*. In all these gambling is indicated (as in *dyutappiye ṭeṃṭâkarâle*). A different meaning of the word, however, is indicated in *bhamaraṭeṇṭe*, *viz.*, a 'scar' (in the glossary). Sten Konow styles it as one of the rare and provincial words in *Karpûra-mañjarî* (p. 201).

The word appears in a slightly different form in the *Kathâsaritsâgara* of Somadeva, *viz.*, in the story of the bold gambler Ṭhiṇṭhâkarâla (Nirnayasâgara edition, p. 571). In Mr. N. M. Penzer's edition the word is translated as "terror of the gambling saloon." (*The Ocean of Story*, vol. IX, p. 17). The *karâla* or terrible character of the gambler is unfolded in the description given of him in the story. "He lost perpetually, and the others who were in the game used to give him every day a few hundred cowries. With those he bought wheat flour from the markets, and in the evening he made cakes by kneading them somewhere or other in a pot with water, and then he went and cooked them in the flame of a funeral pyre in the cemetery, and ate them in front of Mahâkâla, smearing them with the grease from the lamp burning before him ; and he always slept at night in the court of the same god's temple, pillowing his head on his arm." By a clever artifice he inveigled the Mothers and the Yakṣas and other divine beings in the temple of Mahâkâla into playing dice with him and compelled them to pay the money he won by stake. He even invited Mahâkâla himself to play at dice with him. But the god desisted. Somadeva makes the quaint observation : 'Even gods, you see, like feeble persons, are afraid of a thoroughly self-indulgent, ruffianly scoundrel, flushed with impunity."

That women also played at dice and could be "a terror of the gambling house" is suggested by the word *ṭeṇṭâ-karâla* in *Karpûra-mañjarî*. Vidûṣaka could not have addressed Vicakṣaṇâ, the female attendant of the queen, as *ṭeṇṭâ-karâla*, unless the dangerous character even of women at gambling were known to him. It might be a term of abuse, but then it had some foundation in fact. Râjaśekhara lived about 900 A.D. It appears, then, that women also played at dice and won and lost at gambling in the tenth century A.D.

[1] *H.O.S.*, Dr. Sten Konow's edition of *Karpûra-mañjarî*, p. 13, l. 18.

Indeed the participation of women in gambling points to an earlier date. Mehta writes: 'Gambling appears to have been in vogue during the Holi festival, as it is now in Northern India among the Hindus during the Dîvâli, for Dâmodar Gupta says that *it is only by the presence of the veil or otherwise that it is possible to distinguish good women from bad ones, who are engaged in the game of dice and use the language appropriate to the occasion*.'[2]

Thus, good and bad women—all—played at dice, and some of them at least seem to have been expert in the game, *as they used the language appropriate to the occasion*.

The information has been derived from the *Kuṭṭanâî-matam* by Dâmodar Gupta, the chief Minister of king Jayâpida of Kashmir, written about 755-766 A.D.

In the *Kathâsaritsâgara* we find that the Mothers, having been repeatedly defeated by *Thiṇṭhakarâla*, and not having found any way out of the scrape, were in very low spirits. Then the goddess Châmuṇḍâ said to them: "Whoever, when invited to gamble, says 'I sit out of the game,' cannot be forced to play: *this is the universal convention among gamblers*, ye Mother Deities. So when he invites you, you say this to him to baffle him."[3]

The deities thus baffled the gambler, who became depressed at finding himself checkmated by *a knowledge of the etiquette of play*. Then the gambler endeavours to appease Mahâkâla by addressing him thus: 'I adore thee that sittest naked with thy head resting on thy knee; thy moon, thy bull and thy elephant-skin having been won at play by Devi.'[4]

It is clear, therefore, that women were acquainted with the conventions and etiquette of gambling and played for stakes in the time of Somadeva certainly in, and possibly very much earlier than, the eleventh century A.D.

In the rock-cut sculptures at Ellora we find representations of Mahâdeva and Devi playing at *chausar* or *chaupar*. In the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, p. 523, Sloka 55 (N. M. Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, vol. VIII, p. 86), we read :—

Kṛḍantaṃ priyayâ sâkamakṣairakṣairicchayâ.

There appear also to be references in the old Bengali literature to women playing at dice.

MISCELLANEA.

WHO BUILT NEW RAJGIR ?

I. Did Bimbisâra build it ?

Bimbisâra had his capital in old Râjagṛha. It is related of Siddhârtha that he entered the town by the Tapoda gate and, after begging in the streets, went out again and sat down to take his meal at the foot of the Pâṇḍavapabbata. He was seen by Bimbisâra from the top of his palace when walking in the street. After attaining enlightenment under the *Bodhi* tree, he went to Benares, where he began preaching. From Benares he went to Uruvelâ, thence to Gayâ and subsequently to Laṭṭhivana (Jeṭhian) within the Râjagṛha area. Here he was met by Bimbisâra, who invited him to Râjagṛha. After receiving him in his palace at Râjagṛha, Bimbisâra made him a gift of a garden (Veluvana) outside the walls of the royal city. It is also known that Bimbisâra was confined in a jail or fort within the city, and that he could see the Buddha from his place of confinement. This may be one of the forts discovered by the late Mr. V. H. Jackson near the southern wall of the old city: the Gṛddhrakûṭa hill can be seen from that place.

All this points to the fact that Râja Bimbisâra lived and died within the old walled city. Neither in the Pâli scriptures nor in the annotations is there mention of two Râjagṛhas. The site on which New Râjagṛha was built is much higher than the hill-girt city, which lay in the valley to the south. It corresponds to the Sîtavana and Sappa-Saundikapabbhâra mentioned in the Buddhist sacred books.

II. Did Ajâtaśatru build New Râjgir? In the Sâmañña-phala Sutta it is mentioned that Ajâtaśatru went out of the city by the east gate to see the Buddha, who was living at the time in the Jîvakâmba-vana *vihâra*, which lay to the east of the city wall, near the south-east bend of the eastern hill on the way to the Gṛddhrakûṭa hill. There is a circumstantial description of the royal procession as it passed out of the city and wended its way towards Jîvaka's mango garden, a part of the road being dark on account of the thick growth of trees and the hill top intercepting the moonbeams. This would seem to indicate that Ajâtaśatru also lived in the royal city in the valley.

The only reference relied upon to support the contention that New Râjagṛha was built by Ajâtaśatru appears to be a statement in the Saṃyutta Nikâya to the effect that he repaired the fortifications

[2] *JBORS.*, vol. XIV, p. 358. Italics are mine.

[3] N. M. Penzer, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

of Râjagṛha as he apprehended an attack by an unfriendly power.

It is significant that excavations at New Râjgîr have hitherto not brought to light any relics older than the second century before Christ.

The Chinese pilgrims' accounts of New Râjagṛha are conflicting. According to Hiuen Tsiang it was built by Bimbisâra, whereas Fa-hian says that Ajâtaśatru built it. I think they were both mistaken in their theories.

REFERENCES.

Tatoham kalyameva sannidhâya pâtra-cîvaraṃ âdâya Taptoda-dvâreṇa Râjagṛhaṃ mahânagaraṃ piṇḍâya prabîkṣat. (*Lalita-vistara*, A.S.B. ed., p. 167.)

Translation :—Then I took my robe and begging bowl at an early hour and entered the great city of Râjagṛha in order to beg for food.

The footnote adds that there are two other readings of the word *Taptoda*, viz., *Tatapota* and *Tapota*. In the earlier Pâli version Tapoda is the name of a river which drains the Râjgîr valley and issues out of it at the north gate of the mountain city. The hot springs at the foot of the Vaibhâra hill flow into this river. There is also mention of Tapodârâma, a garden on the river. The Tapoda gate must thus have been the north gate, in the gap between the Vaibhâra and Vipula hills, where the high road from Bihâr now enters the valley. This road passes along the east of New Râjgîr, which is on high ground which was covered with dense woods in the time of the Buddha, and was used for disposing of dead bodies which could not be cremated.

In Beal's *Life of Hiuen Tsiang* (p. 118) the tradition is recorded that when fire destroyed the royal palace, in order to carry out himself the decree he had imposed upon others, Bimbisâra retired to live in the Sîtavana (Beal's "cold forest") and handed over the reins of government to the Prince royal.

In Legge's *Travels of Fa-hien* (p. 81) the tradition mentioned is that Ajâtaśatru built New Râjagṛha.

In the opening lines of the 10th Book of Aśvaghosa's *Buddha-carita* Siddhârtha is described as entering Râjagṛha, which was the abode of the goddess of wealth (Śrîmadgrhaṃ Râjagṛhaṃ) and was both protected and ornamented by hills and purified by the auspicious waters of the (?) hot springs (*tapodais*). Śrenya, or Bimbisâra, saw the crowd following Siddhârtha *from the outer apartments of his palace*. Aśvaghoṣa also mentions that the Śâkya prince went to the Pâṇḍavaparvata after collecting alms.

In the Vinaya Piṭaka (Oldenberg, p. 35) it is mentioned that the Buddha went towards Râjagrha and stopped at Suppatittha Cetiya in the garden of Laṭṭhivana, which is the modern Jeṭhian (Yaṣṭi. vana = Laṭṭhivana). Bimbisâra came out of his capital with a large retinue to receive him. Next day the Buddha went to the palace within the city and was entertained by the king, who made over to him a royal park with a residence for the Master and his disciples. This place became famous as Veluvana.

In Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the Dîghanikâya (Ceylon edition, Hewavitarane bequest, p. 96) it is stated that Bimbisâra was cast into *tapanaghara*, in order to starve him to death (*So pitaraṃ tâpanagehe pakkhipâpesi*).

In the Samañña-phala Sutta (Dîghanikâya, P.T.S. edition, p. 47) it is stated that Ajâtaśatru was sitting on the roof of his palace in Râjagṛha on a full moon night, but could not enjoy any pleasure as his mind was much troubled on account of having killed his father. In order to attain peace of mind he sought an interview with the Buddha, who was then staying in Jîvaka's mango grove. In order to reach the grove he went out of the walled city by the eastern gate. We are told in the commentary by Buddhaghoṣa (P.T.S. edn., p. 150) :—

So pâcîna dvâreṇa nikkhamitvâ pabbatacchâyaṃ pâvisi.

Translation.—Going out by the east gate he entered into the shade of the mountain.

In the Majjhima Nikâya, III, 7 (P.T.S.), this passage occurs :—*Ekaṃ samayaṃ Ânanda Râjagahe viharti Veluvane Kalandakanivâpe aciraparinibbute Bhagavati. Tena kho pana samayena râjâ Mâgadho Ajâtasattu Vedehiputto Râjagahaṃ patisankhârâpeti rañño Pajjotena âsamkamâno.* (Ajâtasatru repaired Râjagṛha as he apprehended an attack by king Pradyota. This was soon after the *parinirvâṇa* of the Buddha).

The following passage occurs in Pavajjasutta of the Suttanipâta :—*Agamâ Râjagahaṃ Buddho, Mâgadhanaṃ Giribhajaṃ* (The Buddha went to Râjagaha, which was the Giribhaja of the people of Magadha).

There were two Girivrajas in ancient India, one in the Panjâb (Kekaya *râjya*), and the other, the Girivraja of the people of Magadha. Girivraja literally means a cattle-pen or pasture enclosed by hills.

In Buddhaghoṣa's annotation (Paramattha-jotikâ) the following occurs (Colombo edition, H.B., p. 330) : —*Giribbajanti idampi tassa nâmaṃ, taṃ hi Pandava-Gijjhakuṭa-Vehara-Isigili-Vepulla-namakânaṃ pancannaṃ majjhe vajo via ṭhitam tasma Giribbajanti vuccati* (Giribbaja is also the name of the same town Râjagaha), and it is situated like a cattle-pen (or pasture) within the five hills, by name, Pandava, Gijjhakuṭa, Vehara, Isigili, Vepulla, and therefore it is called Giribbaja.

Girivraja is the "mountain city" of the Chinese travellers, and Râjagṛha the inner, walled town, where the king lived.

In A.S.R., 1905-06, p. 102, it is mentioned that the excavations at New Râjgîr did not bring to light anything earlier than the second century before Christ.

D. N. Sen.

A ST. THOMAS LEGEND.*

By T. K. Joseph, B.A., L.T.

An anonymous Portuguese MS. (Sloane MS. 2748-A, British Museum), by a Missionary, who, in or after A.D. 1676, was living at the Carmelite Church of Anjicaimal (*i.e.*, Ernakulam), says (folio 10r) that the very Hindus affirmed that there was an image of Our Lady in the pagoda called Tir Corunfa belonging to the king of Upper Cranganore. The Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J., suggests that the author of the MS. is Fr. Mathew of St. Joseph, who helped Van Rheede on his *Hortus Malabaricus*, Amsterdam, 12 vols., 1676-1693. The Missionary's Tir Corunfa is Tirukkurumpa (Sanskrit, Śrî Kurumba), *i.e.*, the goddess Kâlî (*a* long, *l* as in call) of Cranganore, in Cochin. We know that some of the early Portuguese went into a Hindu temple and worshipped the goddess there, mistaking her for St. Mary.

Vasco da Gama and his companions went to a Hindu temple in Calicut under the impression that it was a Christian Church, and as he knelt by the side of Gama, Joao de Sa remarked, "If these be devils, I worship the true God" (Castanheda: *Historia* Coimbra, 1552-4, p. 57). According to a journal of the first voyage of Vasco da Gama, 1497-99, "They threw holy water over us and gave us some white earth" (*bhasmam*, ashes), "which the Christians of this country are in the habit of putting on their foreheads, breasts, around the neck, and on the forearms. They threw holy water upon the captain-major" (Vasco da Gama), "and gave him some of the earth, which he gave in charge of someone, giving them" (the Hindus at the temple) "to understand that he would put it on later", (*Roteiro*, 1898, p. 54). Vasco da Gama may be regarded as a real *Dhariya* (*i.e.*, non-wearing) Christian inasmuch as he did not put on the holy ashes of the sixteenth century Manikka Vachakar of Calicut.

A palm-leaf MS. in Malayalam, about 150 years old, has the following legend connecting St. Thomas the Apostle and the goddess Kâlî of Cranganore.

[TRANSLATION.]

It is said that St. Thomas the Apostle did not come to the Malayalam country, that he came only to Nagapattanam (Nagapatam), and that some who believed after his preaching there came to the Malayalam country and propagated The Way (Christianity). Contrary to that I believe for certain that the Apostle himself came (to Malabar), preached and baptized. For I give one evidence. When the Apostle came as far as Cranganore, a Pulaya (low caste) woman decked in many gold ornaments came there in front of him with beguiling words, after the manner of women, in order to hinder the Apostle's journey. He got angry and cursed this woman, and by his power commanded, "sit down, Kurumpa". So in consequence of that curse she was turned into a stone image. That image is to this day placed in the Cranganore temple.

If the words which the Malayalis (*i.e.*, Nairs) say about this matter are taken into consideration (those words) will turn out to be an evidence. That is, they say that the Cranganore territory was in olden times a heath, that it lay uninhabited, and that there was a path through it. Before people inhabited it a *paradesi* (foreigner) came there and along with him came also Kurumpa their goddess. (They say also) that he went away after setting her up where the temple now stands; and commanding, "This is the house I have built for you."

After this spectacle the Apostle returned hither. Thereupon at sunset a Nair passing that way with an umbrella and seeing a woman sitting there, made advances and went to her. She then requested him to get a house built for her by himself. So he tried to take her to his house, but she did not agree. He therefore went away after giving her the umbrella that was in his hand so that the dew may not affect her. He came the next morning, caused the necessary things to be brought, built a house and gave it to her. He then asked her who she was and where she came from. "You will soon have occasion to know that," she replied, but did not say definitely who she was and how she had come here. Still this Nair lusted after her on account of her beauty, and without departing from there lived with her many days, thinking of consorting with her. This Nair was surprised because all those days she did neither eat nor drink, and he began to make it public. Consequently several people came and crowded every day to see her. While all stood gazing she turned into a stone image. Then one of those assembled began to dance and said, "I started from Ayodhya, and am come to save the people living in the Malayalam country from the troubles falling upon them". "Will you not receive me?", she asked. Then all together agreed to receive her as their protectress, and made a temple (for her) there. To this day they have been worshipping her.

And this Nair who gave the umbrella finally became the ruler of Cranganore. He is usually called the Nair of Kotakkad (*i.e.*, umbrella forest). After the lapse of many years in this manner he died without a successor. Then the *Swarupam* (dynasty) of Padinjattedom sprung from the *Swarupam* of Ayirur was given that kingdom. So to this day a man has to go there (to the temple) as the Nair of Kotakkad with a long-handled umbrella held over him (by another) when the festival of the pagans is celebrated at the Cranganore temple.

Although the words of these infidels (Hindus) are false, we can lay them all aside and conclude by means of our (not including the readers) reason and the knowledge we have, that as the Nasrânîs (Syrian Christians of Malabar) say St. Thomas the Apostle came to the Malayalam country, preached, built churches, and wrought many miracles for making The Way known.

Considering this (one can see that) it is by the power of miracles that the Christian religion (Christianity) came into being (in Malabar). Therefore it must be believed as certain that just as Our Lord

* Reprinted from the *Malabar Herald* dated 15th September 1928.

Jesus the Messiah propagated *Margam* (The Way) by working many signs and wonders, He gave that power to His disciples also and they preached in all the world. [Here ends the translation.]

We do not know who the author of this lucubration is, neither do we dare to say how far the St. Thomas-Kurumpa legend can be taken as evidence for the South Indian apostolate of St. Thomas. The language of the original is modern, say of the eighteenth century. I leave it to Fr. Hosten to declare whether this legend has any evidentiary value.

As for the immigration of Christians to Malabar from the East Coast, the following extract from Van Rheede's *Memorandum* of 1677 A.D. will be read with interest.

[P. 33] "Three kinds of Christians are found in Malabar, namely, the St. Thomas Christians, the indigenous Christians, and the Toeppasse (Thuppayi) Christians."

"The St. Thomas Christians are not Mallabaars by descent" (the vast majority are descended from indigenous Sudras or Nampuris), "but a people, who being persecuted by the heathens for the profession of the Christian faith, to which they were converted by the holy Apostle Thomas, came down from the lands of Carnatica or the coast of Chormandel and who settled down among the people of this country (Malabar). This people banished from their fatherland for this praiseworthy reason, have gradually become a great race and multitude, consisting of more than fourteen hundred villages and one hundred and fifty churches; for many years they had as their spiritual head the Patriarch of Jerusalem;"——(Translation from the original Dutch kindly supplied on 21st August, 1928, by the Rev. Fr. H. Hosten, S.J.

BOOK-NOTICES.

COW PROTECTION IN INDIA, by L. L. SUNDARA RAM, M.A., 8½"×5¼"; pp. viii, 202. Madras, 1927.

The author deals with this difficult subject from the religious, social, humanitarian and economic points of view, treating it as of concern to India as a whole, rather than as a purely Hindu problem He aims at presenting a fair statement of the history of the subject, starting from the earliest times, when, as we know from Vedic and post-Vedic literature, the killing of oxen for purposes of both sacrifice and food was common. How a remarkable change took place thereafter and the bull and cow acquired a special religious sanctity in India is a matter of far-reaching interest. In discussing causes that may have led to this change Mr. Sundara Ram does not refer to the possibility that we have here the influence of a pre-Aryan culture in the land. He cites the attitude towards the bull of the ancient Egyptians and of Zoroastrianism, and rightly lays stress upon the effect of Jaina and Buddhist teaching. He further reviews the policy of great rulers, such as Aśoka, Harṣavardhana, Babur and Akbar and others, from remote times to the present day. In a chapter on the "Muslim Outlook" he deals at some length with the references to animal slaughter in Islamic teaching, and he comes to the conclusion that the slaughter of cows for sacrificial purposes is only a later development of Islamic ritual and usage coming into prominence during the period of the Muslim conquest of India. Mr. Sundara Ram hopes that a frank and full statement of the case in its various aspects from the Hindu point of view will enable the Muhammadans better to understand their position, and will help to compose the present antagonism. The subject is one that calls for cautious and delicate handling.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

DJAWA, 8e Jaargang, Nos. 3-8, 1928.

Numbers 3 to 6 (May to November, 1928) of the 8th volume of *Djawa*, the periodical published by the Java Institute, are issued as one and contain an illustrated article on "Music among the Madura Islanders" of 290 pp. by J. S. and A. Brandts Buys-van Zijp. It gives a very full and detailed account of the bands, instruments and music of Madura.

M. J. B.

NOTES AND QUERIES.

ANUSAMYĀNA.

The *Girnar* and the Kalinga Edicts contain the term *Anusaṃyāna*. This is a difficult term and the difficulty has been intensified by the fact that up to time, this word has not been found in many places (*vide* The Pali Text Society's *Pali English Dictionary*, p. 43). At one time, the word was translated into "assembly" and on another occasion as "circuit." A new explanation has been suggested by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*.[1]

He asks: "Would the whole body of the High Ministers, who as at Taxila and at Ujjain were charged with the government of the Presidency or Viceroyalty 'go out' or 'be turned out' together for the purpose of going on an official tour?" And he goes on to observe, that "the result would be that the capital would be without a single minister during the alleged tour'." This interpretation was accepted by the late Dr. V. A. Smith who observes [2]:—

"He is probably correct in referring to the *Śukranīti* and interpreting the term as signifying

1 IV. 36.

2 *Aśoka*, p. 164.

a regular system of transfer from one station or district to another, designed to prevent the abuses apt to arise when officials remain too long in a particular locality." There are certain aspects of the question which have to be discussed before the proposed interpretation can be accepted as final.

The first thing we have to note is how far the *Śukranîti* is to be considered as an authority. It is a very late work, which I would hesitate very much to depend on. Secondly, there is no mention of cabinet ministers in the passage of the *Śukranîti* referred to by Mr. Jayaswal.[3]

"The *Śukranîti* provides for the transfer of cabinet ministers with their two under-secretaries every three, five, seven or ten years." The passage as translated by Prof. B. K. Sarkar[4] is as follows: "He should always appoint three men for each department, the wisest of them all at the head and the two others as overseers, for three, five, seven or ten years, and having noticed each officer's qualifications for the work entrusted, he should never give office for ever to anybody and everybody. He should appoint men to offices after examining the fitness of the persons for them. For who does not get intoxicated by drinking of the vanity of offices ?"[5]

As this translation does not appear to be very literal, I venture to translate it as follows: "There should be one chief officer, under whom there will be two overseers of that department. The transfer is to be made after 3, 5, 7 or 10 years. His (*i.e.*, the officer's) work and cleverness in doing it have to be considered in transferring him. Seeing that he is fit for that post, he is to be appointed to that post, for every man gets intoxicated by enjoying a post for a long time. For that purpose he is to be appointed to some other post, provided that he is fit for it."[6]

Mr. Jayaswal assumes that "a defined period of office was regarded as a salutary provision as reminding the Ministers of their limited sojourn and making them mindful of their responsibility."[7]

May I submit my reason for not accepting his view ?

First, I beg to refer to the *Śukranîti* itself, where the king is advised to appoint his chief advisers to each post by rotation.[8]

There does not seem to be any question of *going out.* And the reason is explained in the next *śloka,* which says that "the king should not make his officers more powerful than himself."

There is another reason—a very strong one, and this we can trace in the Edicts themselves. In the very Edict where the term occurs, we are told that the officers were to proceed for their other business, this being their lay business which had to be included with the special purpose, *i.e.*, the inculcation of the Law of Piety. The Provincials' Edict also lays down that "in accordance with the Law of Piety, I shall send forth *in rotation*[9] every five years such persons as are of mild and temperate disposition and regardful of the sanctity of life, who knowing this my purpose will comply with my instruction." And it continues, "when the high officers aforesaid . . . . . . proceed on transfer in rotation, then without neglecting their own (ordinary) business, they will carry out the king's instruction." And when we consider in this connection that the great king Aśoka himself had tours of piety, when he visited ascetics and Brâhmaṇas, with[10] liberality to them, visited elders with largess of gold, visited the people of the country with instructions in the Law of Piety and discussion of that Law, we can safely say that his subordinates also, from the *Râjukas* downwards, had to perform these tours of piety. Taxila and Ujjain were very far off from the capital, and hence the tours of piety to these two places were to be undertaken after 3 years, *i.e.*, shorter periods[11] had to be observed, in view of the longer distance from the capital.

J. N. SAMADDAR.[12]

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3 *JBORS.*, vol. IV, pt. i (p. 37).

4 *The Sacred Books of the Hindus* series.

5 Prof. Sarkar adds the following note—"Here are rules for the management of each *Adhikâra* or jurisdiction, *i.e.*, department. *Darśaka*-inspectors, overseers. *Hâyana*-year. The term of office or tenure of appointment is for 3, 5, 7, or 10 years according to *Kâryakauśalya, i.e.*, qualification. *Śukrâchârya* warns the king against bestowal of permanent offices. Appointment to posts should be according to time, during good behaviour. If the pride of position bewilders the officer, and he proves unworthy of the responsibility, he should be dismissed. Work is the sole test and recommendation for office."

6 I am indebted to Prof. S. N. Majumdar for helping me to translate it.

7 *JBORS.*, IV, 39.

8 II, 107 and 108, *paribardha.*

9 These very terms have been used in the *Śukranîti.*

10 1 (Rock Edict VIII).

11 Mr. V. A. Smith observes: "We cannot explain with certainty why it was thought necessary to transfer the officials in the outlying provinces every three years." *Aśoka,* p. 197. I venture to submit the above explanation.

12 This note, written by the late Professor J. N. Samaddar about four years ago would appear to have been mislaid in the press.—JOINT-EDITOR.

SOME CORRECTIONS TO " A VERSION OF HIR AND RANJHA."

[AS TRANSLATED BY MR. H. A. ROSE, I.C.S. (*Retired*).]

BY C. R. SINGHAL, PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM, BOMBAY.

Introduction.

IT was in the year 1925 that my attention was first drawn to the article entitled " A Version of Hir and Ranjha," by Mr. H. A. Rose, I.C.S. (*Retd.*), published in the issues of the *Indian Antiquary* for the months of September and November 1925. As I could not get the original text of the compiler Âsâ Singh and as the Editors of the *Indian Antiquary* could not find space to print a complete translation that was prepared by me in 1926, to secure continuity of style and treatment and to present the whole translation as a single readable unit, I have set out below those lines only in respect of which I consider that corrections should be made in the version published, with Mr. Rose's translation and my emendation placed in juxtaposition.

The text printed below is that used by Mr. Rose in his article referred to above.

Text (Stanza and Line).

Alif (1).

1. Âke[1] Rabb nûn yâd kar'ye ;
3. Mere andaroṅ uṭhyâ Châr-yâron[2] :—
4. " Kissa[3] Hîr te Rânjhâ joṛiye, jî,
5. Wâris Shâh dâ hai bâyân jehṛâ.
6. Phog-satte[4] 'atar na[5] choṛiye, jî,
7. Âsâ, [6]Singhanâṅ[7] hâl kuchh gum howe,
8. Âpo-âp matlab sârâ phoriye, jî."

Rose's version.	*Singhal's version.*
1. Come and celebrate the praises of the Lord,	1. Come and let us remember God,
3. Within me have arisen the Four Friends (saying):—	3. O Friends, an idea sprung from my heart,
4. "Construct the tale of Hîr and Rânjhâ	4. Of singing the tale of Hîr and Rânjhâ.
5. As Wâris Shah has told it.	5. Of what Wâris Shâh has told,
6. Do not leave out the sprinkling of the scents :	6. Let us take the kernel and leave the husks.
7. And if any point is missed by Âsâ Singh	7. Âsâ Singh will let no incident remain untold.
8. Disclose the meaning of it thyself."	8. (For) we (ourselves) will unfold the full meaning (thereof).

Alif (2).

4. Bete aṭh, jainde wâkif kâr lokoṅ.
8. Bhâî nâl Rânjhâ karan khâr lokoṅ.

4. And had eight sons of whom we know.	4. And had eight sons trained in their work.
8. There was disagreement between Rânjhâ and his brethren.	8. Brothers were feeling jealous of Rânjhâ.

Be.

1. Bo'iyân mârdî Rânjhaneṅ nûṅ
2. Sat bhâî jehṛe usde han. Miân :

1 Read *Â keh.* 2 Read *yâro.* 3 Read *Qissa.* 4 Read *sattie.*

5 *Nachoriye* is one word, therefore *na* should not be separated.

6 *Singha* should be joined to *Âsâ*, being part of the name, without the intervention of a comma.

7 *Nâṅ* is a separate word, and should not be joined to *Singha*.

1

3. Ghar jâwe te bâviân[8] lânt[9] 'âne.[10]
4. Nâl tuhmatâṅ de qadhan jân, Miân :—
5. " Nadhî Hîr Syâl dî paran leâwen,
6. Tadân jânî[11] taiṅ-nuṅ jawân, Miâṅ."

1. With (vile) words to Rânjhâ
2. His seven brothers abused him.
3. They turned him out of the house with scorn and curses,
4. On hearing these words from a traveller :—
5. " Go and get the troth pledge of Hîr the Syâl.
6. She is fit lover for a youth like you."

1. They were taunting Rânjhâ,
2. Seven brothers which he had.
3. If he goes home he meets with taunts from his *bhâbîân* (brothers' wives),
4. Who were worrying his life with false allegations.
5. " Should you win the hand of Hîr, the Syâl girl,
6. Then we will concede you to be a brave man."

Te.

3. Châî vanjlî, khûndî te nâl bhûrâ,

3. He took his flute brown with use,

3. He took his flute, stick and blanket,

Se.

6. Hathûṅ saknâ be rozgâr, Miâṅ.
8. Kehṛî karegâ agâṅ kaltâr, Miâṅ.

6. Without a livelihood save by my hands, Sir,
8. What commands the Creator will give.

6. Empty-handed and without any sources of livelihood.
8. What God will do next.

Jîm.

2. Rânjhâ howe khalâ hariân[12] jehâ.

2. Rânjhâ was left alone and perplexed.

2. Rânjhâ, being perplexed, stood there.

Chim.[13]

4. Girdî baiṭh bharîndîâṅ muṭhienî.

4. And they sat down and began to pound grain.

4. And sat around and began to shampoo him.

He.

4. Qisse [14] Bhâgbhârî [15] koloṅ dasiyâe.

4. Whose tale is told with that of Bhâgbhârî.

4. Some good-natured girl from near by replied :—

Khe.

4. Rawâṅ nadî teṅ sâyaṅ de nâl hûî
5. Pahle mâr muhâne nûṅ chûr kîtâ :

4. Coming to the river with her companion,
5. First she began to scold the boatman :

4. And started from the stream with her companions,
5. First she beat the boatman very severely.

Dâl.

2. Âp us-dî Hîr tamâm hûî :
3. Rânjhe âkhiâ : " peâ-he palang Hîre ?"

[8] Read *bhâbiân.*
[9] Read *lan :* the *t* should be separated from this word and joined to that following.
[10] Read *t'ane.*
[11] Read *jânie. Jâni* is incorrect.
[12] Read *hairân.*
[13] Read *Che.*
[14] Read *kise.*
[15] For *Bhâgbhârî*, **read** *bhâgbhârî.*

7. Singhâ ! Hîr Ranjhete nûṅ kah-chuki :
8. Sane khesh kabîle [16] ghulâm hûî.

2. It was all over with Hîr.
3. Rânjhâ said : " Am I lying on Hîr's bed ? "
7. [Says] Âsâ Singh ! Hîr finished speaking to Ranjhetâ.
8. The message of love had enslaved her.

2. Hîr became wholly his.
3. Rânjhâ said : " Here is lying your bed, O Hîr".
7. O Singhâ ! Hîr gave words to Rânjhâ :—
8. " I and my relatives have become your slaves."

Zâl.

3. Jadân 'ishq de mu' âmila[17] sire âsan,
4. Jadân[18] prit na sagegi[19] pâl, Hîre.
7. Rânjhâ kahiâ je[20] :—" ṭhag-ke mârnâî."
8. Tạdâṅ hunî chhaḍ khiyâl Hîre.

3. When an affair of passion possesses one,
4. Then, Hîr, love cannot be endured.
7. Rânjhâ spoke :—" I shall die from the deceit."
8. Then he immediately ceased to regard Hîr.

3. When affairs of love will come to a head.
4. Then you may not be able to retain love (of me).
7. Rânjhâ said :—" If you want to kill me by deceiving,
8. Then, O Hîr, leave the idea of love immediately."

Re.

1. " Ranjhiâ tud-dî ho-chukî.
3. Kasam[21] Pîr faqîr dî khâ kîte[22]
4. Dil joṛ lîtâ Jaṭṭ nâl Jaṭṭî."

1. " Rânjhâ, your affair is finished.
3. Who has taken an oath on his Pîr
4. That a Jaṭṭ must be united to a Jaṭṭi."

1. (Hîr said) " Rânjhâ, I have become yours.
3. By my Pîr, the saint, I swear
4. I have surrendered this Jaṭṭî's heart to be united with thine, a Jaṭṭ's.

Ze.

4. Jehṛe[23] nit paunde dineṅ rât, Miâṅ."

4. He will always be there day and night.

4. Because there had been always quarrels, day and night.

Sîn.

6. Ralâ-kare kise de nâl, Rânjhâ.
7. Âsâ Singhâ ! Majhîn bele le-varyâ.

6. Let them not get mixed up with any others, Rânjhâ,
7. [Says] Âsâ Singh : Rânjhâ drove out the buffaloes.

6. Rânjhâ, you should join there with some companions.
7. Âsâ Singh, Rânjhâ entered the pasturage with the buffaloes.

Shîn.

5. Chûri[24] Hîr thîṅ leke nazar dhardâ.
6. Nâle majh bhûrî [25] sandâ shîr. Miâṅ.

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16 Read *Qabîle.* 17 Read *mu'âmile.* 18 Read *tadân.* 19 Read *sakengî.*

20 *Je* should go with the next word, *thag.* 21 Read *qasam.* 22 Read *kete.*

23 Read *jhere.* In the absence of a herdsman, the buffaloes of Manju used to stray into the fields of other farmers, and thus quarrels had constantly arisen In order to put a stop to this, Hîr cleverly suggested to her father that he should engage Rânjhâ, who was her lover, as herdsman to look after their buffaloes.

24 *Chûrî,* which is prepared by mixing completely *ghi* and sugar with bread, is the favourite food of the Panjâbis in general, but of the farmers in particular.

25 The milk of a *bhûrî* (grey) buffalo is regarded as a healthy and delicious drink by the Indians.

5. As he received his food from Hîr,	5. Having received his *chûrî* from Hîr, he offered (to Panj-Pîr).
6. Among the grey buffaloes.	6. And also the milk of a grey buffalo.

Swâd.

3. Chanâ rakh Ranjhete de pâs Jaṭṭi.
4. Nadîoṅ len-gâî ṭhandâ nîr haisî :
5. Pichhon Rânjhne-thuṅ chûri mang lîtî.
6. Kaido banke âyâ faqîr haisî.
7. Âî Hîr Rânjhâ kîtî galh, Singhâ !
8. Kaido magar bhannî Jaṭṭî Hîr haisî.

3. And left it with Rânjhâ.	3. After keeping the pot containing *chûrî* near Rânjhâ.
4. He took some cold water from the river,	4. She went to the stream to fetch some cold water.
5. And then went to Rânjhâ and asked for some food.	5. In her absence, Rânjhâ was asked for *chûrî* by Kaido,
6. Kaido came disguised as a beggar	6. Who had come disguised as a beggar.
7. Hîr came and talked to Rânjhâ, [says Âsâ] Singh.	7. Singhâ, when Hîr returned, Rânjhâ talked to her about this incident.
8. And behind Hîr, the Jaṭṭi, came Kaido.	8. Then Hîr, the Jaṭṭî, ran after Kaido.

Zwâd.

7. Singhâ ! Châr mahîṅ Rânjhâ shahr âyâ.

7. . . . . driving the buffaloes.	7. . . . . after grazing the buffaloes,

Toe.

3. Baiṭh Hîr de viâh dî gal karde.
4. Nâle sochde mand-theṅ chang, lokoṅ.

3. He set to work to make a marriage for Hîr,	3. They sat together and considered about the marriage of Hîr.
4. Much he thought in sadness, good people !	4. And were thinking over the good and bad aspects of the matter.

Zoe.

1. Ẓulm kitâ bâp Hîr de ne
3. Rattî vas nachale[26] Ranjhetre dâ ;
7. Mahîṅ[27] wâste Chûchake minnat kîtî :

1. With great harshness Hîr's father	1. The father of Hîr committed an act of compulsion.
3. Rânjhâ's blood would not flow in his veins :	3. Rânjhâ was unable to do any thing.
7. She begged Chûchak for a month's grace.	7. Chûchak begged of her (to stay there) for one month.

'Ain.

2. Rahûṅ khâ ghussa âyâ chal pichhâṅ.
5. Jaṭṭî Hîr dâlgîr jâṅ zikr sunyâ :—
6. " Rânjhâ ândâ ândâ giyâ val pichhâṅ."
7. Singhâ ! Hîr likhyâ : —" Jogî bane âweṅ."

[26] *Na*, being a separate word, should not be joined to *chal*.

[27] Read *mahîne*. In India newly married girls are usually brought once or twice, to their parents' home from their husband's protection after short periods of stay there, till they feel quite at ease in their new home. Similarly Chûchak requested her daughter, Hîr, to stay for one month only.

2. Followed after in a passionate rage.	2. Returned in a rage from the road.
5. Hîr, the Jaṭṭî, heard of his distress :—	5. When the sad Hîr, the Jaṭṭî, heard of this news.
6. "Rânjhâ is coming after us."	6. That Rânjhâ who was following her for a time, returned (disappointed).
7. . . . . "Pretend to be a *jogî.*"	7. . . . . "Come, after becoming a Jogî."

Ghain.

1. Gham-hatyâ jadoṅ khatt milyâ.
2. Jogî bannan dî kare tatbîr Rânjhâ.
4. Aukhe jhâg bele jangal chîr Rânjhâ.
5. Nâth dâr-ma-dâr tâṅ bahut kîtâ,
6. Aipar pakkâ hoyâ dâmangîr Rânjhâ.

1. When Rânjhâ grief-harassed received the letter,	1. When Rânjhâ received the letter, his grief disappeared.
2. He arranged to disguise himself as a *jogî*,	2. He was planning to become a *yogî*.
4. With great trouble he cut through the jungle,	4. After cutting through the impenetrable jungle and forest,
5. [Gorakh] nâth then made a thorough arrangement for him.	5. The Nâth tried his best (to keep him from becoming a Jogî),
6. And Rânjhâ became his true devotee.	6. But Rânjhâ was persistent to become one.

Kâf (1).

2. Aiṅyâṅ khuh heteṅ shahr jo vasdîanî.
4. Mâr sainîâṅ sârîâṅ hasdîanî.

2. They dwelt by the well below the village :	2. The village girls came to the well.
4. All the girls laughed at him.	4. All the girls were laughing and exchanging signs.

Kâf (2).

3. Ḍarî Jaṭṭ dî gâṅ theṅ dudh dulyâ.
4. Jaṭṭî kharik[28] larî nâl jheṛiyâṅ de :—
5. "Nâṅ Khair dâ," ten ḍhunḍe Hîr taiṅ,
7. Singhâ ! Rânjhe ne vanj bandâr[29] vichoṅ,
8. Kaḍhyâ Sahtî nuṅ nâl bakheṛiyâṅ de.

3. And milked the cow of Ḍarî, the Jaṭṭ	3. The cow of the Jaṭṭ was frightened and the milk was spilt.
4. The Jaṭṭî (his wife) drove him out with abuse.	4. And the Jaṭṭî fought furiously (with Rânjhâ)
5. [Saying] : "In the name of God," he searched for Hîr,	5. "Under the pretence of begging," you are searching for Hîr,
7. [Says Âsâ] Singh : Rânjhâ by a trick	7. Singhâ! Rânjhâ went into the *bhanḍâr*,
8. Got Sahtî to come out of the yard.	8. And drove Sahtî (from there) by quarrelling with her.

Gâf.

4. Nâl Sahtî de morchâ lâ-khalâ.
5. (Sahtî muthâ[30] chinâ, Rânjhâ lave nahin).

[28] Read *kharke*.
[29] Read *bhanḍâr*. This is a name given to a party of young girls at their spinning wheels.
[30] Read *muth*.

7. Singhâ ! Sahtî theṅ golî di[31] nishâ[32] kîtâ.
8. Âp moliyâṅ dî mâr khâ-khalâ :

4. And while he stood wrangling with Sahtî
5. (For Sahtî was pounding *chîna*. Rânjhâ did not take it),
7. [Says Âsâ] Singh : He gave Sahti a stupefying drug in a pill
8. And she herself pounded it with the pestle and ate it.

4. And picked up a quarrel with Sahtî.
5. Sahtî offered *chînâ*, but Rânjhâ did not accept it.
7. Singhâ ! He made Sahtî the target of his attacks (*i.e.*, he fought very furiously).
8. And he himself was beaten with a pestle by her.

Lâm (1).

2. Baiṭh puchhdî, vâng nimâṇîyâṅ de :—
6. Mel hoenî dard Rânjhâniyâṅ[33] de.
7. Singhâ ! Milke Hîr jân ghareṅ âî :
8. Sahtî jân kaḍhe nâl ta 'aniyâṅ de.

2. And sitting down, as it were asked his news :—
6. And there they met, and Rânjhâ's grief left him.
7. [Says Âsâ] Singh : Then Hîr came back to the house,
8. And Sahtî drove her out with her scorn.

2. She sat down and talked like an afflicted person.
6. The grieved lovers met each other.
7. Singhâ ! when Hîr returned to the house after meeting Rânjhâ,
8. Sahtî worried her life with expressions of scorn.

Mîm.

1. Mihr setîṅ Hîr sang Sahtî :
4. Sahtî yâr de milan dî châh kardî.
6. Sahtî mâ age gal jâ kardî.

1. Sahtî and Hîr had been friends
4. For Sahtî had a lover to meet.
6. So (Rânjhâ) said to Sahtî :

1. Hîr out of love for Sahtî,
4. For Sahtî was also anxious to meet her lover.
6. Sahtî went and talked to her mother.

Nûn.

2. Sahtî âkhdî : "Phâh[34] kahâ,[35] sâîṅ :
7. Singhâ ! Saide de kahe na mûl âyâ,
8. Ajjû leaundâ Pîr manâ, sâîṅ.

2. "Set a snare, my lord,
7. . . . . At Saidâ's word he would not come at all.
8. Ajjû sent and brought the saint.

2. Sahtî said : Arrange for the treatment, my lord.
7. . . . . At Saidâ's request he did not come at all,
8. Ajjû went and . . . .

Vâw.

2. Kahndâ : "Karâṅ changî mantr mâr jab de[36]".
3. Sahtî Hîr faqîr nuṅ laî khere :
4. Koṭhî vich pâwan bahar vâr jab de
6. âpo-âp le turenî yâr jab de.
7. Singhâ ! Khabar hoî dinî Kheriyâṅ nuṅ
8. Mile jâh Murâd sawâr jab de.

[31] Read *da*. [32] Read *nishân*.
[33] Read *ranjanian*. This word is derived from *ranj* meaning grief.
[34] Read *pah*. [35] Read *kara*. [36] Read *jhabde*.

2. Said :—"I will recite an excellent charm for a snake at once."
3. Sahti and Hîr brought him to the *kheṛâ* ;
4. But just as [Rânjhâ] was entering the house
6. And himself took the lover away.
7. Says Âsâ Singhâ : "In the morning the Kherîs had the news
8. That Murâd, the horseman, had met him [Rânjhâ]."

2. Said :—"I will soon recite the charm and make her all right."
3. The Kheṛa took Sahti, Hîr and the *Yogî*
4. And lodged them in a house in the compound.
6. Each one of them took their lover and started hastily.
7. Singhâ, the Kheṛe came to know of this incident in the morning.
8. They started at once and met Murâd, the horseman.

He.

1. Hâr sawâr Murâd koloṅ.

1. By violence the horseman with Murâd,

1. Being defeated by Murâd, the horseman,

Lâm (2).

1. Lâ jehṛâ[37] legiyâ Hîr Kheṛâ,
2. Nâl khushî de watan-nuṅ phir chaṛiâ.
3. Rânjhe Hîr bad-du'â dittî ;
6. Khushî jâûndâ Khere-nûṅ phir phaṛiâ.

1. When the Kherîs took Hîr away
2. With joy to their own country.
3. Rânjhâ and Hîr cursed them
6. And gladly went and seized Kherâ again.

1. After fighting out the case, the Kheṛe took Hîr away,
2. And then started with joy to his country.
3. Rânjhâ and Hîr both cursed ('Adali),
6. The Kheṛa who was going gladly, was arrested again.

Alif (3).

2. "Leâwî Rânjhiâ janjh[38] banâ-karke."
6. Hîr mârie zahr khawâ-karke.

2. "Let Rânjhâ bring the marriage procession."
6. And killed Hîr by giving her poison.

2. "Rânjhâ, you should go and bring the marriage procession."
6. To kill Hîr by poisoning her.

Ye.

2. Kîtâ Rânjhe val kâshid[39] taiyâr jab de.

2. And again sent a message to Rânjhâ.

2. And sent a messenger to Rânjhâ very soon.

Alif (4).

7. Howe harf kam-besh. ta[40] mu'âf karnâṅ

7. If there is a letter too much or too little. forgive it,

7. If there is any mistake. then forgive me.

[37] Read *jheṛa*. [38] Read *janj*. [39] Read *qâṣid*. [40] Read *tâṅ*.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRESIDENCY OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

BY C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

FOR long the English system of administration, in the early days when their Indian settlements had not attained to anything like great strength, was a haphazard growth. As Kaye well remarks :[1] "We traded, we conquered, we governed. It was long before this matter of government came palpably before us. At first all that we had to do was to govern ourselves and this we did in a very loose manner—rather according to laws of power and impulses of passion than to principles of justice and reason."

The Company's factors were subject of course to the orders of their own immediate chiefs. Surat, the earliest English factory in the country, was controlled by the Council of the factors but often the General or Commander of the Fleet had a regulating power. The factors complained that he regulated their promotion and precedence, that consultations were often held on board the ships in the roads, that the Chief of the factory signed his name after that of the chief naval officer, and that the captains of the ships sat often in their councils and interfered in their affairs.[2] With regard to the factors' relations with Indians, their disputes had to be adjusted by the tribunals of the Native powers—as instanced by the terms of Captain Best's treaty with the Mughal Viceroy of Gujarât that "in all questions, wrongs and injuries that shall be offered to us and to our nation we do receive from the judges and those that be in authority speedy justice, according to the quality of our complaints and wrongs done us, and that by delays we be not put off or wearied by time or charge." As among themselves, that is among the English residents, justice was administered in criminal cases by virtue of a King's Commission under the Great Seal which empowered the Commissioners to punish and execute offenders by martial law—this is illustrated by a Surat record of 1616 describing the criminal proceedings which condemned a murderer to death.[3] In civil cases the President or the chief of the factory had absolute powers.

All the establishments on the Western Coast and in the interior were first subordinate to Surat : while those on the Coromandel Coast, including Madras also for some years, were subject to the factory at Bantam. Each Presidency came to be under a President and Council : and in course of time the control of the naval authorities was shaken off. The authority of the President became supreme . the Council came to possess definite functions, and by the close of the 17th century there had grown up the nucleus of the body, that is now known as the Indian Civil Service, with the gradations of writers, factors, merchants, and senior merchants.[4]

The names of the Company's servants had to be enrolled in a regular seniority list ; they could be transferred from one Presidency to another , and on occasions of emergency or when there was strife in any agency (so the subordinate factory was called) the Directors sent out one of their own number or a relative of one of their chief members to improve the affairs.

1 *The Administration of the East India Company* (1853), p. 54.

2 Thus Kaye quotes from the *MS. India House Records* that Joseph Salbank, one of the oldest of the Surat factors, wrote home in 1617 complaining that "your proud captain Keeling towards whom I have ever carried myself genteelly, or rather more humbly than I ought to have done, should offer me that indignity as to place me under punies and younglings to whom for my years' sake I might be esteemed grandfather, yea this he did though he never saw them to whom he gave precedence above me."

3 The condemnation of Gregory Lellington to death for the offence of manslaughter by a Surat Consultation of February, 1616, preserved in the MS Records of the India Office, being, according to Kaye, "the earliest account of our judicial proceedings in India."

4 The Court Letters of the Company say thus :—"For the advancement of our apprentices we direct, that after they have served the first five years, they shall have £10 per annum for the last two years : and having served those two years, to be entertained one year longer as writers and have writer's salary, and having served that year to enter into the degree of factors, which otherwise would have been ten years. And knowing that a distinction of titles is in many respects necessary, we do order that when the apprentices have served their terms they be styled writers, when the writers have served their terms they be styled factors, and factors having served their terms to be styled as merchants." (P. from England, vol. I : 24th December, 1675, and *The Madras Manual of Administration* (1884, vol I, pp. 166-167).

It was also their custom to cut down the pay of their servants when trade was slack. The Directors kept a paternal eye on their servants in India and sent out to them chaplains and books on theology. The chaplains often proved as keen traders as the factors themselves. "though they did not always command the respect of their little flocks." Pietro della Valle, visiting Surat in 1623. gives a good picture of the life of the factory; while Mandelslo, coming fifteen years later, describes in praiseful terms the life of the factory community—" the strict order observed. the deference to the President, the collegiate life of the factory, the Common Table, with the Chaplain to say grace, above all the divine service held daily and on Sundays three times "—all of which made a profound impression on him.[5]

Usually the factors got lodgings and free board at the common table. The diet and sumptuary allowances to the President often far exceeded his salary; the three senior merchants next to the Governor, who constituted the Council, might live outside the factory, and got house and table allowances of their own. The servants of the Company followed from the beginning the Portuguese practice of private trade; and the Company itself supplemented their wages by granting them an interest in the trade, and in certain cases a share in the profits; and it always protested "not against private trading, but against excessive private trading." No official records of the Presidency have been preserved prior to 1670. Madras was till 1653 subordinate to the Presidency of Bantam in Java. In 1641, shortly after its foundation, the seat of the Agency was transferred from Masulipatam to this place, which became the chief English settlement on the coast. Andrew Cogan, the first Agent, was succeeded by Francis Day, the real founder of the settlement; but he took a good share in the erection of the Fort and the colonization of the place. The establishment consisted of three factors, and one assistant. "Neither Cogan nor Day is kept in memory (in Madras) by statue, portrait or place-name. Not even the Secretariat Buildings in the Fort, the successor of the old Factory House, bear a tablet to commemorate the achievements of the joint founders of Madras."[6]

The civil establishment slowly increased in importance and the Agency began to exercise real control over the other coast factories and the small Bengal establishments then recently started. The first direct communication between Madras and the Company at home occurred in 1642-1643 "in which the Agent and the Council acquainted the Court of Directors with the absolute necessity of giving a due equipment to the Fort."[7] In 1651 orders were received not to add to the strength of the Fort, though the Agent stated that unless the Fort was strengthened their trade could not be extended. Next year the representation was repeated in even stronger terms when a war with the Dutch appeared imminent. In 1654 the Directors reduced the civil establishment to two factors, and the guard to only ten soldiers. In 1658 all the factories on the Coromandel Coast and in Bengal were made subordinate to Fort St. George.

See also clauses 11 to 22 of the Commission and Instructions given to Streynsham Master on the 16th December 1675, for the regulation of various officers from apprentices upwards. These fix the Madras Council at 6, the Agent, the Book-keeper, the Ware-house Keeper, the Choultry Justice, the Mint Master and the Purser-General or Pay Master. *Diaries of Streynsham Master* (1675-80): *Indian Records Series.*—Ed. by Sir R. C. Temple; vol. 1, pp. 206-08.

This commission also fixed the position and succession of the chief factors in the subordinate settlements and gave special directions as to the housing of the Company's servants and their training in the mode of business followed in the country.

Master prepared an indictment of Langhorne, his predecessor in the Governorship, and his government under the title of "The Character of the Government at Fort St. George from 1672 to 1677", in which he complained of the infrequency of the meetings of the Council, the mismanagement of the subordinate factories, irreverence and disregard of religion on the part of the factors, the neglect and miscarriage of the Choultry administration of Justice, the entrusting of too much of the Company's investments in the hands of *Kasi Viranna* (the chief merchant) and the useless disbursement of the Company's money. (See *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol. I, Introduction, pp. 64-66).

5 Hunter; *History of British India*, vol. II (1900). p. 165.

6 H. D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 62.

7 McLean—*Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, vol. I, p. 162.

The Governor or Agent was the First Member of the Council, the Book-Keeper was the second, and the Ware-House Keeper and the Customer were the other two members. The duties of the Customer were to receive customs, rents and other taxes; he also exercised magisterial functions. "His office has been continued uninterruptedly to the present day remaining now under the designation of the Collectorate of Madras and the Sea Customs."[8] The Council, consisting of four members, met every Monday and Tuesday at eight in the morning; it passed orders on all matters concerning the factories and the servants of the Company. The Secretary kept a diary of the proceedings and consultations; and a copy of it was sent to the Company each year, "together with a general letter reviewing the proceedings; while in reply a general letter was received each year from the Court of Directors." The diaries and letters have been preserved either in India or in England. The Members of Council were then designated as merchants, the others under them being graded as factors, writers, and apprentices. In addition to the mercantile establishment there was a chaplain on £100 a year, who read prayers daily and preached on Sundays, and also a school-master on £50 a year, who taught the children of the inhabitants of the White Town. "The ordinary administration of justice was, as above mentioned, conducted by the Collector of Customs, and as Magistrate in the Black Town he sat alone. Europeans were tried by the Governor and Council in the Fort with a jury of 12 Europeans. In the White Town the public peace was maintained by the Agent (Governor) as Commander of the Garrison. In the Black Town it was kept by an Indian public officer known as the Pedda Naick. In the early days of the settlement twenty Indian servants described as 'peons' sufficed to keep the peace. Subsequently however the number was increased to fifty. In return for such service the Pedda Naick was granted certain rice fields rent free, as also petty duties on rice, fish, oil and betel-nut. The office of Pedda Naick was hereditary."[9]

In 1661 Sir Edward Winter, a member of the then triumphant Cavalier Party, was appointed Governor. He quarrelled with his Council, alienated the native powers and consequently produced a set-back in trade. In 1665 he was superseded on the ground that he had indulged in too much private trade, and made second in Council, while one Mr. George Foxcroft, a London merchant, was made Governor. The latter quickly discovered that Winter was indebted to the Company in several matters and asked him awkward questions regarding them. Winter resolved on the bold expedient of usurping the Governorship. "It was not difficult for an ardent Royalist (like Winter) to discover a pretext where a Puritan (as Foxcroft was) whose sympathies had been till lately Cromwellian, was concerned." He alleged that the language of the new Governor was treasonable to the English Crown, and with the aid of the Commander of the Garrison and other friends, he arrested and imprisoned Foxcroft and himself assumed the Governorship. "From this time Sir Edward Winter found himself in a situation, which, if loyal to the Crown, was decidedly mutinous with reference to the Directors. It is not known that any trade was carried on for the benefit of England, and it was only in 1668, when Mr. Foxcroft had been detained for over two years as a prisoner, that he yielded to a royal mandate sent out by Commissioners specially appointed for the investigation of the matter. Mr. Foxcroft was now restored and Sir Edward Winter retired to Pulicat and other places. The Directors in 1669 sent out Sir William Langhorne with six commissioners to investigate the whole of this transaction; and their report

8 *Manual of the Madras Presidency*, vol. I (*General and Political*), p. 164. In 1870 the Madras district was separated from the Chingleput district and placed under the same officer as the Sea-Customs, with the designation of Collector of Madras and Sea Customs. The Collector has been since relieved of his charge of sea-customs.

9 *Madras Manual*, vol. I, p. 162. In February 1651 the Company presented a petition to the Council of State in England, praying that as they had long been without proper authority to enforce obedience in the English subjects within their limits, powers might be given under the Great Seal to them and to their Presidents and Councils in India to enforce obedience on all Englishmen in their limits according to English law. See *Charters relating to the East India Company*, 1600-1761, by J. Shaw, (1887), p. v.

disclosing more difficulties in the situation than had been supposed by the Directors, the latter abandoned proceedings, recalling however both the parties." In these few words Mr. McLean describes "the most remarkable incident that has occurred in the constitutional history of any Indian settlement, for during three years the Madras station was in fact a private station appertaining to Sir Edward Winter and the Directors were powerless to recover it until they had obtained the royal assistance. The effects of the incident on the political situation are not recorded; but it is probable that the Directors would have lost nothing if they had supported their Agent in the first instance."[10]

The Directors were long unaware of the revolution at Madras. They even sent Foxcroft in 1666 a fresh commission constituting him Governor (with the King's special authority) with power to try persons charged with capital offences. But this was unheeded by Winter; and the Directors came to know of the revolution only in January 1667 by way of Aleppo from George Oxinden, President of Surat, for the Madras despatches of September and October 1665 were held back by Winter. They at once presented a petition to the King, who directed the Lord Chancellor Clarendon and Lord Arlington to investigate the matter. It was only in December of that year that a Commission was issued for the reduction of Winter and the restoration of Foxcroft. After the latter was restored to the Governorship, Winter continued to reside at Madras, in the White Town; and he became "an object of some anxiety to Government" till his final departure to England in 1672.

Colonel Love remarks, "Foxcroft (who was President till 1672) was the first Agent to be created Governor of Fort St. George, a title which was transmitted to a long line of distinguished successors. To modern occupants of the gubernatorial chair it is probably unknown that they owe their designation to a Madras murder. Such is the fact."[11] In order to understand this it is necessary to trace in brief outline the nature of the powers granted by successive charters to the Agent and Council of Madras. The charters obtained from Queen Elizabeth and King James of 1600 and 1609, 1611 and 1622, conferred no privileges except the exclusive trade to the East Indies, which was an exceptional privilege in the light of the political economy of the times.[12] The next important charter after the famous one (of 1657) of Cromwell was granted by Charles II in April 1661, and according to this the Company were given power and command over their fortresses and were authorised to appoint Governors and other officers for their government. "The Governor and Council of each factory were empowered to judge all persons belonging to the said Governor and Company or that shall be under them, in all causes whether civil or criminal according to the laws of this kingdom and execute judgment accordingly." And the Chief Factor and Council of any place for which there was no Governor were empowered to send offenders for punishment either to a place where there was a Governor and Council or to England."[13] The Company were also empowered to send ships of war for their factories, to choose officers by commission under their common seal, to erect fortifications and to seize unlicensed persons and punish persons in their employment, to govern their factories by martial law and to make peace or war with any non-Christian power.

(*To be continued.*)

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[10] Compare the arrest and imprisonment of a later Governor of Madras, Lord Pigot, by his Council, and Kiegwin's rebellion in Bombay.

[11] *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol. I, p. 271.

[12] Section 9 of the Act against Monopolies (21, James I, c. 3.) expressly provided that any Company or Society of Merchants which had been erected for the maintenance, enlargement or ordering of any trade of merchandize should retain all legal privileges. That the East India Company's right was a legal privilege was decided by the Court of King's Bench in the Case of the East India Company vs. Sands, better known as the Great Case of Monopolies.

[13] C. P. Ilbert, *The Government of India* (3rd ed.), p. 16.

A PROPOSAL TO ROMANISE INDIAN SCRIPTS ABOUT 1832.

BY SIR RICHARD C. TEMPLE, BT.

IN reference to the reformation in 1928 of the Turkish script from Arabic to Latin forms by the Ghazi (Mustafa Kamal Pasha) as ruler of the Turkish Empire, which is causing so much stir in Oriental lands—as his energy and forcefulness are more than likely to carry through even so difficult a scheme—it is interesting to note that just a hundred years ago an idea of that kind was in the minds of educated Bengalis. It must be remembered, however, that in 1794, Sir William Jones had propounded his great scheme for writing Oriental languages in Roman script, and that it has been since, in course of time, universally adopted without material change. It is as well to say "in course of time," for the old haphazard system—common-sense it was usually called by its users—died so hard that as late as in 1893 the *Madras Manual* deliberately adopted the old spelling as used in the Madras Presidency in preference to that of Sir William Jones, to the great worry of all those who have to use that otherwise very valuable book. Also it was not till the names of Indian Officers were inserted in the Indian Army Lists in 1894 that the Military Department agreed to adopt the Hunterian, *i.e.*, the Jonesian, system of representing Oriental terms. It was forced to do so, as otherwise indexing became impossible when regimental adjutants spelt علی as Ali, Ally, Olly and Ully.

In 1831 the famous Raja Ram Mohun Roy (1772–1833), the reformer and founder of the Brahmo-Samâj and many other things, went to England as the Ambassador of Bahâdur Shâh, the *fainéant* King of Delhi, and remained there till he died in 1833. Among his papers it is stated that there was found a document (printed below), which is of much interest in view of the Turkish Ghazi's scriptorial reforms, as it exhibits the views of educated Indians on the writing of their languages in the Roman script a hundred years ago.

The document is in the India Office Records, Home Series, Miscellaneous, vol. 790, pp. 691–696, and purports to be a letter to the *India Gazette*, but seems never to have been published. It is also unsigned.

The document is by way of putting forward, as a dialogue, the opposing views of Babu Mast Hathi (Mr. Mad Elephant) and Babu Dana (Mr. Wiseman) on the practicability of substituting Bengali for English by Englishmen in India. Babu Mast Hathi is a wild enthusiast, a born bull-in-a-china-shop, and Babu Dana, just the reverse, a staid man of commonsense, and the dialogue between them is amusing. Babu Mast Hathi propounds two theories. Firstly, that the English in India should use the Bengali language in dealing with the Indians, and failing that, they should adopt the Devanâgarî script, apparently in its Bengali form. His opponent's replies—it will be seen—doubting the possibility, practicability and expedience of either scheme—have the author's sympathies.

The Document.

To the Editor of the *India Gazette*.

SIR,—I have lately received a very curious production which probably may be interesting to your readers. A friend of mine in England chanced to occupy the lodgings which had been recently tenanted by the lamented Ram Mohun Roy and his family. In one of the closets he found several papers accidentally left behind by the former occupants. These he of course took the first opportunity of returning to their owner, who was not Ram Mohun Roy himself, but one of his suite. Two of the papers were, however, of so curious a nature, that he requested and received permission, to take a copy of them. These [copies] he transmitted to me, and I now forward [one of] them for publication, should you think them worthy of a niche in your paper. One is thus entitled : "On the possibility, practicability, and expediency of substituting the Bengalee language for the English," among those of that nation who are in India.

Baboo Must Hathee. It is a great desideratum that the English Governors and their native subjects should be able to enjoy unrestricted intercourse with one another. Should we continue to accomplish this, it would be a great blessing to the subjects, and it is probable that our rulers might ultimately benefit by it.

Is the scheme possible ? Undoubtedly. Have we not various instances of the language of a country being changed. The Hebrew has died away, and is succeeded by Syriac. The Latin was formerly spoken in Constantinople ; it has been supplanted by the Turkish. The old Pehlevi has given way to the modern Persian. In England the Welsh was formerly universal : English is now spoken there. I could mention many others.

Baboo Dana. But in these instances, if I recollect right, the nations who spoke the original languages have been swept away, and have been succeeded by others.

Baboo Must Hathee. What is all this to a good theory ? Your common-sense is the ruin of all grand schemes.

Baboo Dana. But if it were *possible*, what do you say to the practicability ?

Baboo Must Hathee. Practicability ? Why I hold the maxim to be a sound one that "what man *has* done man may do again :" and I hold it to be at once unsound and injurious to lay down the principle that "what man *has not* done, man *cannot* do." The difference in the circumstances of the case is of very little consequence.

Baboo Dana. But would such a change be expedient ?

Baboo Must Hathee. Undoubtedly. Consider the superiority of the Bengalee over the English. The latter is a jargon compounded of half a dozen languages : whereas the Bengalee is derived immediately from the Sanscrit, one of the purest and most regularly formed languages in the world. Therefore the English would benefit greatly by the change. Besides we have many works, the perusal of which would add to their stock of knowledge.

Baboo Dana. It seems to me that the best way would be to translate these books into English : for I doubt whether that people would give up their own language and adopt the Bengalee.

Baboo M. H. They ought to do so, when we consider how inferior they are to us in caste, cleanly habits, and many other points. If they do not, it will be another proof of their ignorance and prejudice. At any rate should they be so stupid, I have another plan, which, though not quite so good, will be a step gained.

Baboo Dana. What is that ?

Baboo M. H. To teach the English to give up their own alphabet and write their language in the Sanscrit, Bengalee or Deva Nagree letters. By selecting from these we may easily contrive with the assistance of diacritical marks to express every sound of the English alphabet.

Baboo Dana. Such a scheme is possible certainly, since what one set of letters express, another may be invented to represent the same sounds. But do [you] think it will be practicable to induce the English to give up their old alphabet and adopt this new one ?

B. M. H. Why not ? What *has been* done, *can* be done again. We have many instances. The language of the Tonga Islands [in the Pacific Ocean] has various peculiar sounds, yet these have been successfully represented by the Roman letters Look at the old arrow-heads and various other characters found in ancient inscriptions in this country [India]. These have been supplanted by the letters now in use.

B. Dana. But I have heard that the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands had no written character until the Roman was introduced : and as to the other instances, you forget that the people, who used those letters, have been swept away. It seems to me that the circumstances are different.

B. M. H. There again you break in with what you call common-sense. I tell you again, circumstances and facts have nothing to do with theory ; and that is what I go upon.

B. Dana. But if you did succeed what would be the benefit ?

B. M. H. Very great indeed. The English letters are incomprehensible to all who have not spent their lives in learning them. Hardly one has any fixed sound. Every vowel has two or even three : and a great many of the consonants have each two : all given in the most arbitrary way, without any rule. Now I propose that the characters taken from the Sanscrit or Nagree should invariably express the same sound. Such a plan as this would greatly facilitate the reading [of] the vernacular languages of India by the English : which would give us a better chance of obtaining justice than we have ever had yet.

Baboo Dana. Well, all I can say for your plan is that it appears as practicable as to teach the Natives of India to give up their own language or letters, and to adopt those of Europe.

Baboo M. H. A thousand times more so. Are not the English in India few in number ? Do not they boast how superior they are to us in everything, above all in freedom from prejudice. Surely it is much easier for two or three thousand of them to adopt our language or character, than to expect sixty millions of Natives, most of whom are so poor that they work hard all day at their respective avocations, to give up that which they have used for centuries, and accept a new one.

Baboo Dana. Oh, Râm Râm. Wonders will never cease in this world.

A LIFE OF NAND RISHI.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, PRESIDENT, ŚRÎNAGAR MUNICIPALITY (RETIRED).

THERE are several old works of literature in the Kashmîrî language which are very important from a didactic as well as from a theological point of view. They display the grandeur of the doctrines of the Hindu scriptures, expressed in exquisitely fine language, and also the deeper interests of life—philosophy, ethics and religion. Indeed, every Kashmîrî ought to be consciously proud of such a national heritage. Yet, unfortunately, it has been practically neglected. One such work, namely, *Lallâ Vâkyâni*, or "The Wise Sayings of Lallâ," was taken up by Sir George Grierson and Dr. Lionel D. Barnett. They translated the *Sayings* into English prose and published them, and then Sir Richard Temple rendered them into English verse. Every Kashmîrî ought to be grateful to these gentlemen for their labour in conserving these precious jewels of Kashmîrî literature, because they were in Kashmîrî verse, and as their style and dialect were very old and peculiar and their meaning deep and subtle, they were unintelligible to ordinary folk. But the above named scholars have, in translating them, been able to make their meaning clear.

Among the old works of popular and indigenous poetry of the same nature, which have not yet been published, is the *Nûr-nâma*, containing the wise sayings of Nand Rishi, *alias* Shaikh Nûru'd-dîn of Tsrâr, a village 20 miles to the south-west of Śrinagar. He was a hermit of the highest order, and, despite six centuries having rolled by since he lived, his name is held in profound respect and veneration by both Muhammadans and Hindus throughout Kashmîr. He was a contemporary of the Hindu prophetess, Lallâ Îsvarî, and flourished in the last quarter of the fourteenth century of the Christian era. His sayings, containing, as they do, sublime truths, give a glimpse of the fine, noble soul of this unique figure. They show how admirably he understood human nature and how he taught his lessons in a terse and clever manner. In short they show, in the words of Ruskin, that this holy man was "a fateful executor of a command unknown."

Great sages and hermits have been gnomic poets. The charm and music of their oracular verse are indescribable. Their well-turned, perfectly-modelled and thrilling rhyme—pregnant with divine love as well as worldly wisdom—tend to awaken lofty thoughts and provide an inexhaustible fund of interest and pleasure. They are to the mind as pearls,

rubies and diamonds of great lustre are to the eye. They are generally characterized by an ambiguity of language suggesting both a terrestrial and a celestial meaning. They are so objective, concise, complete and *ad hoc*, that they have become almost canonical and are stamped on the memory of the people. In Kashmîr they have, indeed, shaped and moulded the people's character. The Kashmîrî repeats such aphoristic lines again and again in his every-day life as current coins of quotation.

But, the pity is that the philosophers did not reduce them to writing. What they had to say they taught orally to their disciples, and their sayings were written after their dates in the Persian character, without punctuation or diacritical marks. Thus defectively recorded, they have become inextricably confused and full of interpolations by disciples, imitators and rhapsodists. Whatever was noted by any one person in the margin of his treasured private copy by way of interpretation, was regarded by the next owner or copyist as part of the text : there was no means of distinguishing *addenda* from mere *marginalia*, for they knew not that it was impossible to alter a word in such sayings without altering it for the worse. The correct reading of an old manuscript has, therefore, become a very intricate task.

I obtained two copies of the *Nûr-nâma*, and both of them had shared the fate described above. I was, however, able to decipher some of the sayings in them with the help of bards of Tsrâr village, and the result will be set forth below.

Nand Ṛishi or Sahajânanda (or Shaikh Nûru'd-dîn, as he was afterwards named by Mîr Muḥammad of Hamadân), was born at Kaimuh, a village two miles to the west of Bijbihâra, on the *'îdu'z-zuḥâ* day of 779 A.H. (1377 A.D.). His father's name was Sâlâr Sanz, whose ancestors were descended from the Râjas of Kishtwâr and had immigrated into Kashmîr. They had been granted a *jâgîr* by the then king of Kashmîr, at Rupâwan, a village five miles to the north-west of Tsrâr, where they had settled. Drupada Sanz was a descendant of this family and was a respectable man, held in high esteem by the Kashmîr Darbâr. His son's name was Sul Sanz, who lived at Guda Suth village, and became a disciple of a hermit named Yasman Ṛishi, being converted by him to Islâm under the name of Sâlâr Dîn. He used to take his preceptor's cows to the fields for grazing, and after some time Yasman Ṛishi arranged his marriage with Sadr Mâji at Kaimuh village.

Sadr Mâji had previously lived at village Khayah in the Adven Pargana. She was a descendant of a Râjpût family and, as her parents had died when she was yet a child, she had been adopted by a Muhammadan. When grown up, she had been married to a Dûm at Kaimuh, by whom she had two sons, named Shishu and Gandharv. After a while her husband died.

It is said that one day Sâlâr Dîn together with his bride went to his religious preceptor, Yasman Ṛishi, who was at the time sitting by a spring. Lallâ Ded happened to arrive there, carrying a bouquet in her hand. Yasman Ṛishi took it from her and gave it to Sadr Mâjî to smell, and the same night she conceived. After the due period had elapsed, she gave birth to a son, whom she named Nand Ṛishi. Another version is that one night a Brâhmaṇ at Kaimuh village told his wife that if she rose up very early the following morning and went to the stream passing by the village, she would observe two bouquets, one of *hî* (white jasmine) and the second of *arnî* (yellow jasmine) floating down, and if she caught and smelt the former, she would conceive and give birth, in due course, to a boy who would become a very holy man : but if she picked up the latter, she would conceive and give birth to a boy, who would also become a holy man, though not equal to the boy born of the woman who might smell the white jasmine. Sul Sanz, who was going on his night round at the time, overheard this conversation. On his return he spoke about it to his wife Sadr, and enjoined on her to checkmate the Brâhmaṇ's wife by going very early in the morning to the stream and catching the bouquet of white jasmine that would float down first and smelling it. She did so and succeeded in picking up the first

bouquet, which he smelt. The Brâhman's wife reached the stream later on and caught the second bouquet, which she smelt. The result was that Sadr Mâjî gave birth to Nand Ṛishi. and the Brâhman's wife to a boy who was named Bhûm Sâdhu and became a holy man, performing austere penances in a cave at Bhûmzu, about a mile to the north of Mattan village.

When Nand Ṛishi was born, he would not suckle his mother. Lallâ Ded came again and approached the new-born baby, saying to him—*Yinah mandachhok nah tah chanah chhukha mandachhân ?* (*i.e.*, you were not ashamed of being born, why then of suckling ?) Hearing these words he began to suckle at once. Lallâ Ded then enquired the name of the worthy mother of this worthy son and, when told that it was Sadr (ocean), she remarked—*Sadras ai chhuh mukhta nerân* (*i.e.*, Aye, pearls do only come out of the ocean).

When Nand Ṛishi grew to manhood, his step-brothers named Shishu and Gandharv, who were thieves, took him one night with them to help in a theft. They reached a village where they broke through the wall of a house, and told Nand Ṛishi to enter and bring out anything he found heavy in weight. Nand Ṛishi entered and found a box full of gold and silver, but he reflected that if he brought it out he would be committing a sin. So, instead of this box, he brought out a stone pestle and gave it to his brothers, telling them that he could find nothing heavier in the house. His brothers were angry at his stupidity in not understanding that heavy things meant precious metals, and, thinking that he could not understand what they actually meant, told him to bring out anything light in weight. He re-entered, and lo ! he brought out a sieve and a winnowing fan and told his brothers that there were no lighter things in the house. His brothers, disappointed at his foolishness, afterwards themselves stole a cow and handed her over to him to drive to their house, they themselves going to some other place to steal. Nand Ṛishi was driving the cow when he heard a dog barking *wow, wow*. In the Kashmîrî language *wow, wow* means "sow, sow." He reflected that the dogs were reminding him of the fact that what he sowed now he would reap hereafter, and that it meant that he would be punished by God for this theft. He, therefore, let the cow go, and went home. When his brothers returned, finding that he had not brought the cow, they asked him why he had not done so. He replied to them as follows :—

Ângana nâd lâyân chhuh hân
Bhâyau kan dit shrunitau—
"Yimi yuth wuv tami tyut lûn
Tsah Nandi wow, wow, wow."

The dog is barking in the compound.
O brothers ! give ear and listen to (what he says)—
"As one sowed, so did he reap :
Thou, Nand, sow, sow, sow."

His brothers would not listen to his advice but gave him a thrashing instead for his carelessness. He did not mind this, and said :—

Yim tamogunas mâlit mâran
Tim tsâlan tah lâgan dâs
Yim Sahazai Sahazai gwâran
Tim sorui vendan sâs.

Those who kill *tamogunas* (passion, anger, sorrow, etc.) or *tama-gunas* (the snake of *tama*, *i.e.*, passion, etc.)
They will bear (everything) with resignation.
Those who seek after ease, ease (God),
They consider everything (in this world) as ashes (worthless).

In those days there lived also a "hermitess" named Shâm Ded, who roamed about the country. She came to Nand Rishi and condoled with him on the maltreatment accorded to him by his thieving brothers, and said :—

Ârah-balan nâga-râdâ rov
Sâdha rov tsûran manz
Muda gharan gora Panditâ rov
Râza hansâ rov kâvan manz.

A spring has been lost in the stream :
A saint has been lost among the thieves .
A deeply learned man has been lost in the house of fools :
A swan has been lost among the crows.

Another night his step-brothers again took Nand Rishi with them for the purpose of stealing. and went to a house in Khudaven village, which they caused him to enter The inmates happened to be awake and, suspecting it was a thief who had entered, they spoke to one another, lamenting that they were very poor—so poor indeed as not to possess even a quilt to protect themselves from the cold of winter—so that a thief could get nothing from their house. Nand Rishi overheard them and felt pity for their poverty. He then flung his own blanket over them and came out empty-handed. His step-brothers asked him what he had secured and where his own blanket was. He replied :—

Khudaven jamâtha ruchhim nani
Wurit tshanimak panani khani.

I found a number of persons naked at Khudaven :
I flung my blanket to cover them.

His step-brothers were now convinced that he was a simpleton and quite unfit to join them, and they told his mother that, as he could not learn the art of stealing, he should be set to some other work. His mother told him that, since he disliked theft, he might earn his livelihood by some handicraft. He replied that he would gladly comply with her wishes. She then took him to a weaver to be taught the art of weaving, and was accepted as an apprentice. When his mother was gone, Nand Rishi asked the weaver why he was always alternately raising and lowering his feet. He replied that he was thus raising the warp in order to put in the woof; but Nand Rishi explained that this movement had another meaning saying—"When you raise your right foot it is a hint that we were dust and God raised us to life. When you lower your left foot, it indicates that we shall return to dust." Nand Rishi next inquired—"Wherefore have these threads been put together : what is the piece of wood that is shot to and fro in the loom : what are the threads attached to it; and what the board which you are pulling towards yourself ?" The weaver replied that they were warp, shuttle, woof and press-board respectively. Nand Rishi replied :—"No : the woof indicates that the world is an inn having two doors : by one we enter and by the other we leave. The shuttle is man, and the thread in its mouth is his daily bread apportioned to him by fate : so long as it lasts he moves about in this world and when finished he is kept out like the shuttle. The board, which, when you pull it towards you to press home the woof, makes a sound like *dag dag* and indicates that our desires are killing us." The weaver got perplexed on hearing this philosophy and thought the apprentice's mind was wandering. He sent for Nand Rishi's mother and told her that her son seemed to have no inclination to learn weaving, as he was not attending to the work, but simply boring him with abstruse philosophical remarks and hampering him in his own work. The mother, in despair, took her son

away, telling him that, as he was not inclined to work, he might go away and do whatever he liked.

Nand Ṛishi, now left to himself, dug out a cave at Kaimuh, in which he began to perform austere penances. One day his mother went to see him and, finding him squatting, covered with a coarse quilt, in a dark cave infested with rats, she burst into tears. Nand Ṛishi consoled her, saying that he was extremely happy and added :—

Guph buh vendai sur larai
Jandah buh vendai pâti kâi
Gagaran râzah shuknen zan gindai
Warih buh vendai garih ḍâi.

The cave seems to me to be a celestial castle :
The quilt seems to me to be a silken garment.
I play with the rats as if they were creatures of good omen.
One year seems to me to be one single hour.

One day Nand Ṛishi, coming out of his cave, saw some folk going about happily in gala dresses, and inquired what the occasion was that made the people so merry. He was told that it was the New Year's day. Thinking it an auspicious occasion, Nand Ṛishi began to fast from this day. His mother, coming to know of this, went to him and cried out sobbing that he had already left his home, his wife and children, and now he had left off eating and drinking : so how could he live. Nand Ṛishi replied :—

Sontai gupanan guman wazi karan kâi
Hardah deshan heli alânti
Kâm karan nah tah kath karan lâi ?

Those who cause cattle to sweat in spring (by ploughing the land),
Shall see ears of corn bending in autumn.
If they did not toil, how could the soil have been prepared ?

He meant by this that if in the vigour of youth one did not turn towards God, how could one do so in sedate old age ?

While Nand Ṛishi was performing penances in the cave, his wife, Zai Ded, together with her two sons and one daughter, came to see him, and began to weep. He told her to return home and take care of her children, but she said she could not leave him. He then explained that as he had renounced the world he wanted to be left alone in the cave, where there was only dust and thorns. He said :—

Nafas chhuh wanuk agazol
Neres nah paṭ kâṭ nah manzol
Yami suh phol tah tsaṭit wol
Zâlit suh karih tat sûrah-phol.

Desire is like the knotted wood of the forest,
It cannot be made into planks, beams or into cradles.
He who cut and felled it
Will burn it into ashes.

(*To be continued.*)

MISCELLANEA.

THE GAYDANR FESTIVAL IN SHAHABAD, BIHAR.

Dr. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., Director of Ethnology, Assam, sends the following note in reference to the article entitled *The Gâydâṇṛ Festival in Shâhâbâd, Bihâr*, which appeared in Vol. LVII of this Journal (August, 1928, p. 137 f.). It is of interest as affording further evidence that in northern India at all events the festival is essentially one observed by the Ahirs, or the cow-herding tribes. If it were originally confined to this class, and if the idea underlying it, as Dr. Hutton also seems to think, be that of promoting fertility, it would seem to have been instituted with the object of increasing the fertility of cattle. The name of the festival, which appears to be common to all areas from which reports have been received by me, may also perhaps be regarded as indicating that cattle are primarily concerned in it. It would be interesting to ascertain whether observances of the nature described are confined to areas where Ahirs have settled, or whether there be any evidence of the performance of similar rites among other tribes or castes in other parts.

C. E. A. W. Oldham,
Joint Editor.

In the August, 1928, issue of the *Indian Antiquary* a note appears by Mr. Oldham on the Gâydâṇṛ Festival in Bihâr.

The Ahirs in Assam, of whom there is a fair number scattered about the plains districts observe the same festival, and the particular features described as occurring in Bihar appear to be restricted to Ahirs, who are an immigrant caste and seem not to be indigenous to Assam. The festival observed in Kartik is spoken of as *Gaidar* and the Ahirs who described it to me stated that it is the calves in particular which are urged on to attack the pig. The owner of any beast that gores it is cheered and congratulated, but the advantage sought by the whole proceeding is definitely stated to be that of the cattle owners, not that of the cattle themselves.

My informant first stated that the corpse of the pig was given to Muchis to eat, but admitted that the true custom was for the Ahirs themselves to divide and eat the corpse, and said that this is still done.

No doubt the object is to promote fertility in general and in particular that of the owner and his cattle. The pig is probably selected because of its prolific breeding capacity. Pig's blood is still, or was till comparatively recently sprinkled on the crops in parts of Ireland to make them fertile, and perhaps a still better instance of this use of the pig is to be seen in the Thado Kuki practice of including a sow's skull in the bundle of charms that are made and hung up as "house-magic," (*in-doi*) for every newly established household when house-keeping is started. The purpose of this skull is that the householder and all that is his may be prolific like the sow of Molkom (a legendary site at which the ancestors of the tribe acquired their domestic animals), which had ten bonnives at a farrow. The fact that the cattle do the killing suggests that the intention is to transfer to them the fertility of the victim, a process of thought familiar enough in matters of war or homicide where the *mana* or the soul-matter of the killed man is often regarded as transferred to the killer, a belief occurring in areas as distant from one another as Germany and Australia (*i.e.*, among Australian "blacks"), and which is doubtless the principle underlying much cannibalism as well as such practice as that of licking the blood of the slain enemy from the weapon used to slay him, a practice used for instance by the Ibo of Nigeria, the Lushei of Assam, and some of the tribes of Melanesia.

J. H. Hutton.

BOOK-NOTICES.

Sir Ashutosh Memorial Volume. Edited by J. N. Samaddar, B.A., Parts I & II; pp. 354; 140; 9¼ × 6¼ in. Patna, 1926-28.

This volume contains in all 38 articles on a variety of subjects of interest to Indologists, several of which have been contributed by eminent Orientalists, such as Professors J. Jolly, A. B. Keith, M. Winternitz, L. de la Vallée Poussin, MM. Gaṅganâtha Jhâ and others. It is prefaced by a brief, but very appreciative account of the life and work of that remarkably able man—mathematician, lawyer and educationalist—Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, to whose memory it is dedicated. The delay in the publication of the volume is explained in the "Convener's Apology," and what we learn therefrom may be regarded as condoning the typographical errors noticeable. Indeed this foreword will be read with poignant regret by all who knew Professor Samaddar, as he never regained his health and finally succumbed, in November last, to the illness he refers to therein.

The large number of papers and the great variety of subjects dealt with preclude any complete review of the contents of the volume. Two notable articles are devoted to the subject of the *Artha-śâstra*. Professor Berriedale Keith reverts to the question of the authenticity and date of the *Kauṭilîya Artha-śâstra*. After discussing with his usual forcefulness the internal evidence of authorship, the discrepancies from the records of Megasthenes as available to us, the extent of knowledge revealed by the text, the evidence of the *Dharma-sûtras*, the question of the use of archaic forms and the metres employed, he maintains the view recorded in the *JRAS*, 1916, and holds that the only conclusion which seems compatible with the facts is that it is not the work

of Kauṭilya, minister of Candragupta, and that it should no longer be used as a prima facie authority for the period 300 B.C. Professor Winternitz, in another article, makes an impartial and very useful contribution to what he regards as the essential preliminary work of minutely examining and comparing the *Artha-śâstra* matter in the *Mahâbhârata* and the references to *Arthâ-śâstra* matter in the *Dharma-sûtras*, supplementing Professor Jolly's comparative synopsis of the legal matter. From the comparison thus made by him under certain specific heads he has drawn the *preliminary* conclusion that in most cases of parallelism it seems more probable that the *Viṣṇu-smṛti*, *Manu-smṛti* and *Yâjñavalkya-śâstra* go back to some other *Artha-śâstra*, and not to that of Kauṭilya. The date of Kalidâsa forms the subject of a paper by Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, who seeks to establish that Kalidâsa must have flourished in the second and third quarters of the 6th century, thus supporting in a measure the views of Hoernle and MM. Haraprasâd Śâstri. In another paper, however on Vikramâditya, Professor S. K. Aiyangar evidently accepts the opinion of many eminent authorities that Kalidâsa lived in the time of the Imperial Gupta king Candragupta II.

Dr. P. K. Acharya, whose valuable researches in the domain of Indian architectural science are well known, gives an interesting comparison of the architectural details in the *Mânasâra* with those found in certain of the *Purâṇas*, the *Bṛhat-samhitâ*, *Kâmikâgama* and *Suprabhedâgama*. Dr. Balkrishna, in his article on "Interest and Usury", has collated the principal rules contained in the law books and other texts as governing the relations between lenders and borrowers. Mr. K. G. Sankara enters the arena of debate on the ascription of the Trivandrum plays to Bhâsa, and makes some novel suggestions.

Enough has been said perhaps to show that Professor Samaddar had succeeded in collecting many valuable papers for this memorial volume, which will be read with interest by all scholars engaged in Oriental research.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

KERALA SOCIETY PAPERS, published by the Kerala Society; 10¾ × 8 in.; pp. 56. Trivandrum, 1928.

The Kerala Society was founded towards the end of 1927, with head-quarters at Trivandrum, for the purpose of promoting research and advancing the study of the history and archæology, anthropology and folklore, art, language and literature of Kerala (Malabar). We welcome the establishment of a society to deal with an area of such ancient traditions and so rich in historical and ethnological associations. From the earliest times Kerala, which may, roughly, be described as the area in which the people now speak Malayâlam, possessed a special importance among the countries of the peninsula owing to its geographical position and its many seaports on the old trade route from west to east, as well as to its highly prized produce of pepper, cardamums and ginger, not to mention the beryls from the mines at Padyûr and near Kittûr, which were probably exported from its harbours. Moreover, owing to the protection afforded by the Western Ghâṭ mountains from invading armies that so often overran and devastated the more accessible lands of Chola and Pâṇḍya, and to its closer contact with seafaring peoples from the west, we must expect to find cultures differing in many respects from those of the Tamil and southern Telugu provinces.

Pending the regular issue of a *Journal*, to which we shall look forward, the Society has made a start by publishing a collection of papers in the form before us. The first article is by Mr. Rajaraja Varma Raja, giving an account of 16 old palm-leaf documents that contain valuable historical information regarding the chronology of the kings of Travancore between 1544 and 1677 A.D., which will enable corrections to be made in the hitherto accepted lists of these kings. The paper has been appropriately supplemented by Mr. T. K. Joseph with copies of the records in the vernacular, a summary of the contents in English, a glossary and notes on the places mentioned. Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar deals with the vexed question of the date of Kulaśekhara Alvâr, and comes to the conclusion that his birth may be tentatively assigned to the year 528 A.D. Dr. Burkitt sends an account of the Syriac MSS. collected by Claudius Buchanan in southern India and presented to the Cambridge University library; while Mr. Joseph, the energetic sectional secretary, adds notes on a cave temple recently discovered by the side of the Bhadrakali falls of the Kodayar river and on some cists and other antiquarian remains at Pulimattu village, about 21 miles north of Trivandrum. All these papers conform to the objects of the Society, to which we wish a very successful career.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHA, by J. B. PRATT, London, 1928.

I wish to draw attention to this remarkable book which will repay the labour of anyone who masters it. Especially would I call the readers' attention to the following passage in the preface:

"There is one notable omission which will strike the reader of this book. I have said nothing whatever of the Buddhism of Tibet, Nepal and Mongolia. This has but been due to lack of space, but to deliberate intention. The form of religion which prevails in these lands is so mixed with non-Buddhist elements, that I hesitate to call it Buddhism at all. At any rate if I was to give a unified notion of Buddhism, it seemed to me necessary to confine myself to the Hinayana and the Mahayana."

This statement does not at all need an apology. Lately I had to review a "distributionist" book, which seemed to me to look on Aśokan and Tibetan Buddhism as of the same kind, date and authority.

R. C. TEMPLE.

BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

BY CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

List of Abbreviations.

A.S.B.	..	*Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, by Mm. H. P. Shastri.
Bib. Ind.	..	*Bibliotheca Indica* Series, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
C.S.	..	*Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government Sanskrit College, Calcutta.*
Ep. Ind.	..	*Epigraphia Indica.*
Hall	..	*A Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of Indian Systems of Philosophy*, by Fitz Edward Hall. 1859.
H.P.S.	..	*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (New Series), by Mm. Haraprasad Shastri.
I.O.	..	*Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the India Office Library, London.*
J.B.O.R.S.	..	*Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society.*
L.	..	*Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, by Raja Rajendralal Mitra.
Report	..	*Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, by Mm. H. P. Shastri.
S.S.P.	..	*Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat*, Calcutta.

BENGAL'S contribution to philosophical literature is generally supposed to have been confined to Nyâya, specially in its later stage when Navya-nyâya was evolved out of an amalgamation of Nyâya with Vaiśeṣika. This supposition is no doubt partially true when we take into consideration the immense literature that was produced on the subject in Bengal for several centuries. But on a careful study of all available materials it would appear that it does not represent the whole truth on the subject. As a matter of fact, Bengal made her contribution to other schools of philosophy as well, though it must be admitted that this was not as voluminous and as important as that in the field of Nyâya.

We are handicapped to some extent by the lack of sufficient materials in making any enquiry into the history of the philosophical speculation of Bengal before the rise of Navya-nyâya, *i.e.*, roughly before the sixteenth century. But even with the scanty material at our disposal we are in a position to say that scholars of Bengal cultivated, though to a comparatively small extent, almost all the various systems of Indian philosophy. Thus manuscripts in Bengalee script of works representing the various systems are known to have been found in various places. Treatises and commentaries written by Bengalees on the different systems are also not unknown. References made to the views of the various schools, either for refutation or for support in the works of Bengal—especially in the Nyâya works—point to the same conclusion. It is, however, possible that those references are not in all cases, evidence of the direct acquaintance of the authors with the works from which they are made. In some cases, at least, they are made from hearsay, and this is how we can explain the misrepresentations and misinterpretations met with in some works.

From the information available at present it seems that in earlier days from about the seventh century of the Christian era Bengal cultivated Pûrvamîmâṃsâ and Vaiśeṣika to some extent. The whole of eastern India was about this time pre-eminently Buddhist and consequently Buddhist philosophy was also assiduously studied. From the twelfth or thirteenth century a decay in the study of Mîmâṃsâ seems to have set in, and it began to be cultivated in so far as its principles were required for the elucidation of Smṛti texts. At this period, however, Vedânta and Sâṃkhya appeared to have attracted the notice of Bengal. The Sâṃkhya system, however, did not develop here to any appreciable extent. But the study of the Vedânta system became very popular with a large section of the people—the Vaiṣṇavas—and a fair amount of literature was consequently produced. And it was about the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century that the study of Nyâya-Vaiśeṣika

began in right earnest and within a very short time absorbed almost the entire attention of the people, and the study of all other branches of philosophy was almost totally eclipsed. In fact by about the end of the sixteenth century Nadia in Bengal rose to be the most important centre of Nyâya culture and continued to be so until recently. And though Nyâya was the latest to engage the attention of the people it came to be the most favoured subject and earned a well-deserved name for Bengal.

We now propose to give an account of the literature of the different schools of philosophy that was produced in Bengal.

Mîmâṃsâ.

Works on Mîmâṃsâ proper are rare in Bengal. This is but natural in view of the fact that Vedic sacrifices had long gone out of practice here, it seems from after the time of the Pâlas: and it is with the various sacrificial injunctions that Mimâṃsâ principally concerns itself.

But it seems that originally when sacrificial rites had not altogether been obliterated the study of Mîmâṃsâ also was not quite unknown here. The Prabhâkara school of Mimâṃsâ is known to have been cultivated here as early as the time of Devapâla as we know from the introductory verses of Nârâyaṇa's *Cchandogapariśiṣṭaprakâśa* (Bib. Ind.). From the Bangarh inscription (l. 48) of the time of King Mahipâladeva[1] we come to know that Mîmâṃsâ (which possibly refers to Pûrva Mimâṃsâ) was studied in his time. Udayanâchârya (tenth century) in his *Nyâya-kusumâñjali* (III, XIV) refers to the Mîmâṃsaka of Gauḍa, which may be a reference to a particular school, or to an individual scholar that flourished presumably before his time. If it refers to a school, we know very little about it. But Varadarâja in his *Kusumâñjali-bodhinî*[2] (p. 123), a commentary on the work of Udayana, interprets the word as referring to *Pañchikâkâra*, who in all probability is to be identified with Śâlikanâtha, the famous author of *Prakaraṇapañchikâ* (p. viii). If Śâlikanâtha was a Bengalee it would seem there was a lively culture of Mîmâṃsâ in Bengal as early as the seventh century of the Christian era. Little, however, seems to have survived in Bengal of the school of Śâlika. Śrîdhara (eleventh century) refers to his *Tattva-prabodha* in his *Nyâya-kandalî* (p. 146, l. 4), which from the way it is mentioned may be a work of Mîmâṃsâ. Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva (twelfth century) was not only proficient in the study of Mîmâṃsâ but had also composed a work on the Mîmâṃsâ system—the *Tautâtitamata-tilaka*—a gloss on the celebrated work of Kumârila (I. O., IV, 2166). It is probably to this work that the *praśasti* of Bhavadeva refers, where it is stated that he compiled a work on Mimâṃsâ in 1000 *nyâyas* (*Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 203-7, v. 23).

Even as late as the time of the Senas we know that Halâyudha of the court of King Lakṣmaṇasena composed a work called *Mîmâṃsâ-sarvasva*, which he himself refers to in the introduction (v. 19) to his *Brâhmaṇa-sarvasva*. If it is identical with the *Mîmâṃsâ-śâstra-sarvasva* (L. IV, 1507; Hall, p. 182, 207), available only in fragments, it is a commentary on the *Mîmâṃsâ-sûtra*. Halâyudha also refers to the fact that though Bengal paid scant regard to the study of the Vedas she studied *Mîmâṃsâ*.[3]

Gaṅgeśa (thirteenth century) in his *Tattvachintâmaṇi* (*Bib. Ind.—Śabdâprâmaṇya-vâda*, p. 88) refers to the view of Gauḍa mîmâṃsaka. But it is doubtful if any school of Mîmâṃsâ existed in Bengal in his time. He seems to have been indebted for this reference to Udayana who also refers to it almost in identical words.

In later times also the study of Mîmâṃsâ was not altogether unknown in Bengal. It was studied in so far as its principles were required to elucidate scriptural paradoxes and Smṛti texts.

1 *Gauḍalekhamâlâ*, p. 97. 2 *Sarasvati Bhavan* series, Benares.
3 *Brâhmaṇa-sarvasva* (Litho. edition, Benares).

Thus Mahâmahopâdhyâya Râmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭâchârya composed his *Adhikaraṇa-kaumudî* (Chowkhamba Sanskrit series) to elucidate these principles. He refers to *Śrâddha-chintâmaṇi* (of Vâchaspati Miśra, p. 70), Mâdhava (author of *Parâśara-mâdhavîya*, p. 20, 30), and *Śrâddha-viveka* (of Śûlapâṇi, p. 62). He thus seems to have flourished about the fifteenth century at the earliest. That he was a Bengalee is shown by the fact that he interprets some texts to show that some kinds of meat may be taken (p. 57).

Dharmadîpikâ (H.P.S., I, 192) is an elementary work on Mîmâṃsâ by Chandraśekhara-vâchaspati, grandson of a Vidyâbhûṣaṇa, who is stated here to have been proficient in all the six systems of Hindu philosophy. He also wrote many works on Smriti. This book deals with Mîmâṃsâ principles which are required for the elucidation of Smṛti texts.[4] He was a Vârendra Brâhmaṇa, who settled in Navadvîpa in the beginning of the eighteenth century (H.P.S., I, Preface p. xx).

Tattvasambodhinî by Chandraśekhara (C.S., III, 182) is another elementary treatise on Mîmâṃsâ. The author was an inhabitant of Varendra (North Bengal), whose patron is stated to have been Śrî Bâlâyuta Râmajîvana.[5]

Mîmâṃsâratna by Raghunâtha Bhaṭṭâchârya Vidyâlaṅkâra (I.O., IV, 2216) consists of two parts, one dealing with *pramâṇas* (sources of knowledge), the other with *prameyas* (categories) of the *Mîmâṃsâ* philosophy. Similar works of the Nyâya-vaiśeṣika school are found in abundance in Bengal, and it is to supply the want of the Mîmâṃsâ school in this respect that the book seems to have been compiled.

Vedânta.

Evidence of the Study of Vedânta in Bengal.

Though the Vedânta system is generally believed to have been totally neglected by the Bengalees, we have evidence, apart from the works of Bengal, of its almost continuous study here from a very early period. Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa, minister of king Harivarmadeva (*circa* twelfth century A.D.), is definitely stated to have mastered the Advaita system.[6] A fragmentary copy of a manuscript of Śaṅkara's well-known commentary on the *Vedântasûtras* in Bengalee characters, copied in S.E. 1361, is in the manuscript collection of the Sanskrit Sâhitya Parishat, Calcutta.

Maheśvara Viśârada (fifteenth century), father of the famous Naiyâyika Vâsudeva Sârvabhauma, is stated in the latter's commentary on the *Advaita-makaranda* to have been master of the Vedânta lore. Govindânanda Kavikaṅkaṇâchârya, the famous author of Smṛiti digests (sixteenth century), in one of the introductory verses found in several of his works, refers to his father as a scholar of Vedânta.

In the Sanskrit Sâhitya Parishat, as also in the Adyar Library, Madras, are found manuscripts in Bengalee characters of a good many *upaniṣads* with their commentaries, which form the basic works of all Vedânta studies. Some of the Upaniṣadic manuscripts of the Sanskrit Sâhitya Parishat in Bengalee script are as old as the first quarter of the eighteenth century. Besides these, a copy of a manuscript in Bengalee script of a work called *Vedânta-tattva-mañjarî* attributed to Śaṅkarâchârya, apparently a different person from the great master of that name, was found by Mm. H. P. Shastri in a village in Midnapur (H.P.S., II, 194). The manuscript is dated 1667 S.E. (1745 A.D.). The work is an elementary treatise on the Vedânta system.

Bengal's Contribution to Vedânta Literature.

The earliest contribution of Bengal towards Vedânta literature seems to have been the *kârikâs* of Gauḍapâda, which are supposed to have been current as early as the beginning

[4] स्मृतीनां च प्रकाशार्थं तनोतीमां प्रदीपिकाम् ।

[5] श्रीबालायुतरामजीवनमहाराजेन संस्थापितो वारेन्द्रान्वयसम्भवो वितनुते श्रीतत्त्वसम्बोधिनीम् ।

[6] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VI, p. 203-7, v. 20. "ब्रह्माद्वैतविशामुदाहरणभूः"

of the Christian era and are supposed to have originated in Bengal (Belvalkar Ranade—*History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. II, p. 96-97). *Advayasiddhi* of Śrîdhara, which he refers to in his *Nyâyakandalî* (p. 5, l. 4), composed in 913 S.E., comes next.

Probably next in chronological order is the *Tattvamuktâvalî Mâyâvâda-śata-dûṣaṇî* (I O., IV, C.S., III, 62), by one who calls himself Gauḍa Pûrṇânanda Kavi-Chakravartî. In the *Tattvamuktâvalî* an attempt is made by a Bengalee to refute Śaṅkara's theory of *Mâyâ* in 120 verses (*JRAS*, 1883, p. 137 ff.). The author must have flourished before the fourteenth century of the Christian era, when Mâdhavâchârya composed his *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*, for the latter quotes it under *Râmânuja-darśana* (*Bib. Ind.* ed., p. 51). It should be noted here that with the rise of the Nyâya-Vaiśeṣika system in Bengal, which sought to establish the existence of so many categories as against the monistic ideas of Śaṅkara, the latter's theory of Mâyâ was systematically made the target of the attacks of many a Bengalee scholar. Most of these attacks are scattered through the works of Nyâya-Vaiśeṣika. But independent works were also composed on this topic, as is shown by the work already described. I should take this opportunity of referring to a similar work composed but recently. It is the *Mâyâvâda-nirâsa* of an erudite Nyâya scholar of the last generation, namely Pandit Râkhâladâsa Nyâyaratna. His work was published in 1912.

It is not known if *Gauḍeśvarâ-chârya*, *guru* of the great Vedânta scholar Chitsukhâchârya (*circa* fourteenth century) had any connection with Bengal, as his name would lead one to suspect. But no work of his is known to have come down.

A widespread influx of Vedântic thought over a large section of Bengal took place from after the time of Chaitanya. He was the founder of the Gauḍa school of Vaiṣṇavism, which was primarily based on the Madhva school of Vedânta, though differing in some essential points from the latter. And the followers of the school produced a fair amount of Vedântic literature. They had their own commentary on the *Vedânta-sûtra*, besides a good many independent works. A detailed account of their work in this direction will be found in a separate paper of mine in the *Annals of Bhandarkar Research Inst.* (vol. X, 117 ff.).

Of the contemporaries of Chaitanya, Vâsudeva Sârvabhauma, originally teacher and subsequently follower of Chaitanya, wrote a commentary on the *Advaita-makaranda* of Lakṣmîdhara (L. 2854). Another contemporary of Chaitanya, though not a follower of his school, was the famous Naiyâyika Raghunâtha Śiromaṇi. It is curious that he wrote a commentary on the well-known Vedânta work, the *Khaṇḍana-khaṇḍa-khâdya* of Śrî Harṣa, for students of Nyâya are found to take special pride in refuting the doctrines of Vedânta. To another, Naiyâyika Gadâdhara, who came after Raghunâtha, is generally attributed a Vedântic work called *Brahma-nirṇaya* (Bühler—*Catalogue of Sans. MSS. contained in the private Libraries of Gujarât, etc.* IV, 72). But it cannot be stated if this Gadâdhara is really identical with the famous Nyâya scholar of Bengal of the same name.

The greatest name, however, of which Bengal can really feel proud, in the field of Vedânta literature is that of Madhusûdana Sarasvatî. His works, which are fairly large in number, are full of deep erudition and, as such, highly popular all over India even to this day. Though conflicting accounts of him would render it difficult to determine the place he hailed from, tradition current among the orthodox scholars of Northern India in general and of Bengal in particular scarcely leaves any doubt as regards his Bengal origin. And Mr. P. C. Divanji, going into the details of all accounts connected with his life, has been led by the balance of evidence to conclude that he was a Bengalee. (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Research Institute*, vol. VII, p. 149 ff.) The author of the present paper has legitimate ground for pride as he is fortunate in having been born in the very family that was adorned by Madhusûdana. It is true none of Madhusûdana's well-known Vedânta works are found in Bengal, but this is due to the fact of his having renounced the world quite early in life and having carried on all his literary activities in Benares. Madhusûdana flourished sometime about the sixteenth century.

Madhusûdana was the author of a good many works mostly dealing with, and composed in support of, the *Advaitavâda* of Śaṅkara. In fact he was the last great scholar to espouse the cause of Advaitism. The *Advaita-siddhi*, a very learned but popular work composed to demonstrate the soundness of the doctrine of Advaitism in the face of adverse criticism directed against it by other schools of philosophy, is perhaps the most important production of Madhusûdana. Coming, as he did, after Chitsukha and Śrî Harṣa, he had the advantage of being able to answer all hostile arguments put forward against his learned predecessors, and thus making his work fuller and up-to-date.

His other works were—

(1) *Advaita-ratna-rakṣaṇa*—(Nirṇaya-sâgara Press, 1917). This is a small monograph in support of Advaitism.

(2) *Vedântakalpalatikâ* (Saraswati Bhavan series, Benares), a treatise on Vedânta philosophy.

(3) *Gûḍhârthadîpikâ*—a very learned and popular commentary on the *Bhagavadgîtâ*. The most noteworthy fact with regard to this commentary is that it goes into the minutest detail and does not omit to give the significance of even the smallest indeclinable particles like *cha*, *tu*, *vâ*, etc.

(4) *Siddhântavindu*, a commentary on the Daśaslokî of Śaṅkarâchârya.

(5) *Prasthâna-bheda* (Vani Vilâsa Press, Srirangam) is an elementary work, which sets forth the essence of all the *vidyâs*, or subjects of study, and demonstrates the supremacy of the Vedânta.

(6) *Bhaktirasâyana* (Ed. by Nityaswarûpa Brahmachârin, Calcutta). This is an original work which discusses the philosophical aspect of devotion and seeks to show by quoting texts from orthodox works how *bhakti* is a means to the attainment of salvation.

After, or possibly contemporaneous with, Madhusûdana flourished Brahmânanda Sarasvatî, otherwise known as Gauḍa Brâhmânanda. His commentary on the *Advaitasiddhi* of Madhusûdana stands as an eloquent testimony to his deep erudition and versatile genius. He commented on another work of Madhusûdana as well, namely the *Siddhântavindu*. He had written an independent treatise also. This was his *Advaitasiddhântavidyotana* (L. 1444).

The next name is probably that of Nandarâma Tarkavâgîśa Bhaṭṭâchârya, who wrote his *Âtmaprakâśaka* (I.O., IV, 2400) on the nature of the supreme spirit. He must have flourished at the end of the seventeenth century, at the latest for a commentary on this work by Kâśîrâma Vidyavâchaspati, a Vaidika Brahman of Bankura, who belonged to the beginning of the eighteenth century and is well-known as the commentator of the *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana, has been found (I.O., IV, 2400 ; H.P.S., I, 24).

After Nandarâma came Râmânanda Vâchaspati or Râmânanda-Tîrtha, as he was called after his renunciation of the world. He lived in the court of king Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia. He wrote a fair number of works on a variety of subjects, namely, philosophy, Smṛti, music and architecture. His works on Vedânta are :—

(1) *Advaitaprakâśa*, (2) Commentary on *Vedântasâra*, (3) Non-dualistic commentary on the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, (4) *Adhyâtmavindu*, a small work giving the essential points of Hindu, Buddhist and Jain philosophy and establishing the doctrines of Vedânta in co-ordination with Sâṃkhya, (5) *Adhyâtma-sarvasva*, (6) *Jñânaraṇi* which deals with the essentials of the non-dualistic system of Vedânta, (7) *Tattvasaṅgraha* which attempts to establish various gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon with the help of Vedânta and Sâṃkhya (H.P.S., Report 1901-5, p. 10).

We may next mention the name of Kṛṣṇakânta Vidyâvâgîśa, who flourished at the court of Râjâ Girîśacandra, great-grandson of Mahârâja Kṛṣṇacandra of Nadia (eighteenth century). He was a polymath, writing on Nyâya, Smṛti, Vedânta, Kâvya and even Erotics. His work on Vedânta is a commentary on the *Vedântasâra*. (Report 1900-1905, p. 9.)

Sâṃkhya and Yoga.

Of all the different systems of Hindu philosophy, the above two seem to have been the least cultivated not only in Bengal but in other parts of India as well. The amount of literature that was produced on these systems is quite small in comparison with what we find with respect of other systems. In Bengal again the amount is smaller still. It is true some of the greatest names in these systems have been sought to be connected with Bengal. Thus, Aniruddha, the famous author of a gloss on the *Sâṃkhya-sûtra*, has been sought to be identified with the preceptor of Vallâlasena having the same name. But nothing except similarity of name seems to favour this identification.

We are on a firmer ground, however, with regard to a few exegetical works and elementary treatises, the connection of which with Bengal may be supposed to be fairly certain. We mention below some of these works and their authors.

Sâṃkhya-vṛtti-prakâśa[7] (C.S., III. 12) by Raghunâtha Tarkavâgîśa, son of Śivarâma Chakravartî, is a commentary on the *Sâṃkhyakârikâ* of Îśvarakṛṣṇa. This is also called *Sâmkhya-tattvavilâsa* (Hall. p. 6). The work is fairly old, as a MS. of it in the Asiatic Society of Bengal is dated 1448 A.D.

The *Sâṃkhya-kaumudî* by Râmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭâchâryya is a commentary on the *Sâṃkhya-kârikâ* of Iśvarakṛṣṇa (Hall, p. 8; L. 468; I.O., 1303). The *Catalogus Catalogorum* (vol. I) refers to a *Sâṃkhyasâra* by Râmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭâchâryya. In the Adyar Library, Madraṣ, is a *Sâṃkhyaprayoga* by one Śrînâtha Bhaṭṭâchârya. The *Sâṃkhya-padârtha-mañjârî* by Râmânanda of the court of Kṛṣṇacandra deals with the 25 categories of the Sâṃkhya system (Report 1901-5. p. 10). It is curious that no work on the Yoga system as such is known to have been composed in Bengal, though Yoga practices were extensively popular among various minor religious sects of Bengal, especially the followers of the Tantras.

Nyâya.[8]

Of all the different systems of philosophy it is in the Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika systems that Bengal specialised and made her name, at least for about the last five hundred years. In fact there was a time not long past when no one could aspire to the dignity of a scholar without having some knowledge of Nyâya. Thus specialists in all branches of Sanskrit literature—Smṛti, grammar or even Kâvya—were required to have some acquaintance with the rudiments of Nyâya. The amount of literature produced in Bengal in these two branches of philosophy during three centuries—sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth—has been enormous. It is curious, however, that we have no trace of any activity in the field of Nyâya in Bengal before the thirteenth century, when the foundation was laid by Gaṅgeśa of Mithilâ, of what is called *Navya-Nyâya* (modern logic) in contradistinction to *Prâchîna-Nyâya* (old school of logic). But there is evidence to show that Buddhist logic was cultivated at a much earlier period, and two works on it by Ratnâkara Śânti (tenth century) are known to have come down (S. C. Vidyâbhuṣaṇa—op. cit. p. 343; H.P.S.—*Bauddha-gâna-o-Dohâ*—Intro., p. 28).

Bengal's Contribution to Prâchîna Nyâya.

It is true Bengal had her share in the literature of Prâchîna-Nyâya or the Nyâya philosophy of Gotama, but that was not before Navya-Nyâya was introduced here. The amount of the contribution of Bengal towards the literature of Prâchîna-Nyâya is not indeed much, but whatever be the amount it can broadly be divided into two classes—(1) exegetical works, (2) independent treatises.

(To be continued.)

7 The CS on the authority of the Colophon of the MS., described therein, names the work *Sâṃkhyatattva-vichâra*, though *Sâṃkhya-vṛtti-prakâśa* seems to be the name given by the author in the concluding verse.

8 I am deeply indebted to the works of Dr. S. C. Vidyabhusana (*History of Indian Logic*) and G. N. Kaviraja (*History and Bibliography of Nyâya Vaiśeṣika Literature*—Sarswati Bhavan studies—IV, pp. 59 ff.) for much valuable information for this section.

NOTES ON HOBSON-JOBSON.

BY PROF. S. H. HODIVALA, M.A.

(*Continued from p.* 174.)

Nambeadarim.—The earliest quotation is of 1503, but the word occurs more than fifty years before that date, though in such a distorted form that neither Dowson nor Major nor Yule has been able to recognize it. Abdur-Razzâq, who visited Vijayanagar about 1441 A.D., writes :

" The king had appointed as a temporary substitute of the Brahman *Danâik* a person named Hambah Nurîr, who considered himself equal to the *wazîr.*" (*Matla'u-s-sa'dain* in Elliot and Dowson, IV, 122.) Here Quatremere reads 'Nimapazir,' and we may be sure *Hambah Nurîr* or *Nimapazir* is, like Danâik (Sansk. *Dandnâyak*), not the name of a person, but the title or designationof his office and that both forms are misreadings of نمبودير or نمبودری and corruptions of the Malayâlam *nambiyadiri*, ' a general,' ' a prince.'

Otto, Otter.—As Mr. Crooke's account of the discovery of this perfume by the Empress Nûr Jahân (?) is not without errors, I give below the Emperor Jahângîr's own version of the incident from his ' Memoirs.'

[1614.] " This *'itr* is a discovery which was made during my reign through the efforts of the mother of Nûr-Jahân Begam. When she was making rose-water, a scum formed on the surface of the dishes into which the hot rose-water was poured from the jugs. She collected this scum little by little ; when much rose-water was obtained a sensible portion of the scum was collected . . . In reward for that invention I presented a string of pearls to the inventress. Salîma Sultân Begam . . . was present, and she gave this oil the name of *'itr-i-Jahângîrî.*"

Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî, Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, I, 270-71. Aligarh Text, 132, l. 8 from foot.

It will be seen that it was not the empress, but *her mother*, who deserves the credit of the discovery. Nûr Jahân was married to the emperor in the sixth year of his reign [1610-11 A.D.]. The discovery was made, not " on her marriage with Jahângîr," as Mr. Crooke says, but about three years afterwards.

Palankeen.—In connection with this word, Yule and Burnell say that they have " not found evidence of *pâlkî* older than Akbar ". I can give at least two examples from writers of the fourteenth century. Ziâu'd-dîn Barni (*c.* 1358) writes :

" The Sultan [Qutbuddin Mubârak Khalji] was so infatuated and so strongly desired the presence of Khusrû Khân, that he sent relays of bearers with a litter to bring him with all haste from Deogîr in the course of seven or eight days." (*Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* in Elliot and Dowson, III, 220). Here the word used for *litter* in the original is *pâlkî*. *Bibl. Indica,* Text, p. 400, l. 3. The second example may be found in the *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* of Shams-i-Sirâj 'Afif, which was written about 1400 A.D.

In the memoirs of Shamsu'd-dîn Abûrjâ, this writer says that when that person was recalled to Dehli in the reign of Sultân Muḥammad bin Fîrûz, he came *pâlkî sawâr,* as he had been rendered permanently incapable of riding a horse on account of the cruel flogging he had received by the order of his enemy Khân-i-Jahân

Bibl. Indica, Text, p. 492, l. 4.

The word probably occurs also in the *Fatûhât-i-Fîrûzshâhî* translated in Elliot and Dowson, III, 380. There we read :

" A custom and practice unauthorized by the Law of Islâm had sprung up in Musulmân cities. On holy days women riding in palankîns, or carts, or litters, or mounted on horses or mules, or in large parties on foot, went out of the city to the tombs."

But I cannot say this for certain, as the original text of this most interesting work has not been published. The words translated as ' palankîn-bearers ' in Elliot, III, 303, are

kahârân bâ dûlahâ (Text, 136, line 7), and the equivalent of 'litter' in Elliot, III, 139 is *mahfa* (Barnî, Text, 184, l. 14).

The kindred word *palang*, 'bedstead,' also occurs in Shams-i-Sirâj, Text, 100, l. 2 and 146, l. 11.

Pesh-Khâna.—On this word, Bernier (1665) is the earliest writer quoted.

[1621.] "The 6th present [September], the king's *peshchanna* went out; and tomorrow the king himselfe departs this cittye [Agra], and in his progresse is intended as report saith, for Adgmeere and soe for Mandoe, but as yet noe certaintie."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 268.

Picota.—It is strange that the learned authors of this wonderful book should have been obliged to confess their inability to trace the origin of this word. But *dormitat Homerus*. May I venture to point out that it is a corruption of the Persian *pukhta*, ripe, full (the Hindustani *pakkâ*). There was a *bhâr-i-pukhta* and a *bhâr-i-khâm*, in Persia, just as there was a *pakkâ man* and a *kacchâ man* in India. Then, by a transition of meaning, to which there is an exact parallel in the two significations of the word *sawâi*, it came to be used for the *difference* between the *kacchâ bhâr* and the *pakkâ bhâr* in the different trades—the varying "allowance added as a handicap" to the *kacchâ* weight to make it *pakkâ* or *pukhta*. This additional allowance was the 'Picota,' (*pukhta*): it was 3 maunds Persian or about 1/12 additional for cloves; for cinnamon 1/16 additional, for benzoin 1/5, etc. Exactly, in the same way, *siwâi*, or *sawâi* means originally 'one and a quarter', or, as Yule himself renders it, 'having the excess of a fourth.' (*s.v.* Sabaio, p. 778, col. 2). But it has also come to mean, as Wilson says, 'the excess of a fourth' itself. Thus Robert Hughes writes from Patna: "Serbandy silke . . . is at present here worth a 100 rup[ees] gross per maunde of 40 seres . . from which is abated the Savoye or 25 per cent., soe it rests net worth about 75 rupees per maunde net." Foster, *English Factories in India*, 1618-1621, p. 194. See also *Ibid.*, p. 204.

Pinjrapole.—[*c.* 1154.] "The inhabitants of Nahrwâra [Anhilwâḍ, Gujarât] . . have a great veneration for oxen and . . inter them after death. When these animals are enfeebled by age, and are unable to work, they free them from all labour and provide them with food without exacting any return." Idrísi, *Nuzhatu-l-Mushtâq* in Elliot and Dowson, I, 88.

[*c.* 1585.] "In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor have any thing killed; in the towne they have hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will give meate to the ants . . . Here [Kûch Bihâr] they be all Gentiles, and they will kil nothing. They have hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, and for all other living creatures. When they be old and lame, they keepe them until they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places and bring it hither, they wil give him money for it or other victuals, and keepe it. They wil give meate to the ants."

R. Fitch in Foster, *Early Travels in India*, pp. 14 and 25.

The derivation of the word proposed by Mr. Crooke is, I am afraid, inadmissible. 'Pole,' in Pinjrâpole, means "a block of houses often with a gateway." The 'Poles' or 'Pols' of Ahmadâbâd are well known to all visitors and are described in the *Imperial Gazetteer* (old edition). 'Pola', the 'sacred bull released in the name of Śiva, can have nothing to do with the Gujarâti '*Pinjrâpole*,' as it is a Dravidian word. The 'sacred bull,' besides, is never caged. Indeed the religious merit lies in giving him his liberty.

Porgo.—[1585.] "Here in Bengala they have every day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they have many great boats which they cal *pericose*, wherewithall they go from place to place and buy rice and many other things; these boates have 24 or 26 oares to rowe them; they be great of burthen, and have no coverture."

Ralph Fitch in *Early Travels in India*, ed., Foster, p. 26.

If, as Sir W. Foster suggests in a note, the 'pericose' of Fitch is identical with the 'purgoos' or 'Porgos' of later writers, this is perhaps the earliest known example of the use of the word by an English writer.

Pucka.—[1607.] "Marching on Friday the 7th [Muharram 1015 A.H.] I travelled 4½ kos and alighted at the station of Pakka. This place is called Pakka because the *sarây* is of burnt brick, and in the Hindi language what is ripe (that is, not raw material) is called *pakka.*"

Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî, Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, I. 97-8. 'Aligarh Text, 47, l. 19.

Puhur, Pore, etc.—[1616-1619.] "But, by the way, they distinguish their time in a different manner from us, dividing the day into foure and the night into as many parts, which they call Pores. These are againe subdivided each into eight parts, which they call Grees, measured according to the ancient custome by water dropping out of one little vessell into another. . . . ."

E. Terry, in Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 317.

Radaree.—[1619.] "As to the robbery of John Young's Qafila. They blame the 'Bolloches' [Balûchis] for the disaster. The robbery is believed to have been committed by some of Shaw Narasans [Shâh Nawâz Khân's] servants . . under pretence of custom or radaree, whereof it seemes demand was made and not paid till afterwards."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 84.

Râm-Râm.—[1583-1591.] "When they [*Scil.* the "Bramanes"] salute one another, they heave up their hands to their heads, and say *Rame, Rame.*"

Ralph Fitch, in Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 19.

Sittringy.—[1621.] "On the 27th . . . there fell (in a sad and solid shower without intermission) so much unexpected rayne as in all the pastt time of the raynes there fell not soe much . . Their linens were in great danger, as they were in the yards. However with the help of skins, *cittringes* etc., they saved most of them from harm."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 354.

Tattoo.—Sir Henry Yule had to go to the Tangierine Ibn Batûta for an early example *Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî* of Barnî (c. 1358). of the use of this familiar word, but it occurs in the That writer, speaking of the regulations of 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî in regard to the prices of commodities, says that "horses of the first class were ordered to be sold for from 100 to 120 *tankas*, those of the 2nd class for from 80 to 90, of the third for from 65 to 70, and such horses as could not be passed by the Diwân [*i.e.*, which were unfit for military service] and which were called 'Tatu,' for from 10 to 25 *tankas*."

Op. cit., *Bibl. Ind.* Text, 313, ll. 4-7.

Taut.—The earliest quotation is dated 1810, but the word appears to have been in common use even in the fourteenth century. Witness the following:

"The great wealth of 'Imâdu-l-Mulk has already been spoken of: it amounted to *krors*. The author was told that on one occasion bags were required for containing the coin, and 2500 the cost of each bag being four *jitals*." *tankas* were expended in the purchase of the material,

Shams-i-Sirâj, *Târîkh-i-Fîrôz-shâhî*, in Elliot and Dowson, III, 372. Here the word used for 'bags' in the original Persian is *badra-i-tatt*—bag of *tat*, *i.e.*, our 'gunny bag.'

Bibl. Ind. Text, p. 439, ll. 5, 7.

The word occurs also in the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, Tr. Blochmann, I, 146, and Jarrett, II, 123.

Thugs.—The authors do not seem to have been aware that there is a very early reference to this class of criminals and an example of the use of the word in the *specific* sense which it has acquired, in Barni's account of the reign of Jalâlu'd-dîn Khaljî (1288-1295 A.D.).

"In his reign some *thags* were taken in the city, and a man belonging to that fraternity was the means of about a thousand being captured. But not one of these did the Sultân have killed. He gave orders for them to be put into boats and to be conveyed into the Lower country to the neighbourhood of Lakhnauti, where they were to be set free. The *thags* would thus have to dwell about Lakhnauti, and would not trouble the neighbourhood (of Dehli) any more."

Târîkh-i-Fîrûzshâhî, in Elliot and Dowson, III, 141.

That the word is not here used in the ordinary sense of 'cheats,' but of 'murderers,' is fairly clear from the author's complaint that they were only exiled, instead of being capitally punished as their crimes deserved. And this is further shown by the fact that the author of the *Tabaqât-i-Akbarî*, who wrote about 1593 A.C. and who has transcribed the passage (Lucknow Text, 59, l. 19), renders the Hindi 'Thags' by the Persian قطاع الطریق, *i.e.*, 'plunderers on the high road,' 'robbers on the highway.'

Trâga.—If European philologists who have sought to trace this word to a Sanskrit root have had to confess their failure, it is just what might have been expected, as it is really a Gujarâtî corruption of an Arabic vocable. The clue to the true derivation is to be found in the facts noted by Yule himself that *trâga* is the extreme form of *dharnâ* and that this latter term of Prâkrit origin sometimes received the Arabic or Persian name of *taqâẓa*. This *taqâẓa* is said by Richardson to mean 'forcing, compelling, urging, exacting,' and Yule himself renders it by 'dunning' or 'importunity' (*Hobson-Jobson*, *s.v.* Dhurna, pp. 315-6). Now *taqâẓa* is spelt with a *zâd* and would be pronounced 'taqâḏhâ' by purists. Indeed, it assumes in Gujarâtî and Marâṭhî the form *takâda* or *tagâda* just as the Arabic *baiẓa* (also spelt with a *zâd*), 'eggs,' becomes in Gujarâtî *baida*. Yule himself notes elsewhere that there was under the Marâṭhâ government an officer called "Tagâdâgîr," whose duty it was to enforce the state demands against defaulting creditors (p. 334 note). Now 'Takâdo,' 'Tagâdo' would by metathesis become 'Tadâko,' 'Tadâgo,' and indeed the word often assumes that form in the mouths of illiterate people even now.

This sort of metathesis is very common in Gujarâtî, *e.g.*, *muchalka*, *mucharka*, (Yule's *Moochulka*) is often, if not habitually, written and pronounced 'machakḍâ,' 'machakrâ,' and *fatîla* or wick, 'a roving of cotton,' becomes *palita*. Thus, *Tarâgo*, *Trâgo*, is only a dialectical form of 'Tadâko,' 'Tadâgo' and accounted for by the very common interchange or softening of the 'd' into an 'r.'

Turkey.—It would be difficult to improve upon the following description of the bird from the pen of the Emperor Jahângîr.

"On the 16th Farwardîn [3 April 1612 A.D.] Muqarrab Khân brought from Goa certain "rarities he met with in that port . . . Among these were some animals that were very strange and wonderful, such as I had never seen, and up to this time no one had known their names . . . One of these animals in body is larger than a peahen and smaller than a peacock. When it is in heat and displays itself, it spreads out its feathers like a peacock and dances about. Its beak and legs are like those of a cock. Its head and neck and the part under the throat are every minute of a different colour. When it is in heat it is quite red . . . and after a while it becomes white in the same places, and looks like cotton . . . Two pieces of flesh it has on its head like the comb of a cock. A strange thing is this, that when it is in heat the aforesaid piece of flesh hangs down to the length of a span from the top of its head like an elephant's trunk, and again when he raises it up, it appears on its head like the horn of a rhinoceros, to the extent of two finger-breadths. Round its eyes it is always of a turquoise colour, and does not change. Its feathers appear to be of various colours, differing from the colours of the peacock's feathers."

Tûzuk-i-Jahângîrî, Tr. Rogers and Beveridge, I. 215-6. 'Aligarh Text, 104, last line.

Tuxall, Taksaul.—[1621.] "What Isack Beage [Governor of Surat] doth intend about the *tauchsal* is not yet knowne."

Foster, *English Factories in India* (1618-1621), p. 293.

Winter.—[1583-5.] "The winter beginneth here [Golconda and Bijâpur] about the last of May . . . It [Burhânpur] is marveilous great and a populous countrey. In their *winter*, which is in June, July and August, there is no passing in the streetes but with horses, the waters be so high."

R. Fitch, in Foster, *Early Travels in India*, p. 16.

A very early, if not the earliest, example of the use of the word in this sense in English,

NOTE ON EXPLORATIONS IN MAKRAN AND OTHER PARTS OF SOUTHERN BALUCHISTAN.[1]

By Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., F.B.A.

Sir Aurel Stein by the close of November 1927 had completed the passing through the press of his "Innermost Asia," which furnishes the detailed record of the archæological and geographical results of his third Central-Asian expedition. Its four quarto volumes have since been published by the Oxford University Press for the Government of India.

Once clear of this heavy task Sir Aurel started on a long tour on behalf of the Indian Archæological Department through Khârân, Makrân and Jhalawân, forming part of the Kalât State of Southern Balûchistân. It had been proposed by him in 1925, with the support of Sir John Marshall, Director-General of Archæology in India. These territories, once included in the province *Gedrosia* of the ancient Persian Empire, are now for the most part arid wastes. The area over which the explorations extended measures about 280 miles from east to west and some 250 miles from north to south. Without the very helpful assistance of the authorities of the Kalât State and the facilities of motor transport afforded by the fair-weather roads which have been opened in recent years, mainly under the aegis of Colonel T. H. Keyes, the late Political Agent, Kalât, it would have been impossible to survey ancient remains scattered over so great an area within four and a half months.

The classical records, especially those relating to the trials experienced by Alexander's army on his return from the conquests on the North-West Frontier and the Indus, clearly show that at that time the physical character, mainly desertic, of this region could not have differed very much from the present one. All the more remarkable is the great number of mounds marking prolonged occupation by ancient settlements of some size, which Sir Aurel on his reconnaissance survey was able to trace and partially to explore. The experience gained on his tour of last year through Wazîristân and Northern Balûchistân (*G.J.*, LXXI. 377-80) permitted him to determine by the evidence of plentiful remains of painted pottery, terracotta figurines, stone implements and the like, that most of those ancient settlements belonged to successive prehistoric periods extending from neolithic to chalcolithic times.

Trial excavations systematically carried out at more than half a dozen of the more promising sites brought to light much interesting evidence as to the conditions of daily life as well as to the burial customs prevailing at the different periods. Stone implements associated with remarkably well-made but undecorated ceramic ware were particularly abundant at the extensive site of Sukhtaken-dor near the Persian border of Makrân. Complete chalcolithic burials unearthed on the very top of the Shâhi Tump mound near Turbat furnished plenty of painted funerary vessels, different in type from those found by Mr. Hargreaves at Nâl, as well as personal relics of the dead Painted ceramic ware of superior fabric and probably earlier type was found at certain other Makrân mounds. It closely recalls that discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Sîstân and Zhob and is linked also with ceramic remains of certain sites in Persia and Transcaspia. At some mounds of Kolwa and Mashkai, which in view of their size might well be considered as sites of small towns, the use of stone masonry had prevailed, and this facilitated the rapid exploration of ruined dwellings probably dating from about the third millennium before Christ, if not older. A peculiar feature of almost all the prehistoric sites is the abundance of a type of terracotta figurines which distinctly suggest the extension to the west of an Indian cult.

Extensive cemeteries explored on and near the Makrân sea-coast may, on the other hand, not be far removed from the time when Alexander's fleet slowly made its way towards the Persian Gulf along these dreary shores of the Ikhthyophagoi, or 'fisheaters,' the predecessors of the present fishing folk of the Meds. Of ruined sites occupied during Muhammadan times only few were traced, and those, too, only close to the present oases.

[1] Reprinted, with the permission of the Royal Geographical Society and of Sir Aurel Stein, from the *Geographical Journal* for February 1929.

All the archæological evidence obtained points to a comparatively well-developed civilization and one based upon ample agricultural resources having prevailed during prehistoric times in this wide region. The striking contrast with present conditions thus revealed in these arid tracts, with their scanty and semi-nomadic population, is bound to prove of special interest to geographical students in view of the much-discussed problem of 'desiccation.'

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PRESIDENCY OF FORT ST. GEORGE.

By C. S. SRINIVASACHARI, M.A.

(*Continued from page* 191.)

Prior to the issue of this charter, the Agent and Council very probably possessed no judicial authority over the inhabitants "but such as was derived from the native suzerain." Justice towards natives and towards European subjects of foreign powers was administered in that way. Offences by British subjects were dealt with by the Agent in Council.

When the case of the murder of an Indian slave-girl by her European mistress was referred by the Agent and Council to the Directors, they resolved that, under the authority given by the Charter of 1661, the Agent at Fort St. George should be created Governor with power to try this and similar cases. This despatch reached Madras during the Governorship of Winter; but as it was intended for Foxcroft, the latter may be fitly regarded as the first of the Governors.[14] Foxcroft insisted, much against the will of the Nawâb of the neighbourhood, on himself controlling the Indian population. The acceptance of a *Havildar* or Indian Governor of the town was, he maintained, an "infraction of his authorised privileges."

Sir William Langhorne's Governorship lasted six years (1672-78) and was marked by (1) Nawâb Neknâm Khân's confirmatory grant of the territory and privileges which Foxcroft could not obtain; (2) by the beginning of the series of *Public Consultations*, which became regular from 1678—there being one volume for each year and each containing the lists of civil servants, the free merchants and the unmarried ladies, and the public letters to England, already referred to, being available from 1698; and (3) by the danger of the French occupation of San Thomé, which once made Langhorne entertain the idea of abandoning Madras altogether and which led to the strengthening of the fortifications of the settlement.

Governor Streynsham Master (1678-81) was an old servant of the Company and had gallantly participated in the defence of Surat against Sivâji. He had been for some time Agent at Masulipatam and Second in the Council of Madras; and he began his rule as Governor by framing regulations for the proper administration of justice. He reorganised the Choultry Court, which had been long held at the Choultry, or Town House, where justice was administered to the Indian inhabitants by persons, either Indians or Europeans, appointed by the Governor. He increased the number of Choultry Justices to three, of whom two at least should sit for the trial of causes and the registration of bills of sale of land and other property. They should sit every Tuesday and Friday in the Choultry to do the common justice of the town as usual and take care that "the Scrivener of the Choultry duly registered all sentences in Portuguese and that an exact register was kept of all alienations or sales of slaves, houses, gardens, boats, ships, etc., the Company's dues for the same to be received by the customs......The Purser-General or Pay-Master to take charge of the concerns of deceased men and to keep a book for registering wills and testaments and inventories of deceased persons and also to keep a register of births, christenings, marriages, burials of all English men and women within the town."[15]

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14 Love, *op. cit.*, vol. I.

15 Shaw—*Charters relating to the East India Company*, p. VII, quoted by H. D. Love (*Vestiges*; vol. I, pp. 404-06).

Master also established a Superior Court for the trial by jury of civil and criminal offences by virtue of the powers granted by the charter of 1661. According to his scheme the Governor and Council were to sit in the chapel in the Fort every Wednesday and Saturday for the trial of causes according to English laws. The Choultry Justices and the officers under them were to execute all orders, writs, and summons for the returning of juries, execution of judgment, apprehension of criminals, etc. The court was to have the assistance of a clerk, an officer and a marshal.[16] This court was not intended to supersede the Justices of the Choultry, who were to decide all small misdemeanours, breaches of the peace and civil actions for debt not exceeding 50 pagodas. The decision to constitute this court of judicature was due in part to the difficulty experienced in dealing with criminal matters. This court was superseded in 1684 by an Admiralty Court presided over by a Judge-Advocate from England.

By a charter of 1683 the Company were given full power to declare and make war and peace with heathen nations, to raise and keep military forces and to exercise martial law in their jurisdiction. The same charter established a court of judicature presided over by a civil judge and two assistants, with power to hear and determine all cases of forfeiture of ships or goods trading contrary to the charter and also all mercantile and maritime cases, including injuries and wrongs done on the high seas "according to the rules of equity and good conscience, and according to the laws and customes of merchants." A Judge-Advocate was sent to Surat, and it was provided that the President at Madras should supply the place of Judge-Advocate till one should arrive.[17] Thus the old Court of Judicature continued. The Court of Admiralty was established in 1686, its judge and his two assistants being Members of Council and civil servants of the Company. But the Justices of the Peace were not interfered with. Later a Judge-Advocate was appointed from England, who was made third in Council and was appointed to preside at the Quarter Sessions. Courts-martial were also proclaimed under the authority of the charter. The Governor usually presided at the trial of pirates; but occasionally the Judge-Advocate sat for such trials.

James II delegated to the East India Company the power of establishing by charter a municipality at Madras, and this charter was issued by the Company under their own seal under the authority of the charters of 1661 and 1683 of Charles II and of 1686 of James II. According to this Company's charter, a Municipality and Mayor's Court were established at Madras. The municipality was to consist of a mayor, 12 aldermen and 60 or more burgesses. The Mayor was to hold office for a year, the aldermen for their lives or during their residence in Madras. The charter further nominated 29 free merchants as burgesses. The new mayor was to be elected from the aldermen annually; vacancies among the aldermen were to be filled up by election from among the burgesses, and three of them were always to be covenanted servants.

The Municipality and the Mayor's Court were created by the Company's charter, because, as the Governor of the Court of Directors observed, "the wind of the extraordinary honour in their heads would probably render them so haughty and over-bearing that the Company would be forced to remove them." He had evidently in mind the recent differences between Sir John Child, the Governor of Bombay, and Dr. St. John, who was appointed judge of the court at Surat by Royal Commission from the Company; and he "was alive to the dangers arising from an independent judiciary which in the next century were to bring about the conflicts between Warren Hastings and the Calcutta Supreme Court."

The creation of the Municipal Corporation was to be supplemented with the usual ornamental trappings. The mayor and aldermen were to have the honour and privilege of having *rundelloes* (umbrellas) and *kattysols* (parasols) borne over them; they could ride on horseback in the same order as was used by the mayor and aldermen of London: they were to wear scarlet serge gowns all made after one form or fashion "such as shall be thought most

16 *Public Consultations*, 18th March, 1678. 17 *Public Consultations*, 7th July, 1684.

convenient for the hot country": and the burgesses were to wear on solemn occasions white *pelongs* or other silk gowns.

The burgesses were to be elected by the mayor and aldermen, and were not to exceed 120 in number. The mayor and aldermen were to be a Court of Record for the town; and the mayor and the three senior aldermen were also to be justices of the peace. The Mayor's Court could try all cases, civil and criminal. There was to be an appeal from it in civil cases only when the value of the award exceeded three pagodas, and in criminal cases when the offender was sentenced to lose life or limb. It could inflict fines, corporal punishment and imprisonment. Mr. Nathaniel Higginson, a future Governor, was the first mayor: he was succeeded by Mr. Littleton.

The Mayor's Court was to have a Recorder, being an English-born covenanted servant of the Company. Sir John Biggs, the Judge-Advocate, was to be the first Recorder.[18] When he died in 1689, the Court of Admiralty, which was also called the Supreme Court, was declared extinct. According to the charter there was a right of appeal from the Mayor's Court to the Court of Admiralty. Now the Mayor's Court declared that their own decisions were final. The mayor and some of the aldermen were members of Council, and they quarrelled over this with Governor Yale, who thought differently and countermanded some of the sentences of the Mayor's Court.

Thus the Government resolved to erect a new court of judicature consisting of a Judge Advocate and four judges. The Governor was to act as Judge-Advocate, pending an appointment from England. Of the four judges, one was to be an Armenian merchant, who was to enquire into causes concerning his own community and other foreigners. Another was to be the Company's chief merchant, Allingall (Alangatha) Pillai, the builder of the Ekambareśvarar Pagoda, who was to appear for "the Natives, as well *Gentues, Moores, and Mallabars*."[19] There was to be an Attorney-General for this court, which lasted on till 1692, when the Company sent out a new Judge-Advocate.

The Choultry justices continued all this time: they were magistrates, and the senior among them was called the Chief Justice. The aldermen of the Corporation sat also as justices at the Choultry. Subsequently when their work at the Mayor's Court increased special Choultry justices had to be nominated.

In 1692 the Supreme Court of Judicature was revived as the Company sent out a new Judge-Advocate from England: later he was removed from office, and the Company decided that the post of Judge-Advocate should be filled by members of Council in succession. The Supreme Court inflicted sentences of death, whipping, pillory, etc. Several examples of these punishments are given by Mr. Love.[20]

The mayor and aldermen were empowered to levy taxes for the building of a town-hall, a public jail and a convenient school house, where native children might be taught to speak, read, and write the English tongue, as well as arithmetic and accounting. They were also empowered to build sewers and to regulate the paving of streets and lanes. The Council, in a Consultation of the 12th August 1689, assigned to them the existing petty taxes of paddy toll, measurers and weighers' duty and brokerage. Government frequently complained that the revenues had not been applied to their proper purposes by the Corporation, and desired in January 1692 that most of the aldermen should consist of the heads of the several foreign castes, *viz.*, one Armenian, one or two Hebrews, one or two Portuguese, "and one or two Gentues and one Moore if you have a sufficient number of that caste which have their proper head or chief."

[18] The Court of Admiralty, by fusion with the Recorder's Court created in 1796, became in 1801 the first Supreme Court appointed by the Crown: and the latter by fusion with the East India Company's Sudder Court became in 1862 the present High Court. (*Madras Manual*, vol. I, p. 167.)

[19] *Public Consultations*, 16th June, 1690.

[20] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 496-97.

Regarding this power of taxation it may be noted that the Directors had long been pressing upon the Government of Madras the necessity of raising a quit-rent from all the householders, both native and European, in order to defray their yearly charges for repairs and fortifications. Governor Master raised a tax of this sort for the purpose of improving the sanitation of the Black Town. His successor annulled the tax in response to a petition of the inhabitants demanding its abolition. Master, making thus the first attempt at the conservancy of the town, created the office of Scavenger, who was also later entrusted with the duty of collecting the ground-rents. "The duty of Scavenger was to collect the cash and not the dirt: and for nearly a century the double appointment was held by a civil servant of a high degree........His duties were directly connected with the supervision of the cleansing of the streets, though it might be a shock to us that the office was filled by a senior Civilian."[21]

It was the Directors that again and again repeated the necessity of taxing the inhabitants in some way or other and Gyfford, the successor of Master, after all decided to impose a monthly tax upon all the inhabitants. The heads of the castes were consulted, and finally they agreed to pay nine fanams annually for every large house, six fanams for every small house and three fanams for every little round house.[22] The promised tax was not, however, enforced or collected till 1686, when the Directors sent peremptory orders for its collection. There was a tumult among the people, which was answered by the calling out of the military. The heads of castes refused to comply with the order, but being threatened with banishment, finally complied.

After the establishment of the Corporation directions were given to increase the quit-rents and to impose a duty on licenses of public-houses. Government insisted that the Corporation should find other means of support than the Company's revenues. The land and sea customs were separated. Both were 3 per cent. *ad valorem*, exclusive of small dues to the Pedda Naick. For some time the duty was reduced to 2½ per cent. for all free Englishmen, the rate of 3 per cent. being retained for the Portuguese and Indians. The Directors disapproved of this discrimination; and in 1688 a uniform duty of 5 per cent. was fixed for all, goods exported being exempted. There was also the town brokerage on bargains between buyers and sellers, half of which went to Government, and later on to the Corporation. The quit-rent and Scavenger's duty were for a time transferred to the Corporation in order to enable it to wipe off the debt it had contracted for the building of the town hall.

A word as to the existence of slavery may not be out of place. Slaves used for domestic purposes were always recognized in Madras. Their sale or purchase had to be registered at the Choultry Court. The stealing of children was strongly condemned. The export of slaves was absolutely prohibited in 1683, but it was allowed later on, under regulation and on the payment of one pagoda per slave exported by sea. Slaves were also purchased for the use of the Company. The stealing of children for the purpose of selling them as slaves was always a crying evil, and after some time in 1689 the export of slaves was altogether prohibited, "in deference," be it noted, "to the aversion of the Mughal power to the trade."

In the time of Governor Macrae (1725-30) the Mayor's Court was reorganised by virtue of a charter granted in 1726 for "establishing or reconstituting the municipalities at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta and setting up or remodelling Mayor's and other courts in each of these Presidencies." The mayor and the aldermen were to constitute a Mayor's Court with civil jurisdiction, subject to an appeal to the Governor or President in Council and a further appeal in more important cases to the King-in-Council. The Mayor's Court now also granted

21 Love—*Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 442. See also *Hobson-Jobson* (Yule and Burnell), revised edition, p. 802, which explains the officer as the collector of duties on goods, deriving it from *scavage* (inspection of the opening of the imported goods). The Consultation quoted by Love clearly says that the Scavenger was to collect the rate and hire men to carry away the dirt and filth.

22 42 fanams made one star pagoda, and a fanam was equal to 2*d*. English money.

probates, and exercised testamentary jurisdiction. The Governor, or President, and the 5 senior Members of Council were to be justices of the peace, and were to hold quarter-sessions four times in the year, with jurisdiction over all offences except high treason. At the same time the Company were authorised, as in previous charters, to "appoint generals and other military officers with power to exercise the inhabitants in arms, to repel force by force and to exercise martial law in times of war.[23] The President and Council were also to be a court of appeal from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court while a Court by Requests or a Court of Conscience was instituted for the decision by summary procedure of pecuniary questions of inconsiderable amount.

Thursday, the 17th August 1727, was the day when the new mayor and aldermen were sworn in at the Company's Garden House in Pedda Naickan Pettah, where the President and Council were met to receive them the mayor and aldermen proceeding from the parade-ground in the Fort through the old Black Town to the Company's Garden on horseback, with guards, peons and country music. Soon afterwards the President and five senior councillors constituted themselves into a Court of Appeal and a Court of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery : while the five justices of the peace appointed by the Royal Charter were also appointed Justices of the Choultry to decide small debts not exceeding 20 pagodas. It was found inconvenient that an appeal from the Justices of the Choultry, who were also members of the superior court, should lie to the Mayor's Court, and so the Sheriff was constituted a court (*Consultation* of 27th November 1727) to decide all petty cases, without appeal as far as five pagodas, and as far as 20 pagodas on allowing the parties the liberty of appealing to the Mayor's Court. The register of slaves was to be kept by the Sheriff in the place of the Justices of the Choultry, as well as the register of sales and mortgages of houses. The justices of the peace were to take cognizance of all petty breaches of the peace, larceny, etc., for lesser offences they were to inflict corporal punishment and for others they were to bind over the accused to the Sessions or to the Choultry. The Register's fees at the Mayor's Court were also notified.

Owing to the capture and occupation of Madras by the French (1746-49) the continuity of the Municipal Corporation and the Mayor's Court was destroyed and the charter of 1726 was surrendered. A fresh charter was issued in 1753, which exempted from the jurisdiction of the Mayor's Court "all suits and actions between Indian Natives only," and directed that all these suits were to be determined among themselves, unless both parties agreed to submit them to the Mayor's Court. This new charter (issued on the 8th January 1753) provided for the revival of the mayor and the aldermen. Seven of the nine aldermen were to be natural born subjects of the King, and only two could be foreign protestants. The aldermen were to continue in office for life, and from among them two were to be elected annually by the Corporation, one of whom was to be chosen as the mayor by the Governor in Council. The mayor and aldermen were to form a Court of Record for civil suits, not being between Indians arising in Madras and its subordinate factories. Appeals from decrees upto 1000 pagodas were to lie to the President and Council, while in judgments for larger sums an appeal might be made to the King-in-Council. There was to be a Court of Requests for the summary decision of petty civil suits by Commissioners appointed by Government. The President and Members of Council were to be the justices of the peace for Madras and the subordinate factories, to hold Quarter-Sessions and Oyer and Terminer and General Gaol Delivery and to be a Court of Record dealing with all offences excepting high treason. The mode of trial was to follow English practice and the Sheriff was to summon persons to serve as Grand and Petit Jury.

Thus the earliest Madras courts worked under the authority of the charters of Charles II and the earlier charters which might be construed as giving judicial powers. Up till 1678

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23 C. P. Ilbert, *The Government of India*, 2nd Edition, p. 32 ; and Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time* (1882), p. 465.

the arrangements in Madras for the administration of justice appear from the rules and regulations made by Governor Master and his Council in January 1678. The first Supreme Court was established in March, 1678, in the person of the Governor and Council, sitting to hear causes, but not superseding the justices of the Choultry, who still decided on small misdemeanours and actions for debt. An Admiralty Court, with a Judge-Advocate from England, was established by virtue of the charter of 1683 and by the Directors' despatch of the 7th January 1687. This is the forerunner of the present High Court.[24] The first Mayor's Court was established in the same year, with an appeal to the Court of Admiralty. A Recorder was also appointed to be an assistant to the Mayor. The Admiralty Court was soon afterwards superseded, for certain reasons, by the Governor and Council as a court of appeal from the Mayor's Court. The new Mayor's Court created by the charter of 1726 was a Court of Record from which an appeal lay to the Governor and Council, who were constituted justices of the peace and Court of Oyer, Terminer and Gaol Delivery. The Court of Directors sent out with the charter of 1726 a Book of Instructions with respect to the method of proceeding in all actions and suits, civil and criminal, and also the forms of the oaths to be taken. It was probably in this Book of Instructions that the doctrine was laid down that by the charter of 1726 all Common and Statute Law at that time extant in England was introduced into the Indian Presidencies, and that all the Parliamentary enactments passed since that period were excluded unless their extension to India was specially declared. The charter of 1753 re-created the Mayor's Courts with some not very material alterations, but excluding suits between Indians unless entertained with their consent. The jurisdiction of the Government courts in criminal matters was also limited to offences committed within the Presidency and the factories subordinate thereto. Later the arrangements made by Warren Hastings, known as the Adalat scheme, were applied to the Madras territories.

In the Government itself power was vested in a majority of the Council. From the time of Foxcroft the Council, which was nebulous till then, came to take definite shape, and it met with considerable regularity. The Governor had certain ill-defined separate powers as the commander of the garrison. The Council usually consisted of 5 or 6 members at first. The Governor was Treasurer: the second member was Accountant; other members managed the import and export warehouses, the customs and the mint: the youngest member of the Council was the Scavenger. The Council, till the establishment of the Recorder's Court in 1797, formed a tribunal for both civil and criminal justice. The French wars and political complications, which increased from about 1745, led to the increase of the councillors to ten, which became the number of the Council in the second Governorship of Pigot. A Select Committee was created within the Council to deal with military and political matters and to ensure secrecy. The first Select Committee was formed in 1752. A second was appointed by the Directors in 1754, with greater powers, which lasted till 1758. There was a third Select Committee to deal with the First Mysore War and the Nawâb's debts, which lasted till 1775. A fourth committee was created in 1778 to deal with all military, political, naval, and secret affairs.

It was only in 1785 that the secret of the situation was discovered and Government was reduced to the President and three Members of Council. In 1786 boards were formed under Government—the Board of Revenue, the Military Board, the Board of Trade, the Hospital Board and the Marine Board, which managed the various departments and were the channels of communication for the orders of Government, whose members ceased to be direct administrative officers.[25]

[24] "In Fort St. George justice was administered by the Agent and his Council or by the justices appointed by them. A Court of Admiralty was created in 1686, and a Mayor's Court in 1688. The latter was absorbed into a Recorder's Court, established in 1798, and this in turn was superseded by a Supreme Court of Judicature three years later. For suits between Indians, there were besides (under Warren Hastings' scheme) district courts for civil suits and courts of circuit for criminal cases, a Sadr Adalat for civil, and a Faujdari Adalat for criminal appeals, the functions of which were in 1862 merged in those of a new High Court."—Foster, *Guide to the India Office Records*, p. 80—see also Love, *Vestiges*, vol. III, pp. 479-80.

[25] Dodwell—*Report on the Madras Records* (1911), pp. I to III.

From December 1750[26] matters of a secret nature, whether military or political, began to be kept apart from the rest, under the title of " Extraordinary Occurrences and Consultations," described in the Madras Records Office as 'Military Consultations.' From September 1754 the transactions with the country powers were carried on by a committee consisting of the Governor and four members of his Council. There were occasional consultations of the whole Council on matters of special importance. This committee continued until 1758 under the altered title of "Select Committee for transacting Country Affairs." During Lally's siege of Madras (December 1758 to February 1759) the government was committed to Governor Pigot and Major Stringer Lawrence. As soon as normal government was restored, secret matters began to be dealt with by the whole board in their secret department. In 1761 the Directors ordered the reappointment of a Select Committee for affairs requiring special secrecy, consisting of the Governor and four councillors, but presumably the Council reverted at once to the practice of dealing with all secret matters in the Military and Secret Department. In 1769 the Directors directed the formation of a Select Committee to deal with political questions and military operations. That body remained in existence till 1775, their proceedings running side by side with the Military and Secret Consultations of the whole Board.

In 1778 the Directors appointed a fresh Select Committee consisting of the Governor, Commander-in-Chief and two members. This continued till the 12th February 1785, when the new form of government prescribed by the Act of 1784 came into force.

In 1786 the Directors ordered a Military Board, a Board of Revenue, and a Board of Trade to be established, and in 1800 a Marine Board was started. As early as 1774 we find the revenue consultations being separated from the others, and there was a Committee of Assigned Revenue for the collection of all the Nawâb's revenues. This continued till 1790, when the Board of Revenue was directed also to act as the Board of Assigned Revenue.

MISCELLANEA.

EVIDENCE OF AN AŚOKAN PILLAR AT BHUVANEŚVAR IN ORISSA.

Photographs of a stone capital[1] and a stump of a stone pillar (*in situ*) having been sent me from Bhuvaneśvar, in the Purî district of Orissa, I identified them at once as "Aśokan." In behalf of the Patna Museum I then approached the authorities through the proper channel for the acquisition of the capital. In the course of this correspondence certain information has been received, which proves that an Aśoka pillar once stood at Bhuvaneśvar, and, furthermore, that the remains are still associated in the local tradition with that Mauryan emperor. Bhuvaneśvar thus dates back as an important site to the time of the great Aśoka. I append (with permission) copy of a letter from the Subdivisional Officer of Khurdâ, in whose jurisdiction Bhuvaneśvar lies, setting forth the information referred to.

K. P. JAYASVAL.

Copy of letter No. 2217 dated the 21st—22nd May 1929 from the Subdivisional Officer, Khurdâ, to the Collector of Purî.

With reference to your Memo. No. 3366 dated the 2nd May 1929, forwarding a copy of the Assistant Curator, Patna Museum's letter No. 115T dated the 25th April 1929, proposing to acquire a part of an Asoka pillar lying near the Rameswar Temple at Bhubaneswar amicably, I have the honour to report that I visited the spot on the 13th instant in presence of the following gentlemen of the locality including the Marfatdars of the Temple and the Manager of the Bhubaneswar Temple Committee. It appears from an enquiry on the spot that this piece of stone is part of a pillar which is popularly called an Asoka Stambha and it is now kept on the bank of an historic and sacred tank called 'Aśoka Kunda.' On the Aśokâstamî day, which is observed as a great festival at Bhubaneswar, the pilgrims sprinkle their person with water of the Kunda and then touch the remains of the Asoka Stambha, eat buds of Aśoka flowers, visit the Rameswar Temple and pay their obeisance to the idol and then go home. The number of pilgrims attending the *mela* is very large. Therefore the Manager of the Temple, the Marfatdars and the public object to the acquisition of the part of the Stambha in question by Government on religious grounds. Under the circumstances it is not at all desirable that this

[26] Foster—*A Guide to the India Office Records* (1919), pp. 74-80.

[1] This photograph is reproduced in the March-June issue, 1929, of the *JBORS*.

[2] Apparently معرفتدار meaning "agent." Want of space has necessitated the omission of the long list of names given.—JOINT EDITOR.

should be acquired by Government or steps taken under the Treasure Trove Act or Ancient Monument Protection Act for the purpose. My personal opinion is that the piece of stone in question has been removed from high up to the bank of the tank or it has fallen down from the high bank of the Kunda and that the Kunda and the pillar were made at one time. The ignorant public, as is seen in several places, have mixed up Asoka Kunda and the Stambha of Buddhist significance with the Aśokâstami fair of Hindu religious importance. For me it is difficult to say whether the Kunda and the Stambha were made prior to the Rameswar Temple or after that. The stone architecture of the Rameswar Temple seems to be contemporaneous with the Rameswar Temple and the Raja-Rani temple at Bhubaneswar, which is now under preservation under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. However, when, rightly or wrongly, the Hindus have been worshipping the remains of the Stambha and the Kunda on the Aśokâstamî day owing to the identity of the name of Aśoka in the histories of the two different periods of Indian civilisation, the question of the proposed acquisition may be dropped.

BOOK-NOTICES.

ON ALEXANDER'S TRACK TO THE INDUS. Personal Narrative of Explorations on the North-West Frontier of India, by Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E., with 98 illustrations and 2 maps from original surveys; 9¼×6¼ in; pp. xvi+173. London, Macmillan and Co., 1929.

We recently reprinted in our Supplement Sir Aurel Stein's important paper on *Alexander's Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier*, which had been published in *The Geographical Journal* for November and December, 1927. In it were set forth the results of researches pursued in the course of a nine weeks' tour during the spring of 1926 in the basin of the Swât river and adjoining tracts to the east thereof, so far as they threw light on the topography of that portion of the campaign that culminated in the storming of "The Rock" (Aornos) which had defied even Herakles—an episode that many had once regarded as savouring of heroic legend. In the volume now under notice we have a fascinating account of this tour of exploration as a whole, a tour that will rank as one of the most prolific in results of value to scholars ever accomplished in so short a time. In the brief period at his disposal Sir Aurel Stein managed to visit sites and penetrate areas never before trodden by any European, at all events since the days of Alexander or of his successors, who struggled for more than two centuries to hold on to the Indian provinces of his empire. He traversed the main Swât valley from Thâna in the south-west corner to the head of the Torwâl valley, where the Ushu and Gabrâl torrents unite to form the Swât river. Crossing the intervening ranges and passing the secluded and hitherto inaccessible valleys of Ghorband and Kâna, he reached the heights of Ûṇa and the Pir-sar ridge, overlooking the defiles of the Indus to the east, and then, marching through the almost equally unknown and unexplored valleys of Chakesar and Puran, appropriately completed a remarkable circuit by climbing to the top of the famous and holy Mt. Ilam, on the north-west frontier of Buner. He succeeded in identifying three of the strongholds of the Assakênoi named in the accounts of Alexander's campaign left us by Arrian, Curtius and Diodorus, namely Bazira, Ôra and the rock of Aornos, at Bîr-koṭ, Uḍe-grâm and the Pîr-sar ridge, respectively. He located and examined some thirty or more Buddhist *stûpas*, besides numerous sculptures and remains of the Buddhist period, identifying many of the monuments and sites mentioned by Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang. He has, with the aid of a trained surveyor of the Survey of India Department, mapped a great part of the Swât river basin and considerable tracts on the east side of the Swât-Indus watershed. In addition to thus supplementing our knowledge from the historical, archæological and geographical points of view, he has shed further light upon the ethnology and languages of these alpine regions. He has, for instance, made important records of Torwâli, a Dardic language hitherto practically unrecorded; of Dubêr, another Dardic dialect spoken by a people dwelling in a wholly unexplored high valley of the Indus Kohistân lying between Tangîr and Torwâl; and of Batôchî, a Kohistânî language previously unknown, which is spoken by the small Dard community of Batêra in the upper gorges of the Indus. He made time to collect wood carvings at Braniâl in the Torwâl valley, illustrating in their motifs and details the survival to the present day of the influence of the Græco-Buddhist art familiar to us from the Gandhâra relievos. He introduces us in the secluded Kâna valley to the quasi-mediæval conditions of life still pertaining there. Useful notes are added of timber and fruit trees found at various altitudes and in different localities: even the flowers, here and there exposed to our view, brighten a canvas crowded with scenery that delights the eye by its constant beauty and its frequent grandeur—the pale blue violets on the slopes overlooking Kalâm, the red rhododendrons, white iris and edelweiss in the Kâna valley, and the *ḍhâk* (*palâśa*) or "Flame of the Forest" (*Butea frondosa*) on the lower fringes of Mt. Ilam. The occurrence of this last-named tree in this area, it may be noted, is somewhat unexpected, as in Sir George Watt's monumental work the Jehlam is suggested as the western limit of its range.

In regard to the sites described by the great Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang (whom Sir Aurel affectionately alludes to as his patron saint), M. Foucher's suggested identification of the *Hi-lo* mountain with Mt. Ilam has been definitely established, not only by the general features recorded

by the pilgrim but more particularly by the "square stones like couches" that he saw there. These large slabs are clearly shown on plate 97. The "large flat stone with the Buddha's footprints" was found still intact near Tirât ; and "the rock on which Buddha had washed his robe," near Ragast. The *stûpa* ascribed to King Uttarasena and the suggestively shaped rock face that marked the spot where "his large white elephant bearing the precious relics had suddenly died and become a rock" have also been identified at Shankardâr and Ghalagai. It may be noted, further, that the remains found at, and in the vicinity of, Manglawar have satisfied Sir Aurel of the identity of this site with Hsüan-tsang's *Mo-ng-chieh-li*, thus confirming the view of Sir Alexander Cunningham and of Sir Harold Deane.

Ever since General Court, the soldier-archaeologist in Ranjit Singh's service, first proposed (in *JASB.* 1839) a definite location, at Râja Hodi's fort, opposite Attock, for the "Rock" of Aornos, the question of the site of Alexander's great exploit has intrigued scholars. Cunningham (1848, and later) favoured Rânigat, some 16 miles north by west from Ohind (*A. G. of I.*, Plate V). General Abbott, in 1854, proposed Mahâban ; and this latter identification was widely accepted until, in 1904, Sir Aurel Stein, after investigation on the spot, showed conclusively that the local features could not be reconciled with the details given in the Greek accounts. The final solution of this problem, which Sir Aurel generously ascribes to a clue suggested by his friend Col. Wauhope many years ago, was found in April 1926. The evidence, historical, topographical and philological, has been set forth so ably and so lucidly that it cannot fail to carry conviction.

The extent and importance of the topographical and orographical work carried out during this tour will only be fully realized when the details have been incorporated in the Survey sheets concerned. Some idea, however, of the close attention devoted to this matter can be had by examining the contour maps of the Bîr-koṭ hill (p. 38), the heights overlooking Ụḍe-grâm (p. 52) and Pîr-sar and environs (at end). That so much was accomplished within the time available is due to the genius of the author, his exceptional power of organization, his unerring grasp of topographical detail, his remarkable linguistic attainments, tireless energy and faculty of animating all associated with him with his own enthusiasm—qualities that have already placed him in the forefront of a long line of great Asian explorers. The story so modestly told in these pages will command world-wide attention, and no one interested in the history and antiquities of the East will fail to secure a copy. The volume has been excellently printed and the numerous beautiful photographs admirably reproduced by Messrs. Macmillan.

Taking into consideration his records of exploration in 1898 in Buner, in 1904 at Mahâban and in 1913 in Tangir and Darel, which latter the early Chinese accounts describe as the old seat of the government of the country, Sir Aurel has now revealed to us most of the secrets of ancient Uddiyana—the Udyana of later texts and the *Wu-chang-na* of Hsuan-tsang. The only portion of that country so hallowed in the minds of Buddhists that he has not scanned from some mountain top or another are the gloomy and precipitous gorges of the Indus in the Kohistân south of Tangir, so graphically described to us by Fa-hsien and Hsuan-tsang.

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.

TRITA ÂPTYA. Eine Vedische Gottheit. I. Inaugural Dissertation von K. Rönnow. Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift 1927. Filosofi, Sprakwetenskap och Historiska Wetenskaper 5. Uppsala: A. B. Lundequistska Bokhandeln [1927].

This is the first part of a book in which the author proposes to make clear the true character of the Vedic deity Trita Âptya and to explain the myths associated with his name. This part consists, besides the preface, bibliography, list of abbreviations and errata, of an introduction (pp. x-xxviii) in which are set forth in brief the opinions of all earlier Western writers on this subject, and three chapters on (1) Trita as a water deity, (2) the water of life, and (3) Trita Âptya and Soma. In all the chapters, the author brings together interesting parallels to Vedic rites and beliefs from the customs and beliefs of primitive peoples and also from post-Vedic Indian literature : and the book is therefore useful as throwing a clearer light upon the meaning of certain Vedic passages and Vedic rites. Pp. 110-154 on *svadhâ* deserve particular mention in this connection. So far as his chief theme is concerned, however, I have to confess that the author's reasoning has failed to convince me that Trita Âptya is a water deity or even that *âptya* is a doublet of *âpya* and derived from *ap* 'water.' As a matter of fact, the details mentioned in connection with this deity are so diverse in character that it does not seem to me to be possible to bring them all under one head. Compare in this connection the opinions of Hillebrandt (*Ved. Mythologie*, 3.340 ff.) and Spiegel (*Die Arische Periode*, p. 257 ff.) which the author has cited on pp. vii-viii of his *Einleitung*. The book contains a not inconsiderable number of typographical errors. Some of them are noticed and corrected in the *Errata*; amongst those not noticed, I may mention *âptyó* (for *âptyó* p. 20.27), *samîpa* (for *samîpe* 21.30), *ádridhaḥ* (for *ádribhiḥ* 23.22), *abhí* (for *abhí* 23.30), *tato* (for *táto* 34.27 and 31), *phénám* (for *phénáñ* 34.29), *dhattá* (for *dhatta* 43-21), *ṛténa* (for *ṛténá* 89.9), *ṛcatu* (for *ṛcchatu* 50.20), *aṅgáḥ* (for *aṅgáḥ* 53.30), *ittâḥ* (for *itâḥ* 67.18), *aramgama* (for *araṃgamá* 67.23), *kvá âpaḥ* (for *kvà âpaḥ* 86.14), *śaryaṇâvati* (for *śaryaṇâvati* 87.25), *tridhâtu* (for *tridhâtu* 166.15), *ich* (for *ist* 175.5). In addition to Zubatý's article in KZ. 31, the author could with advantage have referred (on p. 153) to *Ind. Antiquary* 56.34 ff. in connection with *svadhâ-sadhá* and similar word-pairs.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.

A LIFE OF NAND ṚISHI.

BY PANDIT ANAND KOUL, PRESIDENT, ŚRÎNAGAR MUNICIPALITY (RETIRED).

(*Continued from page* 198.)

Zai Ded then asked him what she should do with the children. He told her to take them home for that night. She obeyed. At night they all slept, but in the morning they were found dead. The poor mother wept and beat her breast. When Nand Ṛishi came to know of this. he grieved and said :—

Âdana tsajim agâṭalis,
Ketha nah ditsomak anit loz ?
Sartal sapazam sunah kanawâlis !
Buh suta mâlis meh no kunh !
Kyâh karzi tâpas tâwas tah analas ?
Samayas nish kenh tagum nah wutsh ;
Wâsi karnam pahali khelis !
Buh suta mâlis meh no kunh !
I, a fool, erred in the beginning ;
Why did I not earn sufficient money for them ?
My golden earring turned into brass !
I am son to my father ; to me there is none !
What avails sunshine, warmth and fire ?
Against time I could not strive ;
My flock is scattered !
I am son to my father ; to me there is none !

Nand Ṛishi, however, thanked God that He had freed him from anxiety about the children. Zai Ded also, finding all her family ties severed, renounced the world and became a hermitess. When she died she was buried at Kaimuh village.

Nand Ṛishi dwelt in this cave for about twelve years, eating nothing except endive and *upalhâk*. Once his mother, Sadr Mâjî. visited him and asked him sorrowingly how he was living on these bitter herbs. He replied :—

Yus swâd upalhâkas tah hande—
Suh swâd soma-ras grende tsâv.
Dud trâvit poni yus mande—
Suh samsâras kenh no zâv.
Par tah pân yus huihi vende—
Suh bhavah Sindhe tarit gav.
The taste of *upalhâk* and endive,
That taste is reckoned as Soma juice.
He who, leaving milk, churns water,
He, so to speak, came not into this world.
He who considers another person and himself equal—
He has crossed the Sindh (River) of the world.

Once Nand Ṛishi was going on an excursion towards Veri Nâg. He reached a village called Hillar, near Achhabal, where he found a man performing penances in the hollow of a tree, which he had himself dug out. Nand Ṛishi frowned at him for cutting a hole for himself in the trunk of the tree, thus spoiling it. He told him that he ought to have lived in a cave

instead. He inquired of him his name and his profession. The weaver replied that his name was Suzan and his profession was weaving cloth. Nand Rishi addressed him thus :—

Khasak wân tah loi zan wazak ;
Bozun dapai tah bozak nâv.
Tsupâri tyûlus tah wowari kuzan :
Tseh kami kurui Suzan nâv ?

Thou wilt sit at the loom and ring like bronze ;
I shall tell thee to listen, and thou wilt not.
I went about on all four sides and found the weavers a bad lot.
Who gave thee the name Suzan (*i.e.*, good person) ?

One day Nand Rishi was sitting at the shop of a certain Musa Wâni, when a man came to the shop with a piece of cloth for sale. The shopkeeper told him that it was no good and, after some wrangling, gave him a very low price for it. A short time after another man came to the shopkeeper and asked if he had any cloth for sale. The shopkeeper told him that he had a piece of very good cloth, and brought out that same piece from a pot in which he had placed it, and gave it to the customer, after taking a high price for it. Nand Rishi then said to the shopkeeper that he would like to be kept in the pot so that his value might also rise, like that of the piece of cloth. This remark had such a powerful effect upon the shopkeeper that he left his business and became one of the rishi's disciples. Nand Rishi then remarked :—

Dayah ! tothiok Musa Wânis ragazûlas.
Tyuth meh war ditam Deva.

O God ! Thou wast pleased with Musa Wâni, the deceitful.
Grant to me such a boon.

There was a rich man living at Drayigâm, a village 8 miles from Śrînagar on the way to Tsrâr, whose name was Sangi Ganai. He had a large number of cows. Nand Rishi once saw Sangi Ganai's wife milking her cows. There was a milch cow that she did not milk because it was very wild and would not allow anyone to milk it. Nand Rishi told her to approach this cow in his presence and milk it. The woman obeyed, though in dread of being kicked. But the animal remained quiet and allowed itself to be milked. Thenceforth the milk of this cow used to be sent every evening to Nand Rishi for his use. One day Sangi Ganai together with his family had gone somewhere, and his daughter was left in the house to take the usual supply of milk to Nand Rishi in the evening. She took him the milk, which he drank. She saw some angel-like beings sitting around him. He advised her not to speak about this vision to anybody. She returned home, but when her parents came, she disclosed this secret to them. She died soon after. The parents grieved long for her, thinking that she might not have died had she not gone with milk to Nand Rishi. The mother then stopped sending milk to him. One day she made a false excuse that a guest had come, to whom the milk was given ; another day, that a cat had drunk it ; and another day, that the calf had got loose and had sucked all the milk from the cow. Nand Rishi then remarked :—

Samew wutsh putsh tah bror.
Tim treh doh khati grinze.
Tawai aubâl khasem bor,
Surun masham yath kande.
At nafsas lajan jor !
Yiyam ratit mâras kamandai.
Tsalih tah tselit dimas tor.
At kande dimau nah kandi.

Calf, guest and cat collected,
For three days they were enumerated.
Sin will, therefore, overburden me,
Myself shall forget thinking (of God).
May inflammation betide the desire !
If it returns I shall catch it in a noose.
If it runs away I shall bolt the door firmly (against it).
We will not prick this body with a thorn.

Nand Ṛishi then left Drayigâm village. When he had gone about 20 furlongs past Anzbur, Sangi Ganai, together with several others, went after him and requested him to return ; but Nand Ṛishi would not go back.

A man named Mânak once came to Nand Ṛishi and began to reproach him for his being illiterate. Nand Ṛishi pleaded guilty, declaring that he had really wasted his life in ignorance and that he had, therefore, become a recluse, repenting for his sins. He remarked :—

Poshanûl posh-wârai gârân,
Mughul gârân ḥuni wâs,
Shihut shinâlaya gârân,
Khar gârân guh lodui tah sâs.
The oriole seeks a flower garden,
The owl seeks a desolate spot,
The laughing thrush seeks a snowy abode.
The ass seeks a dunghill and ashes.

" But one should not preach sermons to others," exclaimed Nand Ṛishi, " and himself practise otherwise." He further observed on priestcraft :—

Mullâh dyûṭhum nârai bharân,
Ḍolâh guhârân paran kyut ;
Alâi balâi pânas niwârân,
Amrit chhakân biyan kyut.
Malan âsân hanga phut shûbali,
Pakân alit walit ket ;
Khewân gusht kâsam nâli,
Katshi tali tsalek patila het.
Rotsân nah tah khiwân balbali,
Ânchân tah tsalân katsi tali het.
Yusa ror chheh saran sangaran palan,
Sui kunih piyin malan yit !
I saw a priest blowing out fire (and)
Beating a drum to others ;
All evils presenting to himself,
Nectar sprinkling to others.
The priests have nice big turbans on their heads ;
They walk about daintily dressed.
Dressed in priestly robes they indulge in mutton,
They run away with the cooking pots under the arm-pit.
They pretend that it does not agree with them (yet) they go on eating.
They watch and run away (with the food) under their arm-pit.

Whatever noise rolls in lakes, hills and rocks,
May it come and fall on priests !

Nand Ṛishi expressed the following pessimistic opinion of priests :—

Purmut paṇḍit chhui amrit gaḍu
Pheri pheri âses pashpân,
Bront kun het pothi lâdu
Wuchhit âsi tawai byâkulân.
Wuchhun hyut andrah tsharu
Paras prinân tah mashas pân.

A learned paṇḍit is (like) a pot full of nectar,
(Which) may be trickling down in drops.
Having a heap of books beside him
He may have been confused by reading them.
On examining him we found him empty in mind.
He may be preaching to others but forgetting himself.

Once when a number of men were going to the hills they chanced to meet Nand Ṛishi. The latter asked them where they were going and what they were carrying. They told him that they were going towards the meadows to give salt to their flocks and were carrying provisions for themselves for a few days. He told them that they should also carry a large stock of provisions for the next world, where they would have to remain not only for a few days but for very long time. This hint stung one of them to the quick, and he fainted. When he came to himself again, he fell at the feet of Nand Ṛishi and thenceforth became a recluse. Nand Ṛishi remarked :—

Hâhai hânk nâd zan wazan
Gumbad wazan dundubhi dit.
Suzan ishârah ratse buzan,
Kuzan buzan nah damâmah dit.

The conch shell is sounded by a little blowing,
Domes resound by beating a kettle-drum.
Good people will understand by a little hint,
Wicked people will not understand by beat of drum.

One day Nand Ṛishi went to a village and saw a peon oppressing the inhabitants. He became angry and asked the peon why he was troubling the people and not fearing God. The peon replied that he was simply carrying out the orders of his master, who paid him. Nand Ṛishi smiled and remarked :—

Yamı asi Sâhibi samsâras sûzî,
Tasi asıh satya pâṭhi par log.
Khasun ditun Turki tâzî,
Tamis khasit tah ghâzi log.
Tasi kriy karau sor sârî,
Yas asih mon tah mâri log.

The Lord who sent us into the world,
Towards Him we indeed showed indifference,
He gave us a Turkish steed to ride on,
On riding it we assumed the airs of heroes.
We will all perform devotion to Him,
Towards whom we presumed to be deaf and dumb.

(*To be continued.*)

A KACHIN FOREST SHRINE.

By SIR R. C. TEMPLE, BT.

THERE are three races inhabiting Burma—the Tibeto-Burman (Burmese), the Siamese-Chinese (Shans), and the Mon-Annam (Talaings). The Tibeto-Burman race can be divided into three groups with many subdivisions: the Burmese (Burmese, Arakanese, Tavoyan), the Kachin (Chingpaw, Singpho) and the Kuki-Chin. All these races immigrated southwards at some time or other from the western highlands of China, so the Kachins thus belong to a people of the Chinese type and more immediately to the Tibeto-Burman variety. They are situated on the extreme north-western boundary of the country now politically known as Upper Burma, where it impinges on Assam, now classed as a part of India proper. Some of them are in Burma and some in Assam. They are the latest race to migrate southwards, and consequently still retain many of the ideas and practices of their original home. To quote from an old paper read by myself before the Royal Society of Arts in June 1910 (vol. LVIII, 701), they are "to the ethnologist a specially interesting people, as relics of a post Mon-Annam irruption of Tibeto-Burmans left in the northern hills of Burma, after the branches that subsequently became the Tibetans, Nâgas, Burmans and Kuki-Chins had passed onwards. Their most interesting feature is that they are still following the ancient instinct of the main race and spreading steadily southwards, showing all the old fight and turbulence that no doubt served to bring success to their ancestors in their emigrations of long ago."

Enough has been written above to show that the people of Burma consist of a great number of tribes of the Chinese variety of mankind spreading themselves over the country in successive waves and occupying for the most part pockets of it in their individual varieties. But the history of Burma "is that of a struggle for supremacy among the Burmans, the Shans, and the Talaings, lasting through all historical times, without practically any intervention on the part of alien races until the arrival of the English in 1824. The story is a veritable tangle of successive conquests and reconquests of the whole or part of the country by these races, and for considerable periods each has been supreme over the whole country." The main point to grasp in all the resulting confusion of struggle is that the conquerors for the time being usurped the chief influence over the population, and did their best to destroy the individuality of the conquered, with varying success almost up to the point of extinction, as in the case of the Talaings by the Burmans after 1757.

The result has been to mix up the ethics, and to a certain extent the nationality of the civilised portions of the three races. This process has been greatly helped by the introduction of Buddhism from India as the dominant professed religion, which has created a distinct tendency to amalgamate and distribute equally over the whole country the prominent indigenous religious notions of the various peoples as portions of a general ethical practice. At the same time the highly mountainous nature of the country, and the difficulty, amounting almost to an impossibility, of wandering far, has brought about an isolation as regards individual tribes and subdivisions of tribes that has resulted in the preservation of local domestic practices apparently intact from the earliest times. So that we have presented to us in the present day, as the result of the historical occurrences known to us, amalgamated ethics on the part of the cultured, combined with highly differentiated ethics on the part of the uncultured; amalgamation and differentiation being observable among families and individuals living practically side by side. This is the governing principle of what I may call the human phenomena nowadays exhibited by the native population of Burma, and if an old student may presume to guide research into any given channel I would say to the enquirer: Keep always clearly before you in Burma the principle of variety in unity. At any rate that is the star I wish to follow while glancing at the ethics of the people: what they think, and how their thoughts guide their actions in daily life domestic actions, often intensely interesting to the anthropologist, because they offer illuminating explanations of those of other varieties of human beings.

An instance of the mental unity of the people is afforded by their general religious belief and practice. Outwardly the vast majority are professed Buddhists of the Southern or Puritan School. In reality they are all, from the highest to the lowest, from the most to the least cultured, animists of the pronounced Indo-Chinese type. In Burma, Animism takes the form of what is known there as Nat-Worship. Nat is a generic term for all kinds of supernatural beings, and the belief in the Nats is the basis of the faith of the whole population, whatever form the superstructure may take. It is Indo-Chinese in origin and pervades the entire country. It colours all customs, ceremonies, beliefs, superstitions, and practices, whatever the professed religion. The differences observable, and they are many, may be perhaps best described thus: the educated accept the demonolatry which accompanied the importation of Buddhism, and reject the inherited nature and ancestor worship; and the uneducated accept the imported demonolatry, while adhering to their inherited worship as their chief cult; the wild tribes depending on descent and environment for their beliefs.

Another strong instance of mental unity occurs in the attitude of the whole people towards the idea of divinity. Even when tutored, and readily adopting outside teaching, as in the case of the Karens in regard to Christianity, there is a difficulty, which is typically Indo-Chinese, in grasping what, to Europeans and many other types of the human mind, is almost an instinctive idea. The fact is that the Indo-Chinese mind does not tend towards a belief in a single universal God, in idols, or in priests and interpreters of divinity, or towards the worship of stocks and stones.

Unity is again visible in the feeble development in the untutored of ideas as to a future life, and it is not difficult to show that such notions as exist of heaven and hell are due to the imported Buddhism. There is also a universal way of regarding the human soul. It is looked on in a true animistic manner. It is immaterial, but it can be materialised, and is essential to the normal conditions of the body. Its temporary absence throws the body into an abnormal condition, and its departure causes death. It is in some undefined way the human Nat.

To this unified conception of the fundamentals of religious belief must be added another universal phenomenon of the indigenous mind. It is commonly said of the people that all their Nats are malevolent. This is not the case in fact, but what has happened is that the good and kindly spirits are not regarded as requiring propitiation and worship. They are treated indeed as a negligible quantity, and the efforts of the people in their Nat-worship are all concentrated on keeping the evil spirits, or spirits likely to do them harm, in a good temper. This attitude of mind has governed all the domestic and religious ceremonies, the whole object of which is everywhere to ward off the evil producible by supernatural, invisible powers that are believed to exist practically in every surrounding of mankind.

Again, the enormous variety of indigenous ceremonies and facts relating to that phase of Animism known as Nat-Worship, which have been reported by inquirers in Burma, exhibit two universal phenomena, showing unity of mental equipment in the various peoples—(1) Among the uncultured, ceremonies end in a drinking bout, and some have been instituted, not to procure the assistance of the supernatural powers, but to induce them not to interfere with mankind. (2) The Burman's capacity for adapting foreign notions to his own æsthetic ideas and for making his proceedings attractive and beautiful, has so covered over such festivals as he has absorbed from outside as to make them appear to be indigenous and peculiar to himself. But I regret to say that, nevertheless, the Water-Feast, so well known to Europeans, and the like, are all imported from India with Buddhism.

The evil spirits of the people are legion, but they have one characteristic in common—irresistible power. Upon their non-interference, therefore, depends the fulfilment of desires. This is the fundamental argument that has led to all the forms of Nat-Worship. Any number of ever-varying ceremonies are also brought about by another general idea—that of vengeance on the living for the misfortunes which the dead have suffered during life, leading to such notions as that death and epidemics are caused by the spirits of the unfortunate. All these things show unity in unconscious reasoning.

Then there is the peculiar way in which the guardian spirits are regarded with mixed feelings. They can give support and safety in all the conditions of life and at the same time are capable of infinite mischief. It is essential to keep them in a good temper and friendly. They are found in endless variety, as everything connected with mankind and his environment has its guardian. The customs relating to the worship of guardian Nats of houses, villages, towns, tribes and property, and so on, are many and various, but they all tend to one end—propitiation and self-protection. The effects of the resultant customs have at all times been most serious to the people, human sacrifice and head-hunting being among them. The object of all the forms of sacrifice observable in Burma is the same—to satisfy the cravings of the spirits and to prevent them from "eating out the lives" of the quick. The principle is to give a small part of the animal or thing sacrificed, usually an article of food, to the Nats, and to devour the rest, or to eat up what has been deposited as an offering.

In 1888 Sir Saint-Hill Eardley-Wilmot gave me a photograph he had taken of a Kachin forest shrine at which the people offered animal sacrifices, chiefly white cocks. As it is a very fine representation of a jungle shrine I now reproduce it in this *Journal*.

In attempting to arrive at a reason for such a shrine and such rites thereat as above indicated it is necessary to confirm the remarks already made by others of my own in *E. R. E.* III (17 ff, *s.v.* Burma) on the point of the attitude of such a people as the Kachins towards Divinity. We must realise that they have great difficulty in grasping the existence of a single God of the universe: There is no doubt that the idea of a single universal God is foreign to the Indo-Chinese mind as developed in Burma. There is no tendency towards a belief in God, or in idols or priests, as the symbols or interpreters of Divinity, or towards the adoration of stocks and stones.

The nearest approach to an apprehension of the idea of Godhead is among the Kachins, who in one series of legends refer to Chinun Way Shun. He is said to have existed before the formation of the world, and to have created all the Nats. But, under the name Ka, he is also the Spirit of the Tilth.

Nevertheless, there has always been much made of the possession by the Karens of traditions concerning God and of ethics of a distinctly Christian type before 1828, when the existing American Baptist missionary influence commenced. The pronounced Christian and Judaistic tone of these traditions has naturally excited much comment, but there can be no doubt that they are imported, probably through early Roman Catholic missionaries about 1740 (*Vita di Gian Maria Percoto*, 1781). Their strongly Jewish form has given rise to a rather vague conjecture that they were learnt from early Nestorian Christians, during the wanderings of the Karens southwards from their original Indo-Chinese home.

Though they find it difficult to believe in God as that term is understood in Indian and European religions, the Kachins believe in a human soul (*numlā*) as an independent material entity bound by special attraction to an individual body and giving life to it, and in benevolent spirits. The Kachins say that Shingrawa, the man-creator of the earth, which he shaped with a hammer, is kind and good, and therefore little notice is taken of him, and shrines to him are few and neglected. This attitude towards benevolent *nats* is important as explaining the absence of their worship in Burma, and also the statement of most European observers that all *nats* and spirits are malevolent, which is not the case. The Southern Chins also have a national spirit, Kozin, who is indifferent. The house-guardian (*eing-saung nat*) of the Burmans and Talaings is another instance of a spirit who is described as simply indifferent.

Besides Shingrawa, the Kachins recognize as beneficent *nats*: Sinlap, the giver of wisdom; Jan, the sun; and Shitta, the moon. These may be worshipped only by the chief once a year or at the periodical national festival (*manau*), and then without sacrifices. Trikurat, or Kyam, is a good spirit of the forest, who fascinates the game which the hunter stalks. He is propitiated by treading on ashes from the house-hearth on return from a hunting expedition, and sprinkling the blood of the victim towards the jungle. The Spirit of the Forest

himself, Chiton, is, however, of doubtful character. In some places he is represented as malignant and in others as good-natured.

They have besides special spirits, of the sky, sun, moon, wind, agriculture and so on, and also Sinlap, the Spirit of Wisdom, who dwells in the sky. But the most widely spread nature cult in all Burma is that of the forest and trees. All the hill-tribes (including the Kachins) dread the tree *nats* (spirits), and the most characteristic superstitions of the people of the cultivated plains are related to them. Every prominent tree, every grove, every area of jungle, besides the forest in general, has its special *nat* (*seiktha* in Burmese), often with a specialized name. Everywhere the ordinary home of the non-personal and non-familiar *nat* attached to the earth is in the trees. Among all the tribes, every dark and prominent hill-coppice has a *nat*-shrine in it. The plate attached represents such a shrine.

Oddly enough ancestor worship, so prominent among the Chinese people, is not at all a distinguishing feature of the cults of the Burmese tribes, a fact which seems to show that it did not exist originally in the mountains to the West of China. Among the Kachins any one may, but does not necessarily, become a *nat* after death, and additions are constantly being made to the number of such ancestral *nats* on the motion of the mediums called in when sickness occurs. It may be taken, therefore, that the shrine in the plate is not connected with the worship of ghosts or spirits of the dead. In reality it must be assumed to be a typical forest shrine, at which animal sacrifices were made. It is usual on such occasions to consume the flesh of the sacrifice, and of this practice the Kachin explanation is as follows. They say that, when they are in trouble, their primeval mother, Changh-ko, demands the pigs and the cattle, or she will eat out their lives. So, when any one is sick, they say, 'We must eat to the *nats*'. The Kachins have, further, an illuminating custom of being able to promise the sacrifice ordered by the *tumsa* (exorcist) at some future time, if it be not available when first ordered. Here we seem to have the embryo of the idea leading to the pictures and effigies, in lieu of actual sacrifice, used by the Chinese and their followers in Indo-China.

The principle of sacrifice, as noted above, is to give a small portion of the animal or thing sacrificed to the *nats* and to devour the rest, or to eat up what has temporarily been deposited as an offering. Sometimes only the useless parts of the sacrifice are offered. Thus the White Karens give up small portions only, and the Kachins a portion, cut off by the village butcher (*kyang-jong*), of all animals taken in hunting, to the house guardians as '*nats*' flesh.' Among the Burmans the edible parts of large animals sacrificed are placed on the *nats*' shrine for a short time. The commoner practice, however, is to give what is useless. Burmans hang round shrines the entrails of fowls used for divination. Some Kachins give only the offal of sacrificed animals, while Red Karens deposit the head, ears, legs, and entrails on the shrines of *nats*.

In this vicarious fashion the animals and food sacrificed are usually those used for food by the people : buffaloes, pigs, fowls (Kachins, Chins, Karens) ; pigs and fowls (Was, Shans, Burmans, White Karens) ; dogs (Kachins, Chins) ; cows and goats (Kachins, Chins) ; fish and eggs (most tribes). Of vegetable foods, cooked rice is the usual offering, and also the locally made liquors. Taungthâs offer annually fish (*ngâpein*), liquor, rice, and the household stew in Kasôn (April-May) to the house *nats* ; and fish, rice, ginger, salt, and chillies in Nayôn (May-June) to the village *nats*.

The ultimate use of white cocks at the shrine shown in the plate may also be for purpose of divination, which is universal in very many forms among the wilder tribes of Burma, and for this the Kachins use the brains, sinews and entrails of fowls and the entrails of cattle and pigs.

Exorcism is of course common among the Kachins, as indeed among all tribes in Burma, and a typical instance of a Burmese exorcising ceremony to drive out sickness, applicable also to Kachins, is the following :—

"A bamboo altar is constructed in the house, and various offerings (boiled fowls, pork, plantains, coconuts, rice, etc.) are placed on it for the *nat*. The exorcist (*natsaya*) then stands a bright copper or brass plate on end near the altar, and begins to chant, at the same



FOREST SHRINE

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BARLI INSCRIPTION OF THE 5TH CENTURY B.C.

time watching for the shadow of the *nat* on the polished copper. When this appears, the officiant begins to dance, and gradually works herself into a state of ecstasy. The state of tension produced frequently causes the patient to do the same thing, with obvious results one way or the other, especially if, as not unseldom happens, this invocation of the possessing spirit is continued for two or three days." (*Upper Burma Gazetteer*, pt. i, vol. ii, p. 29).

It will be observed that the altar in question must be constructed somewhat on the same lines as the shrine in the plate.

A NOTE ON AN INSCRIPTION OF THE FOURTH OR FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

By R. R. HALDER.

THIS fragmentary inscription,[1] engraved on a white stone which formed part of a hexagonal pillar, was found in the temple of Bhilôt Mâtâ, about a mile from the village Badlî[2] in Ajmer District. The stone, which is about 4″ thick, has a cavity on one side, and had been used as a mortar. The surface has peeled off at some places, so that some of the letters are indistinct. It contains four lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1′ × 10″. The letters are engraved on the front side, which measures about 8″ × 10″, and on portions of two adjacent sides. The average size of the letters is about 2″.

The characters are what is known as *Brâhmî lipi* and are referable approximately to the fourth or fifth century B.C. From the palæographic point of view, the sign of *î* in *vîrâya* (l. 1) is worthy of note. Its form is unique, and it seems to belong to a period anterior to that of the inscriptions of Aśoka. In fact, such a form is neither found in the inscriptions of Asoka, nor in the inscriptions of later period. The language is Prâkrit mixed with Saṁskrit.

Fortunately, however, in the portion that is preserved, the inscription records the name *Mâjhimike* (l. 4), which undoubtedly stands for Madhyamikâ,[3] an important town in ancient times. It is now called Nagarî, situated about seven miles north of Chitor. The meaning of the word *sâlimâlini* (l. 3) is not clear. Possibly it stands for *sâlimâlinî*, which may refer to the rice-fields that surrounded the town. The second line containing the word *chaturâsitivase* evidently means 84th year: while the words *Virâya Bhagavate* in the first line refer to *Vîra Bhagavân* (Mahâvîra) and show that the inscription belonged to some Jaina temple.

Now, the date of the inscription in l. 2 is open to question. Most probably, it refers to a period (84th year) to be reckoned from the *nirvâṇa* of Mahâvîra, the last *Tîrthaṁkara* of the Jainas, *i.e.*, the Vîra-nirvâṇa Saṁvat, which corresponds to 528-27 B.C.[4] According to this supposition, the date of the inscription would be equivalent to 528 − 84 = 444 B.C., or 443 B.C.

Thus we see that this is one of the rare records that belong to a period prior to that of Aśokan inscriptions—a conclusion corroborated by the unique form of *î* referred to above.

TEXT.[5]

Left adjacent side.	Front side.	Right adjacent side.
1. .. .. .. वी	र [।] य भगव	[ते]
2.	चतुरासिति व	[से]
3.	ये सा [लि] मालिनि	...
4. .. रं नि [वि]	ट माझिमिके	...

The Sanskrit equivalent of the above may be as follows :—

1. ... वीराय भगवते ...
2. ... चतुरशीतिवर्षे ...
3. ... य शालिमालिनी ...
4. रं निविष्टः माध्यमिके[6] ...

1 It is now preserved in the Râjpûtânâ Museum, Ajmer, and is referred to in the *Annual Report* of the Museum for the year 1911-12.

2 About 36 miles SE. of Ajmer.

3 See V. A. Smith's *Early History of India*, 4th edition, pp. 210, 227, *I. A.*, *VII*, p. 266 67.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

5 From the stone.

6 Read मध्यमिकायाम्.

BENGAL'S CONTRIBUTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT.

BY CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI, M.A.

(*Continued from p. 206.*)

Exegetical Works.

Of the various works on Prâchîna-Nyâya, scholars of Bengal are known to have commented on two works only, *viz.*, the *Nyâyasûtra* of Gotama and the *Nyâya-kusumâñjali* of Udayana. The earliest exegetical work on the *Nyâyasûtra* by a Bengalee is that of Viśvanâtha Nyâyapañchânana, son of Vidyânivâsa, who wrote in the seventeenth century some other works as well on Vaiśeṣika, Chhandaḥ, and Navya-Nyâya. Viśvanatha's gloss on the *Nyâyasûtra* is quite well-known and highly popular all over India.

Radhâmohana Vidyâvâchaspati Gosvâmin, who flourished sometime about the middle of the eighteenth century composed a commentary on the *Nyâyasûtra* entitled *Nyâyasûtra-vivaraṇa*. It was originally published in the well-known periodical *Paṇḍita* of Benares from which it has been reprinted (Medical Hall Press, Benares—1903).

Jayarâma Nyâyapañchânana (*circa* eighteenth century)—wrote the *Nyâya-siddhânta-mâlâ*[9] commenting on a selected number of *sûtras* of the *Nyâyasûtra*, which are supposed to be the most important.

Independent Treatises.

As regards independent treatises mention may be made of the *Nyâya-dîpikâ* of Râmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭâchârya Tarkâvataṃsa (H.P.S., II, 117). This work deals not only with the 16 categories of Nyâya but also with other topics that grew up since the time of Gotama. *Tarkapradîpa* of Râmahari (H.P.S., I, 141) seeks to establish the sixteen categories of Nyâya.

Bengal's Contribution to Navya-Nyâya.

It is only in her contributions in Navya-Nyâya that Bengal has got an all-India popularity, and her undisputed superiority in these has been recognised by all. As a matter of fact, though her contributions in, and studies of, other branches of Hindu philosophy have never been known to be of any great value, Bengal has creditably maintained a dignified and highly honourable position among the world of scholars in India versed in the various branches of Indian philosophy, only on account of her deep erudition in the school of philosophy, which had its origin in the eastern part of India, in Mithilâ—and its full growth and development in Bengal. Very few scholars, however well-grounded they may be in any other school or schools of philosophy, dare face a Naiyâyika in any philosophical discussion on any topic whether it be within their proper province or not, for fear of being cornered. And many are the stories related of the defeat of scholars of other schools by Naiyâyikas. It was in recognition of the decided superiority of Bengal in Nyâya that students from the farthest corner of India flocked round the much hated fish-eating scholars of Bengal with a view to make a thorough study of this branch of philosophy: as did students of Bengal sit at the feet of scholars of other provinces to study Vedânta, Mîmâṃsâ and other branches of philosophy.

Commentaries and Sub-commentaries on the Tattvacintamaṇi.

The most important and extensive works produced by Bengal on Navya-Nyâya are the commentaries and sub-commentaries on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa. Of about twenty commentaries on this work not less than about a dozen are by Bengalees, and there are about twenty sub-commentaries produced by Bengal. The number of minor exegetical works and *patrikâs* is overwhelming, and it is worth noting that all these works were composed within the space of about two hundred and fifty years only. Some of these works at least are studied not only in Bengal but throughout the whole of India.

[9] A part of this has been published in the Saraswati Bhavan Series.

Therefore in giving an account of the work done by Bengal in the field of Navya-Nyâya we should first refer to the commentaries and sub-commentaries on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi* composed by various scholars of Bengal, from time to time, before we describe the more important of the independent original works on some topic or other of Nyâya.

The earliest Bengalee scholar to comment on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi* was, perhaps, Vâsudeva Sârvabhauma of Nadia, who flourished in the middle of the fifteenth century of the Christian era. If the *Pratyakṣamaṇi-mâheśvarî* (Sarasvati Bhavan studies-IV, p. 60) is a work of his father Maheśvara, then of course we have the earliest commentator in him. Vâsudeva was practically the founder of the Navya-Nyâya school of Bengal. He, it is said, got by heart the whole of *Tattvacintâmaṇi* at his school at Mithilâ, as it was not allowed to be copied by the people of that place for fear of losing its position of supremacy. He copied out the whole thing from memory on his return to Bengal. Having possessed a book for herself Bengal could now work on it at her pleasure. It was in this way that the centre of the culture of Navya-Nyâya was transferred from Mithilà to Bengal. Mithilâ is found hereafter to have been eclipsed by the scholars of the Bengal school and Navya-Nyâya had her full development at the hands of the Bengalees. Vâsudeva is traditionally believed to have had four pupils who did monumental work in four different spheres. These were:—(1) Raghunâtha, whose work in the field of Navya-Nyâya has earned for him an undying fame, (2) Raghunandana, whose works in the field of Navya *smṛti* still regulate the religious rites of orthodox Hindus of Bengal, (3) Kṛṣṇânanda Agamavâgiśa, in strict accordance with whose work *tantra* rites are performed to this day, (4) Chaitanya—the great master—who was the founder of Neo-Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal.

The commentary of Vâsudeva on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi*—his only work on Nyâya—is available in fragments. It is called *Sârâvalî* (Sarasvati Bhavan studies, IV, p. 63).

After Vâsudeva came his pupil Raghunâtha Śiromaṇi. He must be older than 1602 A.D., in which year a manuscript of a sub-commentary on a section of his commentary on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi* was copied (Vidyabhusana—*Hist. of Ind. Logic*, p. 465).

The most famous work of Raghunâtha is the *Tattvacintâmaṇidîdhiti*, a very learned commentary on the work of Gaṅgeśa. It is a critique and a commentary on Gaṅgeśa's work, and as such led to the foundation of almost a separate independent school of Navya-Nyâya in Bengal by putting into shade the school of Mithilâ. Raghunâtha occasionally finds fault with the accuracy of some of the statements of Gaṅgeśa and boldly points them out and corrects them.[10] In fact his commentary has the appearance of almost an independent work. Only a thorough and critical study of the works of Raghunâtha will enable us to estimate at their proper value the contributions he made to modern logic of India. But it is a pity no such thing seems to have been undertaken as yet.

The popularity of the works of Raghunâtha is attested to by the numerous manuscripts which are found of it in various parts of India. It was in its turn commented on by a good many scholars, both Bengalee and non-Bengalee.

Of Bengalee scholars who commented on his work we may mention the names of Mathurânâtha Tarkavâgiśa (sixteenth century), Kṛṣṇadàsa Sârvabhauma (sixteenth century), Bhavânanda Siddhântavâgiśa (sixteenth century), Râmabhadra Sârvabhauma (seventeenth century), Jagadiśa Tarkâlaṅkâra (seventeenth century), Rudra Nyâyavâchaspati, Gadâdhara Bhaṭṭâchârya (seventeenth century), Jayarâma Nyâyapañchânana (eighteenth century) and Râmarudra Tarkavâgiśa (eighteenth century).

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[10] Cf. the flaws in the definition of *Avayava* pointed out by him and the new definition he suggests in its place. I am indebted for this reference to Pandit Kalipada Tarkacharya of the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Calcutta.

Of other commentators on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi*, the most well-known names are those of Mathurânâtha Tarkavâgîśa (sixteenth century), Jagadîśa Tarkálaṅkâra (seventeenth century) and Gadâdhara Bhaṭṭâchârya (seventeenth century), though the works of all of them have not been found in their entirety. The commentary of Gadâdhara seems to be the last effort of a Bengalee to interpret the celebrated works of Gaṅgeśa. The fame of these scholars does not rest only on their commentaries on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi*. They had composed other exegetical works too on Nyâya, which are better known and more popular, and have been or will be referred to in their proper places. Their exegetical works are respectively known by the general names of Mâthurî, Jâgadîśî and Gâdâdharî. These three, together with Vâsudeva and Raghunâtha, are the five most important names in the history of Navya-Nyâya in Bengal.

Sub-commentaries on the Tattvacintâmaṇi.

Besides these, we may also mention the names of the following commentators on *Tattvacintâmaṇi*:—Haridâsa Nyâyâ-laṅkâra Bhaṭṭâchârya (sixteenth century), Kaṇâda Tarkavâgîśa who is traditionally believed to have been a contemporary and fellow student of Raghunâtha, Bhavânanda Siddhântavâgîśa (who is older than 1593 A.D., in which year a manuscript of his *Cintâmaṇi-dîdhiti-ṭippaṇi* was copied),[11] and Raghudeva Nyâyâlaṅkâra.

Of sub-commentaries, the works on the commentary of Raghunâtha have already been referred to. It will suffice to note here that a good many commentaries on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi-âloka*, itself a commentary by Pakṣadhara Miśra of Mithilâ on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi*, were composed by many a scholar of Bengal, of which the commentary of Mathurânâtha Tarkavâgîśa is perhaps the earliest and most popular.

Independent Treatises on Navya-Nyâya.

As has already been hinted, Bengal produced a large number of original and independent treatises on different sections and topics of Navya-Nyâya. But it is curious that the fame of Bengal rests not so much on these as on the commentaries of which an account has already been given. Neither are the former, with the exception of a few, quite so popular as the latter. This is in consonance with the spirit of the scholars of the old type, who preferred to be satisfied with the discussion and interpretation of what was old than to directing their attention to any new channel and doing something independently.

The earliest treatise on the Navya-Nyâya by a Bengalee is perhaps the *Padârtha-tattva-nirûpaṇa* [12] of the great Raghunâtha. True this work is not as much known as his famous commentary on the *Tattvacintâmaṇi* but it must be admitted that this is a work of deep scholarship and deals with some of the most important theories of Raghunâtha, which are occasionally found to have been referred to in his celebrated commentary too. This work refutes the categories of Vaiśeṣika system and even some of those of the Nyâya system, and seeks to establish several new categories like *Vaiśiṣṭya*, *Saṃkhyâtva*, *pratiyogitva*, etc.

One of the most important and well-known of these treatises is the *Śabdaśakti-prakâśikâ* of Jagadîśa Tarkâlaṅkâra which belongs to *Śabdakhaṇḍa* of Navya-Nyâya, and as such deals with *śabda* or word, which is regarded as a source of knowledge by the Nyâya school. It discusses the implications of words and their various modifications as effected by different suffixes, grammatical functions, context, etc.

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11 The manuscript is in the Sanskrit Sâhitya Parishat, Calcutta. Works of Bhavânanda are generally called Bhavânandî.

12 Published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series.

Next we come to the *Nyâya-siddhântamañjarî*[13]—an independent treatise composed by Jânakînâtha Chûḍâmaṇi exactly on the plan of the *Tattvacintâmaṇi*. Quite well-known are also the *Tarkâmṛta* of Jagadîśa (ed. by Jivananda Vidyasagara, Calcutta), and *Bhâṣâ-parichheda* of Viśvanâtha Nyâya-Pañchânana. Both these are the result of the amalgamation of Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika. The latter is highly popular all over India and has got a number of commentaries, both by Bengalees and non-Bengalees. It has been published in several editions.

Besides these works, mention may also be made of highly technical dissertations on portions of *Tattvacintâmaṇi*, or a commentary on it. These are known as *Patrikâs*, very few of which have as yet been published. Of these, the works of Râmaśaṅkara and Chandranârâyaṇa are quite well-known.

Vaiśeṣika.

We get the first trace of the study of Vaiśesika in Bengal at a comparatively early period —the eleventh century—when Śridhara composed his *Nyâya-kandalî*[14]—a commentary on the *Praśasta-pâda-bhâṣya*. Śrîdhara gives an account of his family, time and locality at the end of his work. It is highly popular and there are several commentaries on it. But curiously enough we get no trace of any study of Vaiśeṣika for about four subsequent centuries. It began to be studied anew from after the rise of Navya-Nyâya. Various sub-commentaries and treatises on the system came to be composed at this time. It is to be noted that these works—which form by far the major portion of the total contribution of Bengal towards Vaiśeṣika literature—was composed at a time when Nyâya and Vaiśeṣika had almost amalgamated and given rise to Navya-Nyâya and there was little demand for Vaiśeṣika as such, if not for making the knowledge of Navya-Nyâya thorough.

Exegetical Works.

The famous Nyâya writer, Jagadiśa Tarkâlaṅkâra (seventeenth century) composed a commentary on the *Praśasta-pâda-bhâṣya* entitled the *Sûkti* (Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat series). Unfortunately the whole of Jagadiśa's *Sûkti* has not been found. All available manuscripts run up to the discussion of the *dravya* category. Besides the work of Śrîdhara, this is perhaps the only other work by a Bengalee directly on *Praśasta-pâda*.

Of other sub-commentaries reference should be made of those on Vardhamâna's commentary on the *Kiraṇâvalî* of Udayana, which itself is a commentary on the *Praśasta pâda-bhaṣya*. Raghunâtha Śiromaṇi, Mathurânâtha Tarkavâgîśa and several other scholars were authors of such sub-commentaries on the Vaiśeṣika system.

Independent Treatises.

There are very few independent treatises on Vaiśeṣika composed by scholars of Bengal, and there is scarcely any that is well-known even in Bengal. Of the few works mention may be made of the *Bhâṣâratna*[15] of Kaṇâda Tarkavâgîśa, who is believed to have been a contemporary of Raghunâtha Śiromaṇi. But there is another work, which seems to have been better known than this. It is the *Padârthamaṇimâlâ* (Vidyabhusana—*Hist. of Ind. Logic*, p. 478) of Jayarâma Nyâyapañchânana, whose work on Nyâya—the *Nyâya-Siddhânta-mâlâ*—has already been referred to. The *Padârthamaṇimâlâ* deals with the Vaiśeṣika categories and was commented upon by Janârdana Vyâsa and Laugâkṣi Bhâskara.

(*To be continued.*)

13 Ed. by Gaurinath Shastri, Benares—V. S. 1941.

14 Ed. by Vindhyesvari Prasad Dvivedi, Benares.

15 This work is being published in the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series.

THE SÂMBHAR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA JAYASIMHA'S TIME.

BY SAHITYACHARYA PANDIT BISHESHWAR NATH REU.

THIS inscription was fixed in a well known as Umar Shâh-kâ-kûâṅ at Sâmbhar, and was first examined by me in 1925.

Afterwards I requested the Jodhpur State authorities to have the inscription removed from the well and sent to the Sardar Museum for completion of its reading, and for its preservation. It was accordingly taken out of the well and sent to the Museum in 1926.

The inscription is engraved on two black stone slabs,[1] which were fixed with lime, one below the other horizontally. The surface of each slab measures 16″ × 14¾″, which is nearly all covered with writing. The inscription contains 28 lines, of which 14 are written on the one and the rest on the other slab, which are more weathered and damaged. The first two lines are in somewhat bigger characters than the rest. The engraving on both the slabs is filled with *chunâm*. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the characters are of the Northern type of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era.

As regards orthography, the letter न at one place stands for व, and the dental स for the palatal श.

Though the date of the inscription is not traceable, yet the following words in lines 13 and 14 show that it was written in the reign of Jayasiṁha after the birth of his sons Mahîpâla, Kîrtipâla and Kumârapâla, *i.e.*, towards the end of the third quarter of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era.

जय (जैं) सिंह [दे]
नरमौलिभा: जाता......गुणैर्युता

The special historical importance of the inscription lies in the date given in it for the establishment of the Anhilwâḍa kingdom by the Solankî Mûlarâja. The year assigned, hitherto, for the latter event by V. A. Smith was 961 A.D. (V.S. 1018); while Mahâmahopâdhyâya G. H. Ojhâ has suggested V.S. 1017 to 1052. But this inscription carries Mûlarâja back to Samvat 998, or A.D. 941 as would appear from the following verse:—

वसुनन्दनिधौवर्षे व्यतीते विक्रमार्कत:
मूलदेव नरेशस्तु [चूडाम] णिरभूद्भुवि ॥ १ ॥

which means that after the expiry of 998 years from Vikrama Mûladeva came as the crest of the earth.

The Gujarât chronicles also assign the same date to Mûlarâja, and they further tell us that he was the son of Râji, as is also evident from Mûlarâja's copper-plate grant of V.S. 1043 (A.D. 987).

According to V. A. Smith, Râji was probably one of the many designations of king Mahîpâla, who reigned from about A.D. 910 to about 940. Smith also adds that presumably Mûlarâja was his viceroy and, finding an opportunity, became independent.

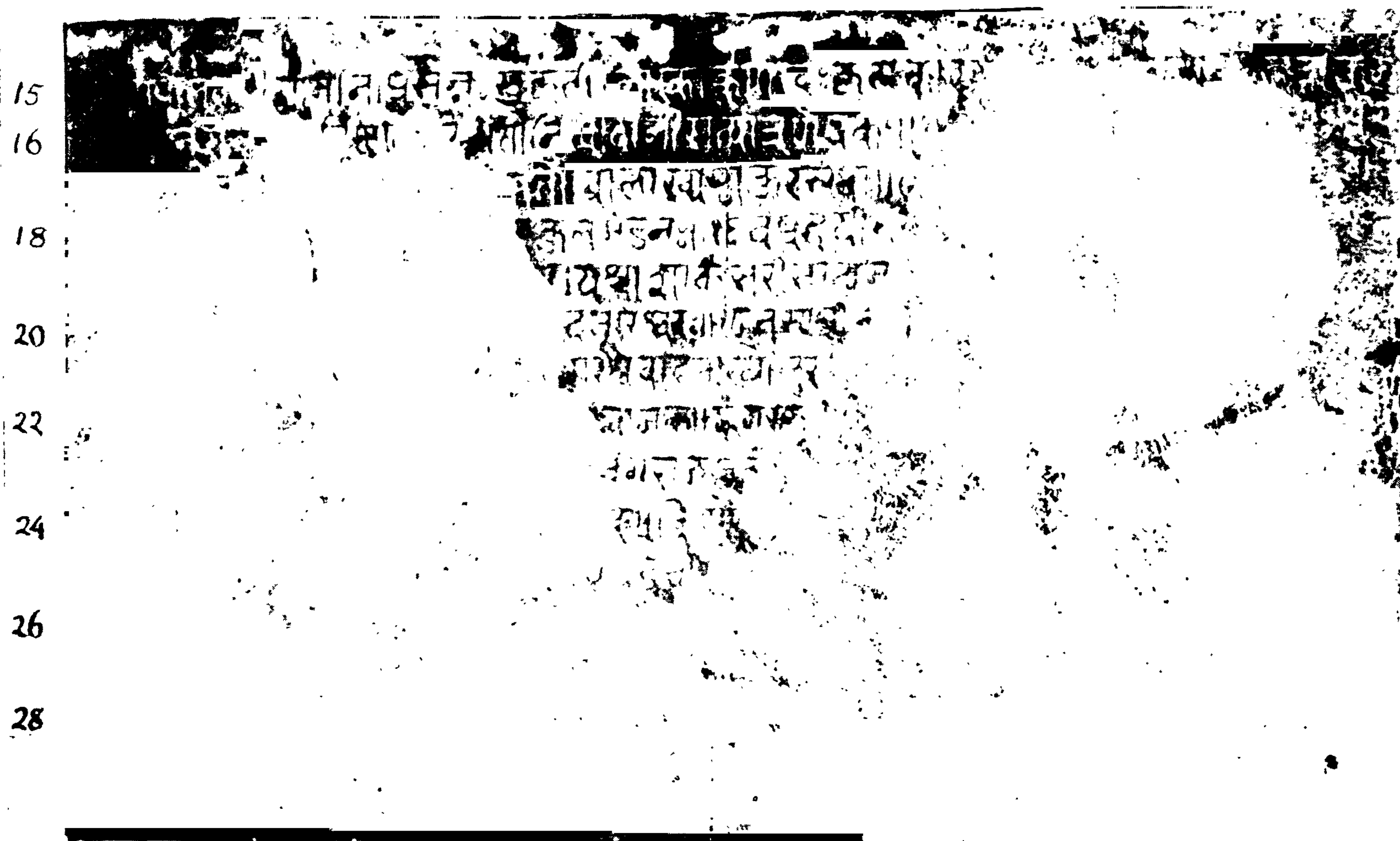
It is stated in the *Prabandha-cintâmaṇi* and in the *Kumârapâla-prabandha* that the marriage of Râja, son of Muñjâldeva, king of Kalyâṇ Katak of Kanauj, was performed with the sister of the Chaora king Bhûyadadeva, and that Mûlarâja was the issue of this connection. It is also stated that Mûlarâja, on attaining maturity, killed his maternal uncle and usurped his kingdom: but no mention is found of the Solankîs having ever ruled over Kanauj. No doubt they held sway over Kalyâṇi in the Deccan and they had been feudatories also of the Pratihâra kings of Kanauj.

As regards Mûlarâja's death, V. A. Smith says that he was killed by the Chauhân Vigraha-râja II, but in the *Pṛithvîrâjavijaya-mahâkâvya* it is stated that Mûlarâja was only defeated and driven towards Kanṭh-koṭ (in Kachh) by Vigraha-râja. This fact is also borne out by Merutunga's *Prabandha-cintâmaṇi*, which further informs us that when the king of Sapâdalakṣha attacked Mûlarâja, Bârap, the general of king Tailapa, also attacked him simultaneously, and that Bârap was killed in the action. There is mention of Bârap in

1 See Plates I and II, opposite.

Sambhar Inscription of the Time of Jayasimha the Chalukya.

SLAB 2



SAMBHAR INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF JAYASIMHA THE CHALUKYA.

Kîrti-kaumudî also. In the *Sukrit-sankîrtan* Bârap is stated to be a general of the king of **Kanauj**, but this does not seem to be correct.

In the *Dvyâśraya-kâvya* king Dvârapa of Lâṭa is stated to have been killed by **Châmuṇḍa Râja**, son of Mûlarâja.

The mention of Mûlarâja's name in the inscription of Râṣtrakûṭa Dhaval of V. S. 1053 (A.D. 997) as a contemporary also goes to show that he was reigning in that year. The Gujarât chronicles also mention that his death occurred in V. S. 1053.

Only three copper grants of Mûlarâja have been found, as follows :—

1. of V. S. 1030 Bhâdrapada *sudi* 5 (Monday the 24th August 974 A.D.) found at Pâṭan (Baroda State).
2. of V. S. 1043 Mâgh *badi* 15 (Sunday the 2nd January 987 A.D.) found at Kadi (Baroda State).
3. of V. S. 1051 Mâgh *sudi* 15 (19th January 995 A.D.) found at Baroda.

The second of these plates speaks of a grant made on the occasion of a solar eclipse. But according to Kielhorn this eclipse had not been visible in India. Kielhorn further adds that if the month mentioned in the plate is *amânt* then there was no eclipse at all, but that if the month is *pûrnimânt* then there had been a total eclipse, but it was not visible in India.

In this plate the king's *vaṁśa* is mentioned as Chaulukik, and his and his father's titles as Mahârâjâdhirâja. It also adds that Mûlarâja conquered the Sârasvat *maṇḍala* by the force of his own arm.

TEXT.

१—[॥ ओं ॥*] श्रीगणेशायनमः ॥ श्रुनां बुधौ पोत इव प्रसिद्धा (।) [सदैव] त्र (त्र) ह्मादिभिरीडिता
२ पुरा । सानंदना जाड्यहरा तुभूतले । रत्नां [सदा] मे विदधातु भारती ॥ १ ॥ ब्रह्म
३ स्वभूशंकरपर्शुपाणयः (।) क्रियासुरेते भुविस्वोवमीय (यं) तं । केऽदि [रागर्वगजा] भियुक्ता [:*]
सनातनं वो विबुधाः स्त (स्ति) ती—
४ शाः ॥ २ ॥ सिद्ध्यांष्टौ च सिद्धयंति यस्य स्मरणमात्रतः । सर्व्वकार्याणि विघ्नेशो (शः ?) एनादव तुगः
सदा ॥ ३ ॥ सर्व्व संप—
५ [त्क] री लोकेसर्व्वविघ्नप्रणास (श) कः । युष्माकं त्रिदशेशस्तुरदियंच्छतुमंगलं ॥४॥ चौलक्यनामा जगति प्र—
६ सिद्धोत्रभूववंशोनररत्नयुक्तः । विपक्षमातंगहरिस्तु सूर्यो नारिद्र (द्य) ध्यांतं विमलः प्रभाकृत् ॥ ५ ॥ यथा देवेषु
७ देवेशो ग्रहेषु रोहिणीपतिः । सर्व्वाचलेषु मेरुश्च । यथा लोकेषु भूधरः ॥ ६ ॥ तथा चान्येषु वंशेषु पूर्णांशोरि—
८ व मेदिना । चौलक्यपतिवंशस्तु जातः को (टीर) वद्भुवि ॥ ७ ॥ तस्मिन् कुलेमूलनृपो बभुव । वर्योनि—
९ [पात] स्तु इति प्रसिद्धः । धर्म्मार्थकामात्तरसाधकस्तु । चैत्यादिकार्याणि कृतानि येन ॥८॥ वसुनंदनिधौ वर्षे ।
व्यती—
१० ते विक्रमार्कतः । मूलदेवनरेशस्तु [चूडाम] णिरभूद्भुवि ॥९॥ सूनुश्चामुंडराजःसमजनि मतिमान्[सर्वसिद्ध]—
११ स्यमल्लः । जातस्तद्वल्लभाख्यः (ख्यो) विपुलगुण [गणै] र्दुर्लभाख्यःक्ष (क्षि) तीशः । तत्सूनुर्भीमदे
[वोतिबलदल] ⏑ — — ⏑ —
१२ द्भूतले भू [त् । आ] सीत (त्त) स्पुत्ररम्यः [स] फलक्ष (क्षि) तिधर (रः) कर्णदेवो [नरेंद्रः]
॥ १० ॥ जात ⏑ — — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — — । — —
१३ जनाधार इति प्रसिद्धः । जय (जै) सिंह [दे] — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ सिंहो । — — ⏑ नाना ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑
[मौलिः] ॥ — — — — ⏑
१४ — — भ । — — — नरमौलिभाः । जाता — — ⏑ — — — । — — — — गुणैर्युताः ॥
१५ — — चौलक्यनामनि । प्रसन्नः सुकृतीलोको (कः) कूपादेः कृत्यकार [कः] । — — — — [वो]
भक्त ⏑ । कुम—
१६ — — नरा गु [णैः*] । [वि] ष्णु [वे] ⏑ रतोनित्यं । दानीसत्पात्रपोषकः ॥१४ — — — — ⏑ कः शग
१७ — — ⏑ — —[जा] तो । बालाख्यष्ठाकुररतथा ॥१ ॥ [५*]— — — — ⏑ — — — — — — ला वि—
१८ — — — — — वकुलमंडनः ॥ १६ ॥ वप्रद्वयोग — — — — — — — — — — — — — — गहे
१९ — — — — — [पि] यैश्च । शाकंभरीभाल्यम — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — गरतु
२० — — — — — — — — — द नरेश्वरः ॥ तस्यश्रीन — — — — — — — — — — — — — — स्ततथा
२१ — — — — — — — — गरश्चैवहेमाख्योलख्ये — — — — — — — — — — समुद्भवा
२२ — — — — — — न म [म] का डूंगर [सी] — — — — — — — — — — — — — — त्र
२३ — — — — —नगराजपु [च] — — — — — — — — — — — — — वं

२४ — — — — — — का । जिणर — — — — — — — — — — — —

२५ — — — — — — — चंद्रंच । — — — — — — — — — — — —

२६ —

२७ — — — — — [र] गज्य — — — — — — पुत्र । च उ — — — — — — — — —

२८ — — — — — — — — क्र [इं] — — — [व] नमालीनाथ [सु] — — — — — —

Abstract of the Contents.

This inscription opens with an invocation addressed to the goddess Sarasvatî and then to some other gods (down to verse 4). After that the poet in three verses praises the powerful Châlukya dynasty. From the 8th verse it goes to show that after the expiry of 998 years from Vikrama, Râja Mûladeva came as crest of the earth in this dynasty, and that his son was Châmuṇḍarâja, whose son was Vallabharâja, after whom came Durlabharâja. Durlabharâja had a son named Bhîmadeva. Bhîmadeva's son was Karṇadeva, after whom came Jayasiṁha. Here ends the 11th verse, beyond which the inscription discloses no historical fact, though here and there some names are discernible. The name Śâkambharî[2] also appears at one place, most probably to denote the site where this inscription had been set up.

MISCELLANEA.

BELIEF IN THE MAGICAL PROPERTIES OF THE CORPSES OF EUROPEANS.

A District Officer in India in charge of an area inhabited largely by indigenous, animist races sends me the following account of a case that came under his personal observation, which illustrates the belief that portions of the body of a European possess special efficacy as ingredients in a magical process.

C.E.A.W.O., JT.-EDITOR.

An Englishman resident in a remote part of the country died. Immediately after his death it is on record that attempts were made to persuade his servants to remove one of the fingers. These attempts were unsuccessful, and the body was buried in consecrated ground. Some weeks later a party of Orâons desecrated the grave at night and removed the head and both the arms. The culprits, when brought to justice, refused to admit their guilt, and there is therefore no direct proof of their precise motive; but the statements of those who gave evidence at the trial make it clear that the belief that the bones of Europeans are of special value for the purposes of magic is very widely held in that locality. The aboriginal tribes, particularly the Orâons and the Mundâs, have a very lively faith in the power of magic. The animist religion which they profess inculcates the belief that they are constantly surrounded by spirits, which must be controlled continuously to ensure prosperity to the village. A corollary to this belief is the possibility that, by suitable rites, a man may direct against his enemy the malevolent powers of a spirit. So universal is this belief that it is shared not only by aboriginals who have embraced Christianity, but also by Hindus and Muhammadans who have settled in the country. The occurrence of a series of illnesses, either among human beings or among their cattle, usually raises the suspicion that some person is bewitching the victims. The villagers then resort to a witch-doctor, or *Sokha*, who, after the performance of certain rites, points out the witch. The witch, who is by no means always a woman, is usually told to call off the spirit. If there is a refusal, or the attempt to comply with the request is not obviously successful, the witch is severely beaten, frequently with fatal results. There is a possibility that in the case described, the intention was to bury the bones in the fields, in order to ensure a good harvest. A belief in the efficiency of this rite still prevails, and its concomitant—the human sacrifice—is not unknown. But it is more likely that the Orâons who desecrated the grave intended to use the bones for the purpose of controlling spirits. Among primitive people it is widely believed that the possession of a portion of a man's body in some way gives power over his spirit. It was doubtless thought that as in life the European is more powerful and formidable than the aboriginal, in death his spirit is more potent, and that the person who, by receiving a portion of his body, acquired the power to direct his spirit, would be in an exceptionally favourable position.

BOOK-NOTICES.

HISTORY OF THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI, by R. GOPALAN, M.A.; edited by Rao Bahadur Professor S. K. Aiyangar. 8½×5½ in.; pp. xxxii + 245; with two illustrations and a map. University of Madras, 1928.

This volume embodies the material of a thesis prepared by the author as a research student at the Madras University. Since the late Dr. Fleet, in his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, laid a foundation for an approximate chronology of the Pallava kings on scientific lines, a vast amount of evidence has been found throwing further light on this, in many respects, still obscure period of south Indian

[2] We learn from history that this Jayasiṁha was the first Châlukya king who conquered Sâmbhar (Śâkambhari) from the Chauhâns

history; and several scholars have attempted to compose a connected account of the dynasty. This evidence may be classified under three main heads, namely, (1) epigraphical, under which fall the Prâkrit and the Sanskrit charters and the Sanskrit and Tamil records and inscriptions, (2) monumental, and (3) literary. Mr. Gopalan reviews in an impartial spirit the evidence available up to date under each of these heads, as well as the many theories advanced by different scholars. On the much debated subject of the origin, whether foreign or indigenous, of the Pallavas he expresses the view that in the present state of research "definite conclusions on the question seem unattainable." He emphasises, however, two significant facts, namely, that the records show that they are different from the southern Tamil rulers, and hailed from the north "as representatives of Aryan or Sanskrit culture" and that in the charters they specifically claim to be of the Bhâradvâja *gotra*. After touching lightly upon the previous history of Kâñchîpura, he deals at greater length with the Pallava kings, dividing them into three more or less definite periods—(1) the age of the kings of the Prâkrit charters, *c.* 200-350 A.D., (2) the early Pallavas of the Sanskrit records, *c.* 350-575 A.D., and (3) the 'Great Pallavas' or the 'Dynasty of Simhavishṇu,' *c.* 575-900 A.D.; but, as will be apparent from the narrative, these limits are somewhat fluid. In fact there are very few dates for reigns of these kings that can be fixed with precision. While Mr. Gopalan is content with giving reasons for rejecting the suggestion of a 'Chola interregnum' in the fourth and fifth centuries—the period of the Sanskrit charters, the learned editor in his Introduction makes a definite suggestion as to the cause of the confusion apparent in this period. Arguing from the information contained in the record of the Vêḷvikuḍi plates, he formulates a theory, which he has further elaborated in an interesting paper communicated to the 17th Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford last year, that these disturbed conditions were due to the Kalabhra incursion from the north.

One of the most interesting chapters in this little book is that (Chap. X) which gives a brief survey of the information that may be gathered from the charters and inscriptions regarding the systems of administration and taxation, the village organization and the functions of the *sabhâs*, a subject in itself well worth special research and detailed treatment. Appendix A contains a useful chronological index of Pallava inscriptions. The map is intended only to show the distribution of the Pallava cave temples; but a few of the places shown, *e.g.*, Vatapi, Darsi, Talakad and Kumari, have not been accurately marked.

C. E. A. W. O.

MANDU, THE CITY OF JOY, by G. YAZDANI, M.A., Director of Archæology in H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, etc. $7\frac{1}{2}\times4\frac{3}{4}$ in.; pp. xii+131; 50 illustrations and a map. Oxford University Press, 1929.

Among the many picturesque old hill fortresses of Central India Mâṇḍû stands in several respects unique. Situated on a level topped spur that projects from the extreme southern flank of the Vindhyas, overlooking the sacred Narmadâ, it commands a magnificent view across the broad valley of that river to the forest-clad Satpuras some thirty to forty miles away to the south. Around the top of the hill, about 2,000 ft. above sea-level, runs a battlemented wall nearly 23 miles in circuit, enclosing an area of some 18 square miles, a large part of which bears remains of great beauty and architectural interest, the careful preservation of which we owe largely to the impression which a visit to the site made upon the late Lord Curzon and in great measure to the enlightened policy of the rulers of Dhâr. Though not as old a site as Kâlañjara, situated on the northern flank of the Vindhyas and looking down upon the Gangetic plains, from its commanding situation and natural strength and its proximity to a fertile region, it must have been used for purposes of refuge and defence from the earliest times. We find no mention of it in the ancient texts, as we do of Kâlañjara; and epigraphical references to the site, which seems to have been known as Maṇḍapapura, are rare. It is a remarkable fact, as Sir John Malcolm noticed a hundred years ago, that while we first hear of the hill fortress as subject to the famous Paramâras of Dhâr and Mâlwâ (ninth to thirteenth centuries), after some $4\frac{1}{2}$ centuries of Muhammadan dominion, it again came into the possession of members of the same race in the middle of the eighteenth century: and it has remained with them ever since. We know little definite about Mâṇḍû till we hear of its capture from its Hindu king in 1305 by 'Ainu'l-mulk, deputed for the purpose by 'Alâu'd-dîn Khaljî. Thereafter it appears to have been held by successive Muhammadan governors till the disruption of the Delhi sultanate following Tîmûr's invasion: but no connected history of the place is available till Dilâwar Khân assumed independence in 1401. Of its history from this time onwards Mr. Yazdani gives a very appropriate survey in Chapter II. The outstanding figures on the canvas are the brave and adventurous Hoshang Shâh (1405-32), the warlike Mahmûd Khaljî (1436-69), the philogynist Ghiyâṣu 'd-dîn (1469-1500), and Bâz Bahâdur (1555-62), now perhaps most widely remembered for his romantic attachment to the fair and accomplished Rûpamatî of Sârangpur. Bâz Bahâdur was the son of Shujâ' Khân, an officer and relative of the great Sher Shâh, who with his keen eye for strategic positions, seized Mâṇḍû and, as Jahângîr tells us in his *Tûzak*, took the occasion to have the tomb of the parricide Nâṣiru 'd-dîn beaten with sticks. Of the Mughal emperors, Humâyûn scaled the walls of the fort in 1534: Akbar paid it four visits between 1573 and 1601: Jahângîr spent nearly eight months there in 1617, Sir T. Roe being in attendance at his court for the whole period; and Shâhjahân visited it twice. No other Vindhyan hill-top can claim such a record as this.

The greater part of the volume (Chapter III) is devoted to a detailed description of the numerous

structures—palaces, mosques and tombs—of architectural importance, which form the principal attraction of the place. A map, ten plans and thirty-nine excellently reproduced views illustrate this part of the text, which is of special merit, each monument or group of buildings being carefully and clearly portrayed, with just sufficient detail to satisfy the requirements of all ordinary visitors, for whom the work is intended and to whom it can be strongly recommended. This volume bears throughout traces of the fascination which this old site and its associations exercised upon the author. We congratulate the Dhâr Darbâr on its publication. When a new edition is printed the opportunity should be taken to correct the scale marked upon the map, and rectify a very few typographical slips.

C. E. A. W. O.

TIBET'S GREAT YOGI MILAREPA, a Biography from the Tibetan, being the Jetsun-Kahbum, or Biographical History of Jetsun-Milarepa, according to the late Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English rendering. Edited by W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ. Oxford University Press: Humphrey Milford, 1928: 16 shillings.

The spirit in which this book is published can be gathered from a note on the first fly-leaf: "I dedicate this *Biography of Milarepa* to those who cling not to belief based upon books and tradition but who seek knowledge by realization." Its object can be gauged from the opening words of the Preface: "In my Introduction and Annotations to the present work, as in those to *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, I am attempting to convey to the Western World, and so place on record, certain aspects of Higher or Transcendental Mahayânic Teachings, which have been handed on to me for that purpose by the Translator, the late Lama Kazi Dawa-Samdup, my Tibetan Guru."

In his Introduction, and indeed throughout his book, Dr. Evans-Wentz is inclined to make a superhuman hero of Milarepa, who flourished in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era. In fact he commences in this strain: "The Biography of one of the Great Religious Geniuses of the human race," etc. Nevertheless, the historical part of the *Jetsun-Kahbum* beyond doubt, as Dr. Evans-Wentz says, "may be accepted as a faithful account of the sayings and doings of Jetsun [Milarepa]; with a due allowance for a certain amount of folklore and popular mythology which has been incorporated in it. As a Gospel of the Kargyütpa sect, it is one of the many Sacred Books of the East and, as such, perhaps as historically accurate as parts of the *New Testament*, if not more so." In reading this book, the student will do well to remember that Sacred Books are very many.

It is then explained that there are three chief schools of Buddhist Philosophy in Tibet: the Mâdhyamika or Middle Way, the Mahâmudrâ or the Great Symbol, and the Âdi-Yoga or Great Perfection. Of these three great schools (p. 4): "the adherents of the Mahâmudrâ School are the Kargyutpas, the Followers of the Apostolic Succession (or Followers of the Successive Orders), of which Milarepa is the greatest of the Tibetan Apostles." In fact Milarepa is the Tibetan Apostle of Mysticism, and has followers to the present day in (p. 8): "hundreds of Kargyutpa Ascetics, living in bleak solitudes of the Tibetan Himâlayas," and about Mt. Everest itself. Indeed, in considering the Kargyütpas we find ourselves launched on a wide sea of mysticism. As Dr. Evans-Wentz (pp. 10 ff.) writes: "For comparative explanation of their system of mystical insights [if such a term can really mean anything]," we may compare them to "the Christian Gnostics (the Knowing Ones)," who, by the way, to all others only thought they knew.

After going into this comparison Dr. Evans-Wentz comes on p. 12, to a remarkable conclusion: "The Christian Gnostic seeks Realization; and, like the Kargyütpas, and the Yogîs among the Hindus, and the Sûfîs among the Moslems, rejects that peculiar form of Occidental intellectualism favoured by Church Councils, which leads to the formulation of creeds beginning with 'I believe' and of decrees of anathema for disbelieving and holds fast only to Realized or Realizable Knowledge. From their point of view, the followers of Milarepa are the Gnostics ('Knowing Ones') among Buddhists, as the followers of Valentinus and Marcion were among Christians; and like all the Christian Gnostics they are the 'heretical' opponents of every dogma or creed intellectually based wholly upon Scriptures and Traditions, as Milarepa's teachings contained herein show unmistakably."

From Milarepa's sect there were inevitably many dissenters from of old, but in spite of them, p. 29: "All Tibetans write in holding Jetsün-Milarepa in the highest esteem . . . . . The Socrates of Asia counted the world's intellectualism, its prizes and its pleasures, as naught: his supreme quest was for that personal discovery of Truth, which, as he teaches us, can be won only by introspection and self-analysis, through weighing life's values in the scale of the Bodhi-Illuminated mind," *i.e.*, by Transcendental Mysticism.

We are next launched not on a sea, but on a veritable ocean of mystical assertion, just as we are in every other form of religious belief that is based on the mystical. Like every other search after the Mystery in any part of the world—old or new—it is very complicated, very difficult and very self-assertive, and, to the philosophically inclined, of absorbing interest. Milarepa, too, shows himself—like every other independent philosopher—to have been more bound by tradition than he or his followers seem to be aware.

In this book the Tibetan thinker is shown to have been as wide in his thought as the Greek, the Roman, the Jew, the Hindu or any other race that has really set to work to think. Milarepa has also been fortunate in the English scholar who has put his ideas before the European public.

R. C. TEMPLE.

INDEX.

S.P. stands for the Supplement *Notes on The Seven Pagodas*, pp. 17—32.
A.C. stands for the Supplement, *Alexander's Campaign on the Indian North-West Frontier*, pp. 1—32.
A.I. stands for the Supplement, *Remarks on The Andaman Islanders and Their Country*, pp. 1—48.

In the days, however, of the great Pallava dynasty, the place was known as Mâmallapuram, generally taken to mean the city of Mahâmalla (Mâmalla), the Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I. Tirumangai Âḷvâr refers to the city invariably as Mallai and has often the adjunct Kaḍal (Sea) before Mallai. In one verse he refers to the Pallava king Paramêsvaravarman as 'Mallaiyarkôn'[18] the king of the 'people of Mallai,' or of the people 'Mallar.' The latter meaning is taken to find support in the expression *Mahâmallakulam* in lines 24 and 25 of the copper plate grant of the Chaulukya Vikramâditya[19] I; but the expression Mahâmallakulam need not refer to a people, and probably refers to the family of Mahâmalla, the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman of Kânchî.

The title Mahâmalla was the title assumed by the Pallava king Narasiṁhavarman[20] I. It is this Pallava king that sent out two naval expeditions to help his friend Mânavarma of Ceylon, who ruled the island from A.D. 691 to 726.[21] Of the first invasion we have, in the chronicle, 'Mânavarma then took ship and crossed over the sea (with his army) and having made a fast voyage, landed at Lanka with his forces, and began to subdue the country (around.)' The following passage contains a more detailed reference to the second. And Narasiṁha thus thought within himself: "This my friend, who seeketh most resolutely after fame, hath spent now many years of his life in my service that so he might get back his kingdom. And lo! he will soon have grown old. How then can I now reign (in comfort) and see him (thus miserable)? Assuredly I shall this time restore to him his kingdom by sending my army thither. Else what advantageth my life to me?" Thereupon the king collected his army together, and having equipped it well gave Mânavarma all things he desired to have, and himself accompanied the army to the sea-coast, where a mighty array of ships of burden, gaily ornamented, had been prepared for them. And when the king reached the harbour he gave orders to all his officers that they should embark and accompany Mânavarma, but they all showed unwillingness to do so (without their king).

'And Narasiṁha, having pondered well over the matter, resolved on this strategem. Keeping himself so that his army might not see him, he gave over to Mânavarma all his retinue and insignia of royalty together with the ornaments with which he adorned his person, and sent him (secretly) on board the ship, bidding him take the royal drum, the *koṭṭa*, with him, and sound it from the deck of the vessel. And Mânavarma did as he was directed; and the soldiers thinking that it was the king (who was sounding the call), embarked leaving him alone on the land. Then Mâna began his voyage with the army and all the material of war, which, with the ships in which they were borne, was like unto a city floating down the sea. And in due time he reached the port and disembarked with the army.'

In regard to these transactions the following details have to be noted. Mânavarma came to India some time after the accession to the throne of Haṭṭadatha II (A.D. 664). He lived for sometime alone, and then brought his wife over and she had by him four sons (say ten or twelve years). Then took place the war between Narasiṁha and the Vallabha (who must be Pulakeśin or Pulikeśin II). This war and the destruction of Vallabha's capital Vâtâpi are ascribed to the year A.D. 642 by Dr. Fleet. Then took place the first expedition to Ceylon in aid of Mânavarma. It proved a failure and Mânavarma returned and waited till four kings had ruled in Ceylon. In other words he had to bide his time during the rest of the reign of Haṭṭadhata II and the reigns of his successors till, in A.D. 691, he was able to reinstall himself on the throne in Anurâdhâpura. He ruled afterwards for thirty-five years. Assuming that he came to India a young man, about 65 years of active life seem possible; but there is a discrepancy of about 35 years between the Ceylonese and Indian chronology. Let that pass. The synchronism is near enough, notwithstanding this discrepancy, to justify this assumption that Mânavarma and Narasiṁhavarman I. Mahâmalla were contemporaries.

18 *Periya Tirumoli*, 2nd Ten. 9th Decad. Stanza 1.

19 *Ante*, vol. VI, pp 75–78.

20 *ASR.*, 1906-7, p. 228 and refs. in note 9.

21 *Mahâvaṁsa*, Turnour and Wijesimha, Ch. XLVIII.

What was the port of embarkation of this grand Armada ? Narasiṁha's capital was at Kânchî, and Narasiṁha's name or title figures prominently in several of the structures in Mahâbalipuram, considered the oldest according to architectural standards. The natural inference then would seem to be that this Mahâbalipuram, as it is now called, was the chief port of the Pallavas, and that, since the Pallava ruler, Mahâmalla Narasiṁha attempted to enhance its importance by building these structures, it came to be known as Mâmallapuram. This conclusion finds support in the following passage in the life of Hiuen Tsiang. 'The city of Kânchîpura is situated on the mouth (bay) of the Southern Sea of India, looking towards the kingdom of Simhala, distant from it three days' voyage.' The city[22] of Kânchîpura here referred to can be no other than the 'port of Kânchîpura,' in all likelihood Mahâbalipur. This probability is enhanced by what follows regarding the arrival of the two Buddhist Divines, Bôdhimêghêsvara and Abhayadaṁshṭra, because of a revolution in Ceylon. They are said to have just arrived at the city, and this could only be in the port and not at the capital 40 miles inland. The corresponding passage in Watter's *Yuwan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 227, is 'Kânchîpura is the sea port of South India for Ceylon, the voyage to which takes three days.'

Compare with this the following description of Talaśayanam by Tirumangai Âḻvâr :—'Oh my foolish mind, circumambulate in reverence those who have the strength of mind to go round the holy Talaśayanam, which is Kaḍalmallai, in the harbour of which, ride at anchor, vessels bent to the point of breaking laden as they are with wealth, rich as one's wishes, trunked big elephants and the nine gems in heaps.'[23]

There still remains the form of the name Mallai, distinguished often as Kaḍalmallai, 'the Mallai close to the sea.' This is the name invariably used by Tirumangai Âḻvâr, who lived one generation later than Narasiṁha. Even Bhûtattâḻvâr, whose native place it was, refers to it as Mallai. This must have been an anterior name therefore, and the distinction 'Kaḍalmallai' raises the presumption that there was another Mallai, and possibly a people called Mallar, referred to by Tirumangai Âḻvâr in the designation of Paramêśvaravarman, 'Pallavan Mallaiyarkôn' (the king of Mallaiyar). Similarly Mallai and Mayilai (Mailapore) in Madras are spoken of as chief cities of Nandi of Teḻḻâru in the poem *Nandikkalambakam*.

Plates 1 to 4 represent what is usually known as the Pancha Pâṇḍava Ratha. This name seems to have arisen at a time when the significance of the '*rathas*' had long been forgotten and the story of the *Mahâbhârata* was in great vogue. The origin seems simple enough. Of the five structures one differs from the rest the smallest with a peculiar roofing—a roofing that seems formed on the pattern of a small hut with the roof overlaid with paddy grass as village houses and huts often are. Of the four other structures three are quite similar in form. The whole five struck the popular imagination as houses built for the five brothers, the twins counting as one, as is often the case in the original *Mahâbhârata*. Hence the name must have appeared peculiarly appropriate, having regard to the magnificent bas-relief which goes by the name of Arjuna's Penance.

The illustration (Plates 1 and 2) exhibits the structural differences between the so-called Dharmarâja and the Bhîmaratha clearly. The Dharmarâja, Arjuna and Nakula-Sahadêva Rathas are of one pattern—the conical ; the Bhima Ratha is of a different pattern—the apsidal; while the Draupadi Ratha is of the conical pattern likewise, but exhibits the roof smooth

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22 Beal's *Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 139.

23 புலன்கொள் நிதிக்குவையோடு புழைக்கைம்மா களிற்றினமும்
நலங்கொள் நவமணிக்குவையும் சுமந்தெங்கும் நான்றொசிந்து
கலங்களியங்கும் மல்லைக்கடன் மல்லைத்தலசயனம்
வலங்கொள் மனத்தாரவரை வலங்கொளென் மடநெஞ்சே.

showing even the details of the over-lying paddy grass. The difference between the other three and the Bhîma Ratha is one of structure—the structure of the originals of which these are but obvious copies. The originals are no other than village houses, which are of the same two patterns all along the coast. The roofing material is almost universally plaited cocoanut fronds overlaid in more substantial dwellings by dried paddy grass. Such a structure necessitates certain structural features in the roof, which in the copies develop into ornaments. The tale of their origin is disclosed often by the names that stone masons and others engaged in architecture make use of. Inscriptions on them make it clear that these were intended to enshrine gods and godesses. The work was begun under Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahâmalla, was continued under Paramêśvaravarman I. and Narasiṁhavarman II, Rajasimha, and had not been quite completed even under Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the last great Pallava : in all a period of more than a century. The Dharmarâja Ratha has inscriptions of all these except the last, while the Gaṇêśa Ratha and the caves of Sâluvankuppan contain inscriptions of Atiranachanda taken to be a surname of Nandivarman while it might possibly be one of Rajasimha himself.

Plates 12 to 15 represent the bas-relief which goes by the name of Arjuna's penance. The sculptor has made use of a whole piece of rock with a hollow right in the middle, perhaps caused by the erosion of running water. The first gives the general view of the whole. The striking feature of the whole scene depicted appears to be the water course towards which every figure represented seems to move. As is always the case in Hindu temple building, one will see a small shrine on the left side of the cascade containing a standing figure. Just outside the shrine an old looking man is found seated to one side in the attitude of one performing *japa* (repeating prayers). Almost in a line with this, but above is seen another figure of an old man standing on the left leg, the right somewhat raised and bent, and both his hands held above his head in an attitude of god-compelling penance. In front of this old man is seen the majestic figure of a god, standing in an attitude of granting the prayer, with four hands, two of them holding weapons and the other two in the poses known as *abhaya* (no fear) for the left, and as *varada* (giving boons) for the right. The dwarf figures about and close to the personage deserve to be noted, as they are characteristic of Śiva : the dwarf figures being representations of various *gaṇas*.

What this bas-relief represents has been agitating the minds of archæologists very much. Their doubt that this does not represent Arjuna's penance has shown itself in protean forms. Fergusson has it in his *Cave Temples of India* (pp. 155—6) : "It was popularly known as Arjuna's penance from the figure of a Sannyâsi standing on one leg, and holding his arms over his head, which is generally assumed to represent that hero of the *Mahâbhârata*, but with no more authority than that which applies his name with that of his brothers and sister[24] to the Ratha above described."

"In the centre on a projecting ledge, between the two great masses of rock, once stood the statue of the great Nâgarâja, who was the principal personage for whose honour this great bas-relief was designed." This opinion is apparently shared by Burgess who collaborated with him in the publication of his standard work, the *Cave Temples of India*. These doubts, however, are thus summarised by a recent archæologist in the following words :—

"Concerning the latter bas-relief, it is well to recollect that we cannot any more call it 'Arjuna's penance.' " The merit of having given a satisfactory explanation of this scene goes to Mr. Victor Goloubeau who has proved (*Journal Asiatique*, 11th series, vol. IV, July-August 1914) :—

1. That the principal object in the scene is the vertical crevice in the rock, for it is towards it that all the personages are turned ;

2. That the presence of *nâgas* in the crevice proves the presence of water.

24 This was no sister but the common wife of the five brothers.

In that case all is clear. During the Pallava epoch the rain water flowed through the crevice. This cascade then represented the Ganges descending to the earth from the heights of Kailâsa. On the rock Śiva is seen giving an ear to the prayers of Bhagîratha. Thus the personage who has so long been mistaken for Arjuna is no other than Bhagîratha, and this grand sight must be called not 'Arjuna's penance.' but 'Bhagîratha's penance.'[25]

This authority, who is no other than my friend Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry, whose methodical work in this branch of Archæology has my sincere admiration, refuses to accept the popular designation of the relief and recognises that it represents Bhagîratha's penance.

The bas-relief has to be carefully examined alongside of the story of Arjuna's penance in the *Mahâbhârata* to accept or reject the popular name. The new suggestion has to be equally critically examined to establish a superior appropriateness. We shall prove by such an examination that the now prevalent name is the correct one, and the one suggested is hardly appropriate ; and, as a consequence, no further suggestion of a name is called for. The story of Arjuna's penance, as described in the *Kairâta sarga* of the *Mahâbhârata*, is briefly as follows :—

Arjuna, while in exile with his brothers and their wife Draupadî was advised, as a measure of necessary preparation for the war then almost certain, to go to the Himâlayas, perform a penance to the god Śiva, and, by pleasing him, obtain from him the *pâśupata*, the weapon characteristic of Śiva, which, therefore, could be given only by him. Arjuna, went as directed and performed a long and severe penance. Śiva was well pleased with the penance, which was of sufficient severity to make the gods feel perturbed as to consequences. All the same the weapon *par excellence* could not be conferred upon him without testing his worth. For the purposes of this test Śiva assumed the form of a hunter and went in pursuit of a boar, the form assumed by one of his attendants. The boar, as was intended, dashed into the sequestered glade of the forest, where Arjuna was rapt in contemplation in the course of his penance. The inrush of such an unwelcome intruder created such a disturbance about him that he opened his eyes and saw the wild boar. The instinct of the Kshatriya got the better of him ; he took up his bow and with a single arrow, shot from it, transfixed him as he thought. Simultaneously with his action the hunter, who came in the trail of his game, shot also and the dead beast shewed the marks of both arrows. The huntsman and the hermit both claimed the honour of the chase and the possession of the quarry. The opposing claims ended in a combat in which they fought hand to hand. Finding in the course of it, the weapon that Arjuna cherished the most proved of no avail, and feeling his own strength ebbing away in the combat, Arjuna bethought him of what he had forgotten. His Kshatriya blood was up and he had forgotten, for the nonce, Śiva. During the respite given for gaining breath, he set up a mud image of Śiva and placed on its head a bunch of wild flowers which he had at hand. He was surprised to find the bunch on the head of his antagonist. Finding at once that he was fighting hand to hand with no other than the god Siva, he threw himself into the attitude of a penitent, who was determined to wipe out the guilt of this sacrilege by a severer penance than any he had yet done. Then Siva shewed himself in his usual form to assure Arjuna that he was pleased with the valour he shewed in the combat, which he had brought on for the purpose of testing him. Śiva then asked him to state the boon that he would have. Arjuna, of course, demanded the gift of the *pâsupata*, which Siva gave with pleasure and benignity.[26]

The whole of this story is exhibited in three tableaux in the bas-relief. The sculptor has chosen the characteristic incidents in the story; (1) the lower part exhibits Arjuna in penance, (2) the second exhibits the chase, the boar galloping away ahead while the other

[25] Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil's *Pallava Antiquities*, vol. I, page 64.

[26] Cantos 42 & 43, Book I, Kumbhakonam Edition.

animals are quiescent in the relief, (3) the third is where Śiva appears before Arjuna and bestows upon him the boon demanded by the penitent as a result of the penance. The three taken together make it clear that the relief is a representation of Arjuna's Penance on the surface of the rock. The trend of the various other beings towards the middle is not because of the watercourse there, but because of the chief character, Śiva, being there. The watercourse is merely incidental and cannot be held to represent the Coming of the Ganges (*Gaṅgâvataraṇa*). The story of the Coming of the Gaṅgâ, so far as it relates to this particular, requires that Gaṅgâ should be shown as descending upon the matted coiffure of Śiva, getting lost there almost, issuing therefrom in a small stream by means of a loosened lock. The aspect of Śiva in the relief has nothing in it to indicate this.

There is much other evidence on the point, but it is other than archæological. The archæological features of the bas-relief leave little doubt that it was of the period of Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahâmalla, who was a contemporary of the two *Têvâram* hymners, Appar and Sambandar. Both of these mention the incident of giving the *pâsupata* to Arjuna as one of the more prominent acts of beneficence by Śiva [27]. The inscriptions on the Rathas and the caves make it absolutely clear that Narasiṁhavarman laboured to make them Śiva shrines and make a Śaiva centre of the place. Inscriptions Nos. 17 and 18 on the Dharmarâja Ratha make it clear that it was intended to be called 'Atyantakâma Pallavêśvara.' [28] The same name occurs in the so-called Gaṇêśa Ratha and in the Râmânuja Maṇṭapam. This Atyantakâma was a title of Paramêśvaravarman the grandson of Narasiṁhavarman I, and father of Narasiṁhavarman II, Rajasiṁha. The name "Narasiṁha", is used twice among the number of inscriptions specifying the names and titles inscribed on this Dharmarâja Ratha. Since several of the titles were borne by more than one Pallava sovereign, it would be difficult to decide which of the two Narasiṁhas this actually refers to. On grounds of palæography Dr. Hultzsch has given it as his opinion that the characters in which these epigraphs are written are older than those in the Ganeśa Ratha, and the florid characters in the Kailâsanâtha temple at Conjivaram. While this may not be quite a decisive test, it is probable that it is Narasiṁha I that is under reference here. (For the remarks of Dr. Hultzsch, see *Epi. Ind.*, vol. X, p. 1 ff.) The larger number of buildings in rock therefore began to be excavated by Narasiṁhavarman I, and reached their completion if they ever reached it at all under Narasiṁha II, Rajasiṁha, Śaiva sovereigns in a Śaiva age. Among the statues in relief in the Dharmarâja Ratha in several tiers, there is one in the first tier in the south-west panel which seems intended to represent a human figure (Plate 7). It has an inscription on the top like the other reliefs. But this contains no name among the titles inscribed on the top of the panel, that will lead us to the identification of the statue being that of Narasiṁha I. It must, however, be remarked that this is the only two handed figure in the whole group, and there are features in the drapery and the attitude of the figure itself, which would make it distinct from the other figures in the other panels of the Ratha. Since undoubtedly the names and titles on the Ratha were the names and titles of a Narasiṁha, this

[27] ஒரியல் பல்லா வுருவமதாகி யொண்டிறல்வே
டனதுருவது கொண்டு
காரிகை காணத்தனஞ் சயன்றன்னைக் கறுத்
தவற் களித்துடன் காதல்செய் பெருமான்.
(சம்பந்தர்). திருவெங்குரு. 3.
பாடகஞ்சேர் மெல்லடி நற்பாவை யாளும்
நீயும் போய்ப்பார்த் தனது பலத்தைக் காண்பான்
வேடனாய் வில்வாங்கி யெய்தநாளோ.
(அப்பர்). திருவாரூர்த் திருத்தாண்டகம். 3.

[28] *Epigraphia Indica*, X, p. 8.

lay figure should be that of Narasiṁha I. as we have already indicated.[29] He probably made the relief on the rock not far off represent one of the most popular of Śiva's acts of beneficence to humanity, which both the *Têvâram* hymners refer to very often in the course of their works, the more so as Bhâravi's *Kirâtârjunîya* must then have been in great vogue at Kâñchi in his time This is the more natural seeing that the other bas-relief has reference to one of Krishṇa's achievements. the holding up of the hill. Gôvardhana. to protect the cowherds and cattle from a shower of stones. We shall revert to this later, but must mention here that this place finds no mention in the *Têvâram* as a place holy to Śiva, though these hymners refer to Tirukaḻukkunṟam: nor is the place included among those peculiarly sacred to Śiva now. It seems to be then beyond the possibility of doubt that this bas-relief represents Arjuna's Penance, not as an incident in the *Mahâbhârata* but as a representation of one of Śiva's many acts of beneficence to humanity, perhaps because it formed the subject of the *Kirât-ârjunîya*: not so much that it is so depicted in the hymns of the *Têvâram.*

This interpretation finds unlooked for support in the archæological remains of a few pillars recently unearthed at Chandimau in the Behar District of the Patna Division. These are sculptures that exhibit the same incident and the monument belongs, according to Mr. R. D. Banerjee, to the 5th or the 6th century A.D. as the inscriptions found on the pillars are in the Gupta characters.[30]

Another point in regard to this bas-relief is whether it is the work of foreigners. That foreign workmen from other parts of India and outside did do work in this part of the country on occasions, is in evidence in the Tamil classics.[31] Jewellers from Magadha, smiths from Mahârâṭṭa, blacksmiths from Avanti (Malva), carpenters from Yavana, laboured with the artisans of the Tamil land.

Admitting this possible co-operation, it requires more to prove borrowing either the inspiration or the execution. None of the details of these works seem foreign either to the locality or to the prevalent notions of indigenous art. The suspected " Cornucopia " held in the hand by one of the figures at the bottom of the central water-course is none other than

29 Plate 7 is from a photograph taken by my colleague, Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, Reader in Indian Philosophy. That this might be the statue of Narasiṁha I, I investigated by a detailed examination of the figures in the Ratha. when I took Professor Franklin Edgerton of the Yale University to see the place, and he kindly took a photograph for me and sent me a copy. This was lent to Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L., who wanted a loan of it for making a block. The photograph was not returned to me, and I understood subsequently that he had lost it. I found it necessary, therefore, to make another arrangement, and in the course of another visit to the place with my friend, Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, I took Mr. Suryanarayana Sastri also. The photograph of Narasimha and the small one representing the hermitage in Arjuna's Penance are both of them taken by him. (The boy in shorts standing in the middle of the group is my son, and obviously does not belong to the group). I regret the loss of Professor Edgerton's photograph. as it was taken with a view to the epigraph over-head coming out clearly.

30 *ASR.*, for 1911-12, p. 162, *et seq*

31 மகதவினை ஞரும்மாராட்டக் கம்மரும்
மவந்திக் கொல்லரும் யவனத்தச் சருந்
தண்டமிழ் வினைஞர் தம்மொடு கூடிக்
கொண்டி னிதியற்றிய கண்கவர் செய்வினைப்
பவளத்தி ரள்காற் பன்மணிப் போதிகை.

Manimêkhalai, XIX, 107—110.

யவனத் தச்சரும் மவந்திக் கொல்லரு
மகதத்துப் பிறந்தமணி வினைக்கா ரருஃ
......................பசும்பொன் வினைஞருங்
கோசலத் தியன்ற ஓவியத் தொழிலரும்
வத்த நாட்டு வண்ணக் கம்மரும்.

Perungadai, Unjaikkâṇḍam. passage quoted under above in Pandit Svaminatha Aiyar's edition of *Manimêkhalai.*

a sling containing the sacrificial platter of wood, which one of the disciples has washed and put together to carry home to the hermitage, while his companion carries on his shoulder a vessel of water.

There is in a cave a little to the south of the Gaṇêśa Ratha, a relief exhibiting the man-boar according to the *Vaikânasâgama*. Of the three kinds of boar form, this is what is called the Âdivarâha type. This must be exhibited with four hands, two of them carrying the conch and the disc ; the colour grass-green, left foot planted upon the hooded head of the king of the serpents (*śêsha*).

The figure of Bhûvarâha should have, according to the *Vaikânasâgama*, the face of a boar in association with the body of a man. It has four arms, two of which hold the *śankha* and *chakra* as usual. The right leg should be slightly bent and be made to rest upon the jewelled hood of the mythical serpent Âdiśêsha, who must be sculptured as in company with his wife. Of the remaining two hands, the left hand should be shown as supporting the legs of Bhûmidêvi, seated on the god's bent right leg, with her own legs hanging down, while the right hand has to be thrown round the waist of the same goddess. The boar face of the god should be slightly tilted up, so as to make the muzzle approach the bosom of the goddess as though he is engaged in smelling her.[32] The colour of the image of Varâha-Vishṇu is represented by the darkness of the twilight. The associated figure of Bhûmidêvi should have her hands in the *añjali* attitude. She should be decked with flowers and dressed in clothes and should be adorned with all suitable ornaments. Her complexion has to be black. Her face should be slightly lifted up and turned towards her lord, and should be expressive of shyness and joy. The top of her head should reach the chest of the figure of Varâha, and her image should be made in accordance with the *pañchatâla* measure. Such is the description given in the *Vaikhânasâgama*. (Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography*, pp. 132-3).

The Tṛvikrama panel in the same cave (Plate 17).—The image of Tṛvikrama may be sculptured it is said, in three different ways, namely, with the left foot raised up to the level of the (1) right knee, or (2) to the navel, or (3) the forehead. These three varieties are obviously intended to represent Tṛvikrama as striding the earth, the mid-world and heavenly-world respectively ; and are all exemplified in sculptures also. The image of Tṛvikrama, with the left foot lifted up only to the level of the right knee is, however, rarely met with among available pieces of sculpture. The rule is that Tṛvikrama images should be worked out in accordance with the *uttamadaśa-tâla* measure, and their total height should be 124 *angulas*. Tṛvikrama should have either four or eight hands. If there be only four arms, one of the right hands should be made to hold the *śankha* and one of the left hands the *chakra :* or it may even be that the left hand carries the *chakra* and the right hand the *śankha*. The other right hand should be held up with the palm upwards and the other left hand stretched out parallel to the uplifted leg ; or this right hand may be in the *abhaya* or the *varadâ* pose. On the other hand, if Tṛvikrama is sculptured with eight arms, five of the hands should carry the *śankha, chakra, gada, śârnga* (bow) and *hala* (plough), the other three being kept as in the previous instance. The right leg of Tṛvikrama is to be firmly planted upon the earth ; and the left should be used in taking the stride of world-measure. The colour of the image is to be dark as that of the rain-cloud ; it should be clothed in red garments and decorated with all ornaments. Behind it there should be sculptured the tree called *kalpaka*, and Indra should be shown holding over Tṛvikrama's head an umbrella. On either side Varuṇa and Vâyu should be made to wave *châmaras* ; and over them on the right and the left there should be the figures of Sûrya and Chandra respectively. Near these again there should be seen

[32] This attitude of amorous dalliance is sometimes described, of course absurdly enough, as playing the baby at the breast.

Sanyasa, Sanaka, Sanatkumâra. Brahma should be made to take hold of the uplifted foot of the Trvikrama with one of his hands and wash it with water flowing from a *kamaṇḍala* held in the other hand; and the water flowing down from the washed foot of Trvikrama should be shown as being of a snow-white colour. Śiva should be sculptured with his hands in the *anjali* pose and as sitting somewhere in space above the height of the navel of Trvikrama. Near the leg upon which Trvikrama stands, there should be the figure of Namuchi, a *râkshasa*, in the attitude of bowing in reverence to the great god Trvikrama. On the left Garuḍa should be shewn as taking hold of Śukra, the *guru* of the *râkshasas*, with a view to belabour him for obstructing Bali in giving the gift asked for by the Brahmanical boy Vâmana; on the right Vâmana himself should be made to stand with an umbrella in his hand and ready to receive the promised grant of three feet of space. Near him and opposite to him Bali should be shown as standing golden in hue and adorned with ornaments and carrying in his hands a golden vessel to indicate that he is ready to pour the water ceremonially in proof of his gift. Behind the emperor Bali there should be his queen. Above the head of Trvikrama the figure of Jâmbavân should be shown as sounding the drum, called *bhêri* in Sanskrit, so as to exhibit the joy of the celestial beings at their coming delivery from the rule of the *asura* emperor Bali. So says, the *Vaikhânasâgama*. (*Op. cit.*, pp. 164-7).

Plate 16 represents a huge panel, about eight feet by six in size, carved on the north wall of the rock-cut shrine situated to the south of what is called Gaṇêśa Ratha at Mahâbalipuram. In this group of images the central figure is that of Trvikrama. It has eight hands; three of the right hands carry the *chakra*, the *gada*, and the *khaḍga*, and the remaining right hand is held up with the palm turned upside, as required by the *Vaikhânasâgama*. Three of the left hands carry the *śankha* (conch), the *kêṭaka* (shield), and *dhanus* (bow), and the fourth left hand is stretched out parallel to the uplifted leg. This leg itself is raised up to the level of the forehead. Near the foot of the leg stretched out to measure the heaven-world, Brahma is shown as seated on a *padmâsana* (a form of squatting) and as offering with one of his right hands *pûja* (worship) to that foot. His image is given four hands and is made to wear the *jaṭâ-makuṭa* (coiffure of matted hair) and *karṇa-kuṇḍalas* (ear-pendants). In the corresponding position to the right of Trvikrama we see Śiva also seated in *padmâsana*. His image also has four arms, one of which is held in the pose of praise. It is also adorned with the *jaṭa-makuṭa* and *kuṇḍalas*. Immediately below Śiva is Sûrya, the sun-god, with a halo. The way in which the legs of this god and also of Chandra, the moon-god, are worked out, suggests that they are both residing up in the heavenly world without any terrestrial support. This sun-god has only a pair of hands, both of which he holds stretched out in the act of praising Trvikrama. Chandra is sculptured below the shield of Trvikrama, with a halo round the head, and is also shown to be in the attitude of praising Trvikrama. In the space between the head of Trvikrama and Brahma there may be noticed a peculiar figure turned towards Brahma. It has the face of a boar and is made to carry what is evidently a drum. This figure is obviously that of old Jâmbavân, sounding the drum in joy due to the victory of the Dêvas over the Dânavas. At the foot of Trvikrama sits Namuchi to the right; and the other three figures, that are to be seen, are perhaps representations of Bali and some other prominent *asuras*. There is one other figure shown as if cutting somersaults in the air, and carrying something like a staff in the right hand. It is not possible to say whom this figure is intended to represent. The *Brahmâṇḍa-purâṇa* states that when Vâmana grew to be gigantic in size, and became Trvikrama, some of the Dânavas were hurled up into the air as if by a hurricane. This figure is perhaps one of the Dânavas so tossed up.

These two, as also several others of the figures of gods and goddesses in the locality, conform to the norms of Iconography as laid down in the *Vaikânasâgama* and shew

marked differences of features from representations of the same icons in other localities and of other ages. This has to be noted carefully, as no conclusion in point of chronology can be drawn from these without regard to the school of architecture or sculpture.

Govardhana Krishṇa :—This represents Krishṇa as carrying the hill Govardhana to protect the cowherd settlement of Gôkulam where he was being brought up. When the annual feast intended for Indra, the Vêdic god of rain, came round for celebration, Krishṇa accepted the offerings intended for Indra, who, in anger, rained stone and other destructive material upon the sacrilegious village. Thereupon Krishṇa performed this feat to save the villagers from harm and exhibit to the wondering world that what was offered to Krishṇa is as good as offered to all the gods. Architecturally this piece of workmanship is rather crude in comparison with that of Arjuna's penance ; but it seems none the less to belong to the same school of art. If it be so, this may be the first work of an artist or the first work of the school, the work of which, in an advanced stage of its skill, is exhibited in the other bas-relief. Behind the Krishṇa in this relief, one will notice in the original a young shepherd boy playing upon the flute. This is sufficiently far away to indicate that it represents another of the many aspects of Krishṇa's life, and refutes the theory that Vênugôpâla (young Krishṇa playing on the flute) is not found represented before the 13th century A.D. One stanza of Tirumangai Âḷvâr of the twenty devoted to this place seems specifically to refer to this relief.[33]

Mahishâsuramardani (Plate 10):—The goddess Durgâ should have ten hands according to the *Śilparatna*, which describes her further as having three eyes ; she should wear on her head a *jaṭa-makuṭa* and in it there should be the *chandra-kalâ* or the digit of the moon. The colour of her body should be like that of the *atasi* flower, and the eyes should resemble the *nîlôtpala* or the blue lily ; she should have high breasts and a thin waist and there should be three bends in her body (of the *tṛbhanga* variety). In her right hands she should carry the *triśûla, khaḍga, śaktyâyudha, chakra*, and a stringed bow ; and in the left hands the *pâśa, ankuśa, khêṭaka, paraśu*, and a bell. At her feet should lie a buffalo with its head cut off and with blood gushing from its neck. From within this neck should be visible the half-emerged real *asura* bound down by the *nâga-pâśa* of the Dêvi. The *asura* should be made to carry a sword and a shield, although the Dêvi has already plunged her *tṛśûla* into his neck and he is bleeding profusely. He should have a terrific look with knitted eye-brows. The right leg of the Dêvi should be placed on the back of her lion and her left leg should touch the buffalo-body of Mahishâsura.

The *Vishṇudharmôttara*, as quoted in the *Vâchaspatya*, describes Mahishâsuramardani under the name of Chaṇḍikâ thus :—This Dêvi has the complexion of gold and is a very handsome youthful woman in an angry mood, sitting on the back of a lion. She has twenty hands ; the right ones carry, respectively, the *śûla, khaḍga, śankha, chakra, bâṇa, śakti, vajra, abhaya, ḍamaru*, and an umbrella ; while the left ones are seen to hold the *nâga-pâśa, khêṭaka, paraśu, ankuśa, dhanus, ghaṇṭa, dhvajagada*, a mirror and the *mudgara*. The buffalo-part of the *asura* is lying decapitated with the real *asura* proceeding out from the neck. His eyes, hair and brows are red and he vomits blood from his mouth. The lion of the Dêvi mauls him, and the Dêvi herself thrusts the *tṛśûla* into his neck. The *asura*, who is bound down by the *nâga-pâśa*, carries a sword and a shield.[34] The peculiar feature of the Mahishâsuramardani here depicted is that the panel exhibits her as pressing back her enemy Andhakâsura in war. At this stage she has a benign aspect and shows nothing of the ferocity in combination with beauty which is usually associated with this aspect of the Goddess Durgâ.

The Shore Temple :—General view (Plates 21 & 22). This temple in general view shows a double *vimâna*, both parts shaped exactly alike, but of proportions that seem intended to serve

[33] *Periya Tirumoḷi*, II. V. 4.

[34] T. A. G., *Iconography*, p. 357, *et seq.*

the purpose of shutting off the smaller from view on one side. The shoreward tower is the smaller and seems the older. It has a hole in the middle of the pedestal to hold a stone image or *linga*. An image has since been recovered which is of the *Sarvatôbhadra*[35] type. There is within the shrine a representation of Śiva as Sômaskanda[36] in the central panel.

Beginning at the south end of this little shrine and at the back of it looking towards the sea is what now looks a comparatively dark chamber, holding a large-sized image of Vishṇu *couchant*. (See Plate 9.)

Then comes the seaward shrine just covering this in front, and of proportions to shut off altogether from view on the seaside both the Vishṇu and Śiva temples above described. This contains a huge *lingam*, with sixteen fluted faces. These three in Chola times were known as Jalaśayana or Kshatriyasiṁha Pallavêśvaram, Paḻḻikoṇḍân and Râjasiṁha Pallavêśvaram, respectively, notwithstanding the statements of the epigraphists to the contrary. The significance of this will follow.

The Atiraṇachaṇḍêśvara Cave in Sâluvanguppam : Plate 23. This Atiraṇachaṇḍa was taken to be Nandivarman, the last great Pallava. It looks, on palæographical grounds, to be a surname of Narasiṁhavarman II, Râjasiṁha.

Vishṇu in the lying posture as the Sthala-śayanamûrti : Plate 9. 'This is a recumbent image of Vishṇu with only two hands; about a fourth of the body should be somewhat raised, and the remaining three-fourths should be lying flat upon the serpent bed. The right hand should be placed near the pillow, so as to touch the *kirîṭa* ; the other hand, bent at the elbow, should be held in the *kaṭaka* pose. Or, this left hand may be made to be parallel to the body, so as sometimes to touch the thigh. The right leg has to be stretched out, while the left should be slightly bent. The image itself should be adorned with various ornaments. The eyes must be somewhat opened. The colour of the image should be a mixture of black and yellow. By the side of this recumbent figure there should be Bhṛgu and Mârkaṇḍêya, and near the feet, the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, while on the lotus issuing from the navel there should be Brahma. On the back wall of the shrine and above the level of the image of Vishṇu should be sculptured the images of the Âyudha-purushas, of Garuḍa, of Vishvaksêna, and of the Sapta-rishis, all standing with their hands in the *añjali* pose. On the south wall should be shown Brahma, and on the north wall Śiva,—both in the sitting posture. Such a group constitutes the *uttama* class of Yôgaśayanamûrti. If the figures of the Saptarishis and Vishvaksêna are absent, the group belongs to the *madhyama* class; if the Pûjakamunis and Madhu and Kaiṭabha are also absent, it is conceived to belong to the *adhama* class.'[37]

In regard to this Yôgaśayanamûrti in the Shore Temple, some of these features adjunct to such a representation are wanting. The omission is explained away by the tradition that the God was there himself alone and had to exhibit himself to Rishi Puṇḍarîka in the Yôgaśayana. Therefore the usual adjuncts are wanting. Of course the tradition is kept up in the modern temple, where the name of the goddess is Bhûdêvi (the Earth). This tradition and the name of the goddess indicate some connection between the locality and the Varâhâvatâra of Vishṇu. No definite statement of such a connection has so far come to my notice.

The Shore Temple is a feature of the antiquities of Mahâbalipuram, which has been a puzzle in archæology. Being structural, it has been taken for granted that it must have

35 A column with four faces, each face with a head of Śiva, the top is surmounted by a head also.
36 Śiva in the company of his consort Umâ and their son Skandha (Subrahmanya).
37 T. A. G., *Iconography*, pp.90, &c.

been a late structure, at least later than the rock-cut ones. But material is now available to set these doubts at rest, although more definite light would certainly be welcome. Before proceeding to an explanation, the following facts require to be noticed. The original structures seem to have been the smaller shrine and the Vishṇu chamber behind it, with *very probably an apsidal* vimânam *surmounting the Vishṇu shrine.* As we have it at present, this last is covered in front by the larger shrine facing the sea. (See Plate 22.)

The Chola inscriptions found in Mahâbalipuram published in the *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 63–69, go to prove the existence of three shrines (1) Jalaśayana or Kshatriyasiṁha Pallavêśvaram ; (2) Paḷḷigondaruḷiyadêva and (3) Râjasiṁha Pallavêśvaram. According to these inscriptions Mâmallapuram belonged to Âmur Nâḍu of Âmûrkôṭṭam. No. 40 of the *South Indian Inscriptions* uses the name Pudukkuḍaiyân Êkadhîran,[38] fifty, as an alternative name for Âmur Nâḍu. Âmûr, a village near by, gives the name both to the larger and smaller divisions. Reverting to the names given in these epigraphs to the shrines, we have no doubt about the Paḷḷigonḍaruḷiyadêva. This can refer only to the god on his couch, Vishṇu. The names are not quite as clear in respect of the two others. Jalaśayana-Pallavêśvara can have no direct significance, as there is nothing to connect Jalaśayanam (sleeping on the primeval waters) with Śiva. This name can only mean the Pallavêśvara of the place Jalaśayanam, which must necessarily have been an anterior name. This would apply more appropriately to the smaller temple looking shoreward than to the seaward-looking bigger shrine. Even so there is an error in the name, which was according to the almost contemporary authority of Tirumangai Âḷvâr Talaśayanam (Sthalaśayanam) and not Jalaśayanam. The mere proximity to the sea cannot give a shrine this name, and the Śiva shrine close to the sea has nothing of *śayanam* (couch) in it, containing as it does only a sixteen-sided prismatic *lingam.*

The Sea-ward Temple seems built with the design to shut off the Vishṇu Temple, which Tirumangai Âḷvâr describes as a Vishṇu temple ' where Vishṇu is in the company of Śiva, whose proper place is the crematorium.'[39] The Talaśayanam must have got modified into Jalaśayanam by an error and assumed the alternative Kshatriyasiṁha Pallavêśvaram, if Kshatriyasiṁha made benefactions to the temple by extending and improving it.[40] Râjasiṁha Pallavêśvaram must be the sea-ward-looking temple, which is obviously of later construction from its own position. The prismatic *linga* is quite characteristic of Râjasiṁha's buildings, as a comparative study of Pallava monuments seems to indicate.[41] Râjasiṁha is further described ' a very pious prince, the illustrious Atyantakâma, the chief of the Pallavas, who crushed the multitude of his foes by his power (or spear), whose great

38 This name or title which means ' the unparallelled hero of the new umbrella ' seems intended to designate Nandivarman Pallavamalla. The first word seems to contain a hint that the throne was to him a new acquisition and not one coming in hereditary descent. The Kaśâkuḍi plates of this Nandivarman call the village under gift by the new name Êkadhîramaṅgalam, which was probably in honour of the sovereign regnant. If this interpretation is correct, it is clear that Nandivarman restored the temple to the *status quo ante*. (*S. Ind. Ins.*, II. iii. p. 359.)

39 பிணங்களிடு காடதனுள் நடமாடு பிஞ்ஞகனோடு
இணங்கு திருச்சக்கரத் தெம்பெருமானார்க் கிடம்விசும்பில்
கணங்களி யங்கும்மல்லைக் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்
வணங்கு மனத்தாரவரை வணங்கென்றன் மடநெஞ்சே.— (*Periya Tirumoli*, II. vii. 9.)

40 Para. 9, *Epigraphist's Report* for 1913.

41 *Cf.* Râjasiṁha-Pallavêśvara, the Kailâsanâtha temple at Kâñchi.

statesmanship was well known, and who had got rid of all impurity (by walking) in the path of the Saiva doctrine.'[42]

In his zeal for extension for the Siva shrine he might have consciously thrown the Vishṇu shrine into the shade, and might even have destroyed parts of it, as that must have faced the sea from the disposition of the image now, both in the shore-temple and in the more modern temple in the town. The tradition is living yet that this latter was built to house the god, left homeless by the pious vandalism possibly of the Pallava sovereign, it may even be by his own successor Nandivarman Pallavamalla who was a Vaishṇava and in whose time Tirumangai Âḷvâr probably lived.

Mâmallapuram is not mentioned as a Saiva holy place by either Sambandar or Appar, who have composed hymns upon Tirukkaḷukkunṟam ; nor even by Sundaramûrti, as far as I am at present able to make out. It is not mentioned among the recognised Saiva centres of worship even now. Tirumangai Âḷvâr celebrates it separately in two parts of ten stanzas each, and makes other references besides. Another of these Âḷvârs, Bhûtathâḷvâr, believed to be much anterior to him in time and born in the town itself. refers to the temple by the name Mâmallai.[43] We have already referred to the primitive character of the bas-relief in the Krishṇamanṭapam.

It seems, therefore, that before Narsiṁhavarman I took it upon himself to beautify the place with the various rock-cut temples and other works of art, it must have been a place of Vaishṇava worship in some manner connected with one of the oldest Vaishṇava temples in Kâñchi. In one of his verses, Tirumangai Âḷvâr refers to the god at Mallai, as 'he who was abed in Kachchi.'[44] This may be explained away in a general sense, but the reference seems to be specific, and there is some similarity in regard to the traditions of both. The shrine in Kâñchi referred to is that of Yadôktakâri or Veḥkâ, the only temple referred to in the *Perumbâṇâṟṟuppaḍai*. This poem by Rudran Kaṇṇan has for its object the celebration of the liberality of Toṇḍamân Iḷandiraiyan of Kâñchi, and refers to a time certainly anterior to that of Siṁhavishṇu, the founder of the great Pallava dynasty, and may go back to the 2nd century A.D. It must be remembered that this Siṁhavishṇu himself was a Vaishṇava, according to the Udayêndiram plates of Nandivarman I., Pallavamalla,[45] while Râjasiṁha is described in the same document as a devout worshipper of Śiva (Paramamâhêśvara). A Vishṇu temple in the locality seems quite possible, either of sufficient nearness or remoteness in point of time.

Was the place of sufficient importance to deserve this honour before the age of the great Pallavas, specifically before the date of Narasiṁhavarman I, Mahâmalla, whose name was attached to the place even long after the fall of the dynasty. It is in point to notice here that it is not only the works of the Âḷvârs that call the place Mallai ; the same designation is given to it uniformly in the work *Nandikkalambakam*, a Tamil work celebrating the exploits of Nandivarman, victor at Teḷḷâṟu. The age of this monarch is now definitely fixed. He came later, being a grandson of Nandivarman

42 Têshâm vamśê prasûtât Raṇarasika purôrnmardhânâd (a)gradandât (*u*)
Subrahmaṇyaḥ kumârô Guha iva Pramâdîśvarâdâtta janmâ
Śaktiksuṇṇâri varggo viditabahunaya Śaiva siddhânta mârgê
Śrîmân Atyantakâmaḥ kshatasakalamalo dhûrddharaḥ Pallavânâm
(*S.I.I.*, Vol. I., No. 24, verse 5).

43 *Iyaṟpâ*, II, 70.

44 கச்சிக் கிடந்தவனூர் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனம்.

45 Siṁhavishṇu—the grandfather of Narsiṁhavarman I, was a devout Vaishṇava. (Udayêndiram Plates, *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. iii, p. 370) 'Bhaktyârâdhita Vishṇuḥ Siṁhavishṇuh'

Pallavamalla. How far back the name Mallai goes, we have not the means of deciding, but a coin of Theodosius has been discovered of date A.D. 371–395, which would indicate, although the evidence must be regarded as but slender, that the place was a port of some importance commercially.[46] The genealogy of the Pallavas of Kâñchi goes back ten generations at least before Simhavishṇu the father of Mahêndra, the monarch who excavated most of the caves of Southern India.[47] If we can take the time occupied by these at about two centuries, this will take us to about A.D. 400 from the known dates of Narasimha I. There are three other names to be accommodated perhaps, before we come to Vishṇugôpa of Kâñchi, who suffered defeat at the hands of the Samudragupta—about A.D. 350. One of these very early Pallavas, Simhavarman, is said, in the Amarâvati Pillar Inscription now in the Madras Museum, to have gone up to the Himâlaya to imprint his '*lânchana*' on its face, as symbolical of his universal sovereignty.[48] This is in obvious imitation of the crowned kings of the Tamil land, the Chera, the Chola and the Pâṇḍya. We have to look for the particular Pâṇḍya, Chola and Chera much anterior to his time—whatever that time be.

This would, under all legitimate canons of criticism, bring us to the earlier centuries of the Christian era, and the geographical data of the classical writers ought to give us the clue.

We have already noted that the Chinese traveller Hiuen Thsang refers both to the capital and the port, as if they both had either the same name, or as though they could be regarded as the capital and its port, so intimately connected with each other as to be confounded by even an eminently intelligent foreigner such as the enlightened '*Master of the Law*' was. Ptolemy, the geographer, writing in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. refers to a port, as well as an interior city, named Malange.[49] The *Periplus*, written about 80 A.D., refers to three ports and marts north of the Kâveri; Camara, Poduka and Malanga.[50] Without going into the details of this geography here, we may take the port Malanga to be the Mahâbalipuram that is at present. The description of Mâvilangai we find in the *Śiṛupâṇâṛṛuppaḍai* would answer to this very well, as well as in Hiuen Thsang's time, when it was the port of embarkation for Ceylon. The interior[51] Malange was, according to Ptolemy, the capital of Bassarnagos, which, on the analogy of Sorenagos of the same writer, must be the capital of the land of a people Basser, which is a Greek modification of Vêḍar or Vêṭṭuvar, who constituted, if not the sole, at least an integral part of the population. This possibility requires to be worked up more fully.

It must be noted in this connection, however, that there is a place containing a Pallava cave temple near Tindivanam called, even now, Kîḻmâvilangai (*i. e.*, East or Lower Mâvilangai). Another Malingi (Kan. for Mâvilangai) in Mysore is called in the 11th century A.D. Iḍainâṭṭu Mâvilangai.[52] These adjuncts to the two names imply the existence of other places of the name in the neighbourhood or about the same region. As far as I am able to make out at present, there is no authority for taking Mâvilangai to mean a country as Mr. Kanakasabai has taken it[53]—the passage of the *Śiṛupâṇâṛṛupaḍai* not lending itself to that interpretation. If then the capital and the port bore the same name,

[46] *JRAS.*, 1904, pp. 609 and 636.

[47] *Origin and Early History of the Pallavas*—J.I.H.

[48] *S. Ind. Ins.*, vol. I., p. 27, ll. 33-34.

[49] *Ante*, vol. XIII, pp. 333 and 368.

[50] W. Schoff's *Periplus*, p. 46, Section 60.

[51] *Pattuppâṭṭu*, S. Iyer's Edition

[52] *Epig. Karṇâṭaka*, Mysore, Pt. 1, T. N. 34 and 35.

[53] *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago.*

there is some reason for the careful Chinese traveller calling the two places by the same name, though different from this one, but well-known in his days. In fact, it is stated that to Ôymânâṭṭu Nalliyakkôḍan, the hero of the *Śiṛupâṇâṛṛupaḍai*, belonged the region comprising the cities and fortresses of Âmur, Vêlûr, Eyilpaṭṭinam, Mâvilangai, Kiḍangil, etc., but Kâñchi in the same region does not find mention as such. His time, I take it, is intermediate to those of Tonḍamân Iḷandiraiyan of Kâñchi, and the Vishṇugopa of Kâñchi defeated by the famous Samudragupta.

This would take us to the vexed question of the origin of the Pallavas, and whether they were an indigenous dynasty or a dynasty of foreigners. The study of their monuments at Mahâbalipuram makes it quite clear that their civilization at any rate, must have been Brahmanic; their architecture shews clear traces of its indigenous origin. These would support the contention of the *Vishṇu Purâṇa*,[54] that the Pallavas were a race of Kshatriyas, who fell from their high estate by giving up the Vaidic duties enjoined upon them, meaning perhaps that they had become Buddhists. When they come into view in South India, they seem bent upon making amends for their past remissness by an extraordinary amount of zeal for Hinduism. It would seem reasonable to infer that they had as little to do with the Pahlavas or Parthians, as their contemporaries the Châḷukyas had to do with the Seleukians of Asia.

Having come so far, it would seem pertinent to ask the question whether these Pallavas, who present themselves to us through the antiquities of Mahâbalipuram, are the same as those known in the locality from the earliest times, or whether these were new-comers. That these powerful Pallavas of the dynasty of Narasiṁhavarman were Âryans in culture must now seem clear. There is one particular motive in these buildings that strike one as a remarkable feature, and that is the lion-base for the pillars. This, with the maned lion upon their coins, seems to indicate unmistakably that they were the feudatories of the Andhras, who advanced southwards from across the Krishṇa River, both in the lower and upper part of its course. There seems, therefore, some reason to distinguish between these Pallavas and the Pallavas or Kurumbars of the coins, which have for their characteristic device a standing bull. On this subject the following remarks of Professor Rapson seem apposite. "In the same region lived the Kurumbars, a people of considerable importance before the 7th century A.D. Between the coins of these two peoples no accurate discrimination has yet been made. The coins of this region fall into two classes :—(1) Those which in style bear some resemblance to the coins of the Andhras (*e.g.*, E. CSI. Pl. II, 55-58, called Kurumbar ; and perhaps also *id.* I, 31-38 called Pallava or Kurumbar), and may therefore possibly belong to the same period (2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.). The occurrence of the ship as a reverse type testifies to the foreign trade for which the Pallavas were famous. (2) The other class is of gold and silver and undoubtedly later : but here again there seems to be no evidence from which to determine the exact date. These coins all bear the Pallava emblem, the maned lion, together with Kanarese or Sanskrit inscription."[55]

That the Kurumbars were different from the Pallavas, and that the Pallavas were northerners, seems to find an echo in Tamil literature. There are two or three poems, which are ascribed to different authors, who must be allotted, on very substantial evidence, to the first century, or a little later, of the Christian era. Among them a certain chief by name Nannan had for his territory the region called, in Tamil literature, Pûḻinâḍu[56], round about

[54] Bk. III, Ch. iii. Wilson's Translation. Original *ślokas* (15-21).
[55] *Indian Coins*, by E. J. Rapson, Plate V, 16 and p. 37.
[56] This is also called in Tamil Koṅkâṇam (Konkan).

the region of Cannanore now. One of the hill forts belonging to that chief was called Êlil Malai (a hill about 18 miles north of Cannanore now). That hill-fort had fallen into the possession of the northerners, as the Tamils called them (Vaḍukar), and the territory was recovered by a certain Chola King, by name Ilanjêtchenni, victor at Śeṛuppâḷi or Pâḷi over these northerners (Vaḍukar).[57] The same incident is referred to in connection with the same king in *Puram* 378. That is for the west coast. In regard to the east, the Tamil chief Kâri, ruler of Malai Nâḍu round about Tirukkovilur in the South Arcot District, is said similarly to have beaten back an Âryan force which laid siege to his hill fort of Muḷḷûr.[58] These references in classical Tamil literature make it quite clear that at the commencement of the Christian era there was a general forward movement of the northerners (Âryans or Vaḍukar) into South India, which was resisted with all their power by the Tamilians across the whole width of the peninsula. The boast, therefore, of the Pâṇḍyan ruler, who figures prominently in the *Śilappadhikaram*, that he defeated an Âryan army, and the various northern achievements of Śenguṭṭuvan seem founded on a basis of fact. The native Kurumbars, therefore, who must have figured in this general opposition, must have been gradually overcome by the invaders and their territory occupied completely by the Pallavas, who figured prominently in South Indian history at least from the commencement of the 4th century A.D. This would satisfactorily account for the hiatus between the Tamilian rulers of Kâñchi, generally known as Tonḍaimân, and the later rulers of the same region, usually known by the Sanskrit name Pallava, though this is but a translation of the word Tonḍaimân.

Special Note.

The Varâha cave, which is on the canal side of the lighthouse, has not been mentioned above, except in Mr. Gopalan's note. This contains a representation of the Varâha Avatâra of Vishṇu. Being under worship, people are not freely admitted at all times, and the cave has often to be given up, as it is difficult to suit oneself to the convenience of the priest in charge. It has recently become one of the most important features of Mahâbalipuram, as it contains the two panels of representations of Siṁhavishṇu and his son Mahêndravarman, with their queens one on either side of the front verandah of the cave (Plates 5 & 6). These are represented with their queens, Siṁhavishṇu seated, while his two queens are standing. Mahêndravarman is standing leading his two queens, as it were by the hand. The sitting figure is that of Siṁhavishṇu, as the inscription on the top unmistakably shows, and the standing figure is that of his son, Mahêndravarman. The discovery of these reliefs increases the probability that the place was one of very considerable importance in the days both of Siṁhavishṇu and his son Mahêndravarman. As we know that Siṁhavishṇu was a Vaishṇava,[59] the presence of his representation in the Varâha cave would be nothing strange. This newly discovered feature enhances the probability that it was regarded as a Vaishṇava holy place rather than a Śaiva. It would be difficult to explain the presence of the relief of Mahêndravarman, as traditionally he was regarded as first of all a Jain, later on converted to Śaivism. Although this by itself is no insuperable objection to the presence of this panel of his relief in the Vaishṇava temple. The appearance of the relief in company with that of his father would perhaps indicate that early in his life, and as a prince, who had not developed any pronounced partiality for any of these particular faiths like Indian sovereigns generally, he visited this place of worship impartially. Hence the conclusion seems justifiable that the reliefs were cut out in the reign of Siṁhavishṇu himself. If so, the place must have been of some importance in his reign, and the existence of this Varâha shrine may be inferred from a reference in Tirumangai Âḷvar's *Peria*

57 Akam 375 or 374 in the MS. copy in the Govt. MSS. Library at Madras.
58 *Naṟṟiṇai*, 170.
59 See p. 28 *ante*.

Tirumoḻi, (II, 6. 3). On the suggestion made above that in the relief in the Dharmarâja Ratha the two-handed figure (Plate 7) is that of Narasiṁhavarman, it is just possible there are other figures which may very likely represent other sovereigns of the Pallava dynasty. This, however, requires a very careful and quite a detailed examination of all the reliefs in the place.

One further point of very considerable importance is that the cave contains an inscription of Nandivarman Pallava Malla's 65th year, his latest regnal year so far known. The occurrence of this inscription in the cave, taken along with the others to which reference has already been made, shows that the place was one of considerable importance in his reign. This was already inferred from the reference to the locality in the hymns of Tirumangai Âḻvar, who was a contemporary of this sovereign. This Âḻvar's reference to the place as still possessed of long streets cannot be regarded as a description of an obscure village or a place in ruins.

We may conclude that the various details given above would justify the inference that the place was one of some importance, and known by the Tamil native term " Mallai," otherwise, " Kaḍal Mallai ". When it assumed a certain degree of importance, it probably was called " Mâmallai " or " Mâmallapuram "[60] to distinguish it from other villages of the name. It seems probable that Narasiṁhavarman I took it into his head to beautify the already considerable place in his own way, possibly in imitation of what his father did in various other places. In so doing, he followed the practice of Indian sovereigns by renaming the place with one of his titles, the most striking of which perhaps was at the time "Mahâmalla." Hence the place enjoyed the alternative designation " Mahâmalla ", which, written in Tamil, would assume the form "Mâmallapuram" and is identical with the previous Tamil name. There is no need, therefore, to make any effort to derive the one name from the other, being, as they are, two different names historically, though by chance they assume the same form finally.

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[60] See p. 28, n. 43, *ante*.

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The Numbers refer to the pages.

GROUND PLANS OF TEMPLES AT MÂVALIVARAM.

Scale, 11 Yards = 1 Inch.

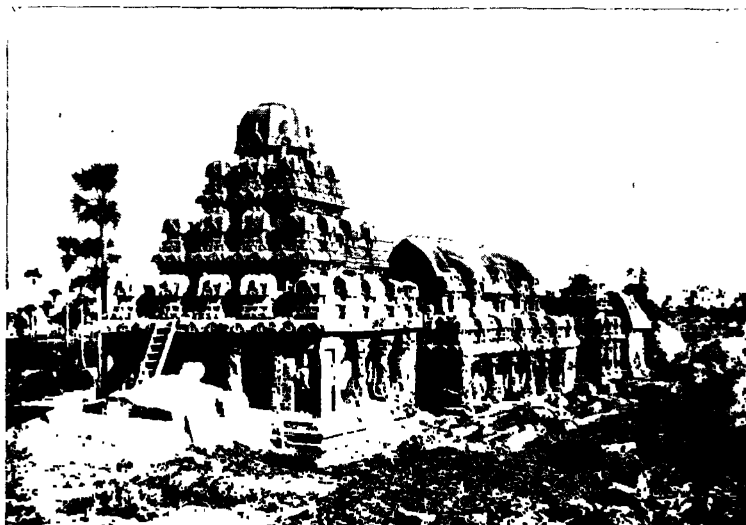


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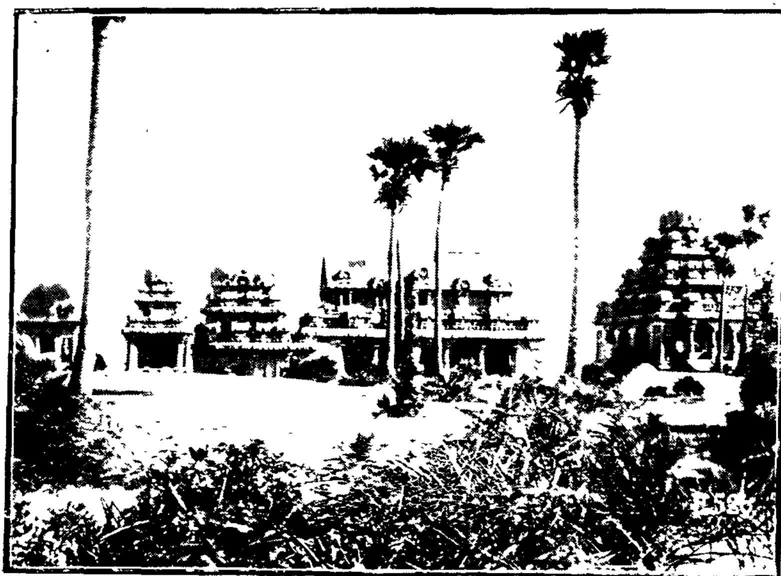
1. Pi*d*âri Temple
3. Pi*d*âriamman Rathas
6. Shore Temple
12. Dolotsava Ma*n*dapam
15. K*ri*shna Ma*nd*apam
21. Excavation
24. Ga*n*e*s*a Temple
25. Excavation
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34. I*s*vara Temple
37. Draupadi's Ratha
39. Arjuna's Ratha
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42. Bhima's Ratha
43. Dharmarâja's Ratha
44. Excavation
48. Râmânujajiyyar Ma*nd*apam

Note :—The numbering on the Original Plate ...

GENERAL VIEW OF THE RATHAS.

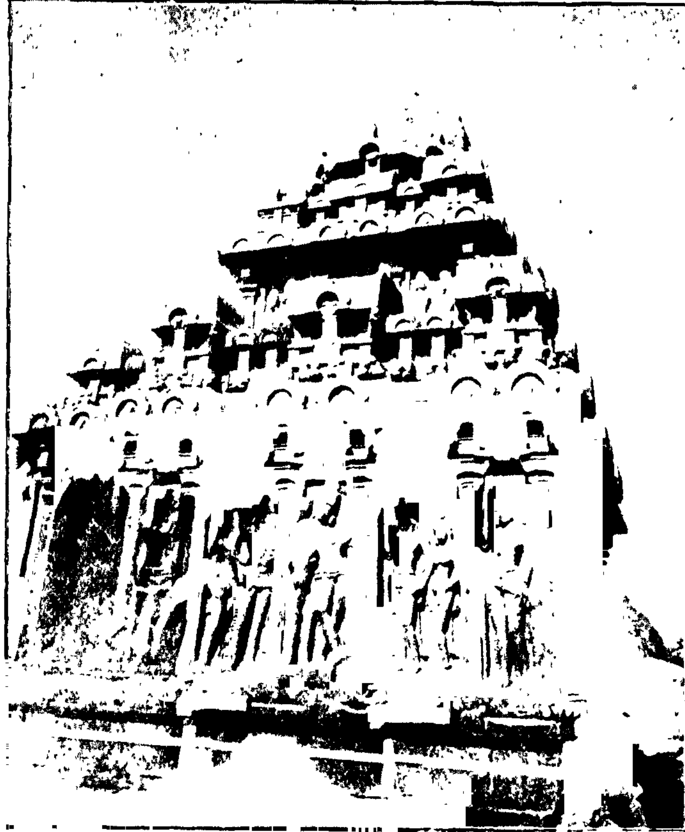


SEAWARD VIEW OF THE RATHAS

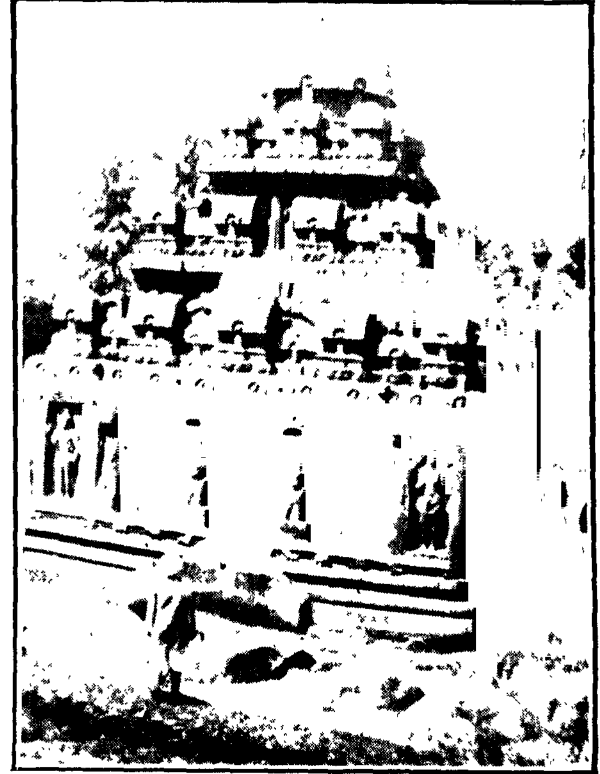


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ARJUNA'S RATHA : FIGURED PANELS.



DHARMARAJA RATHA



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VARĀHA TEMPLE: SIMHAVISHṆU AND HIS QUEENS.



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VARAHA-TEMPLE: MAHENDRAVARMAN I AND HIS QUEENS.



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NARASIMHAVARMAN-MAHAMALLA.
(DHARMARAJA RATHA).



To face page 32 & refer pp. 10, 22 & 23.

MAHISHA MANDAPAM



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STHALAŚAYANA-VISHNU IN MAHISHA MANDAPA.
(VISHNU ABED ON EARTH.)



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MAHISHASURA MARDHANI.



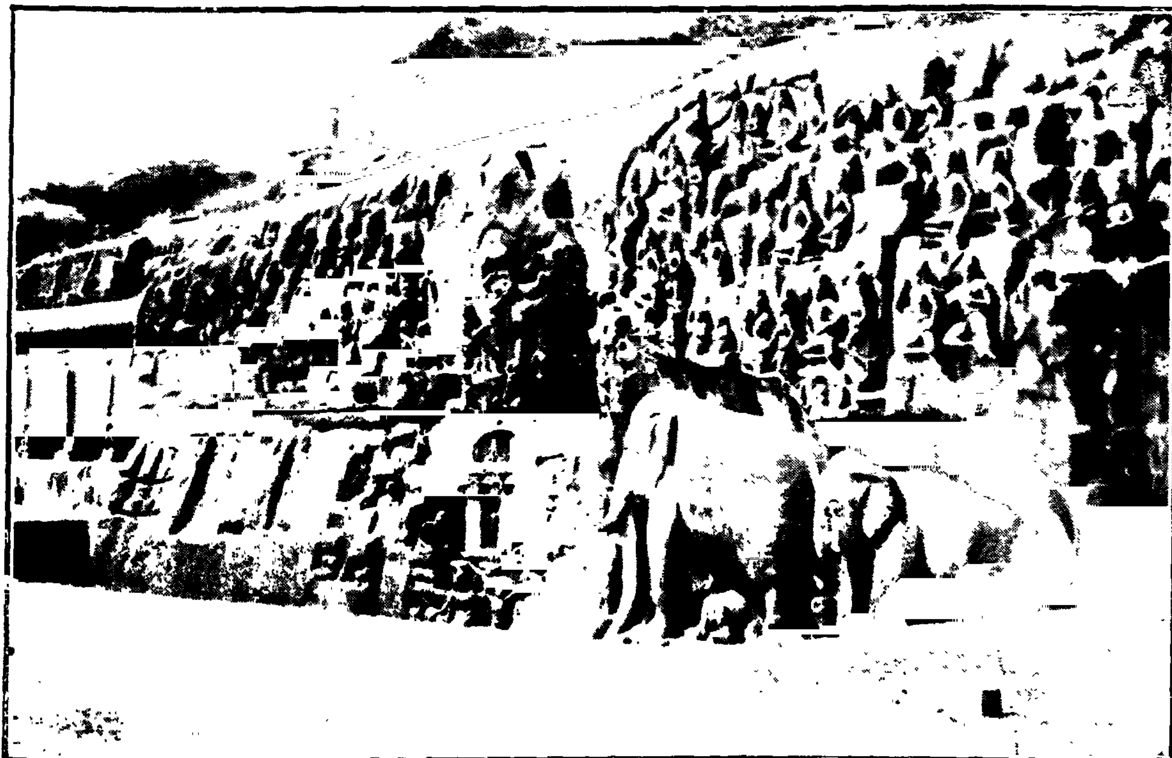
To face page 25. Refer p. 11.

INCOMPLETE TEMPLE ON LIGHT-HOUSE ROCK.



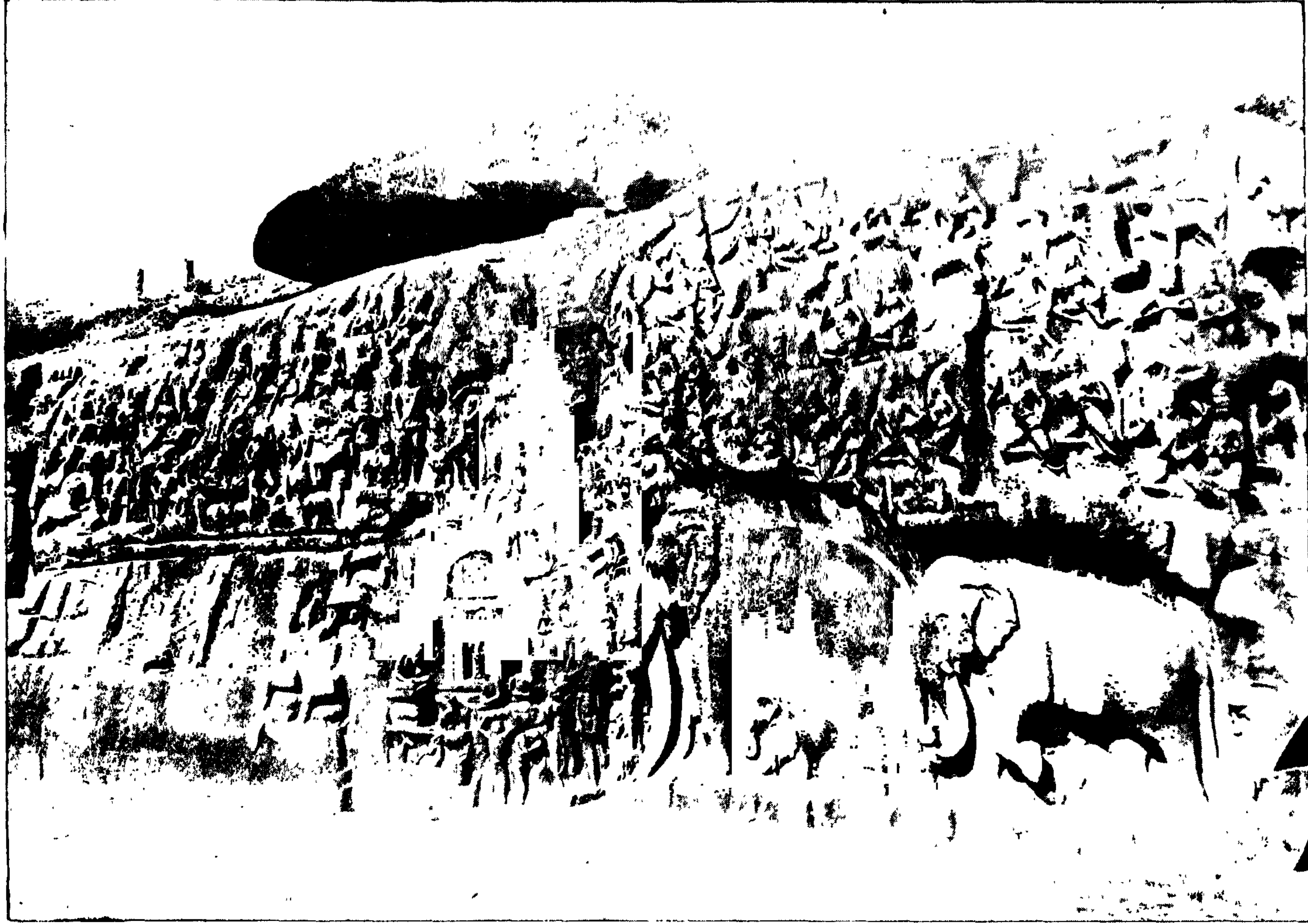
To face page 12.

ARJUNA'S PENANCE—RIVER SCENE AT THE HERMITAGE.



To face page 20 & after p. 12.

ARJUNA'S PENANCE: THE BOAR-HUNT



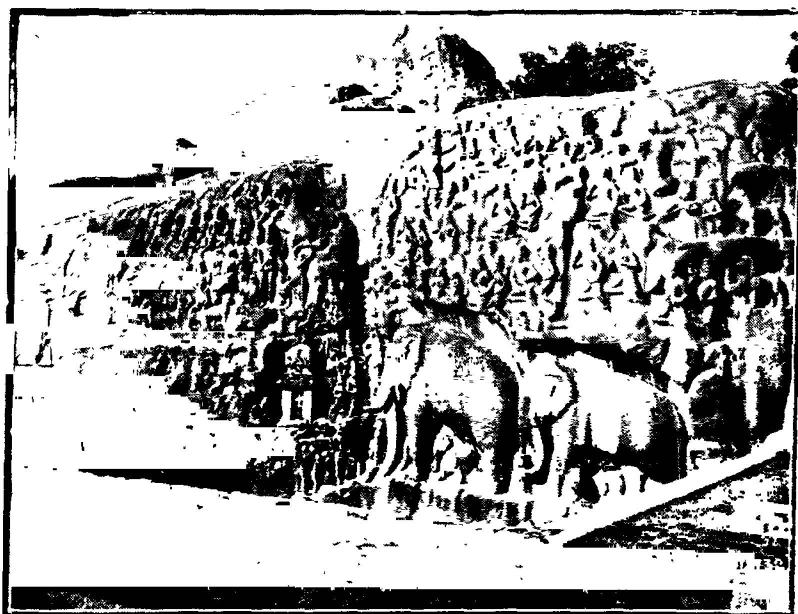
To face page 21 & refer p. 12.

ARJUNA'S PENANCE—THE HERMITAGE.



To face page 20 & refer p. 12.

ARJUNA'S PENANCE—GENERAL VIEW.



To face page 19 & refer p. 12.

VARÂHA PANEL, MAHÂBALIPÛR.

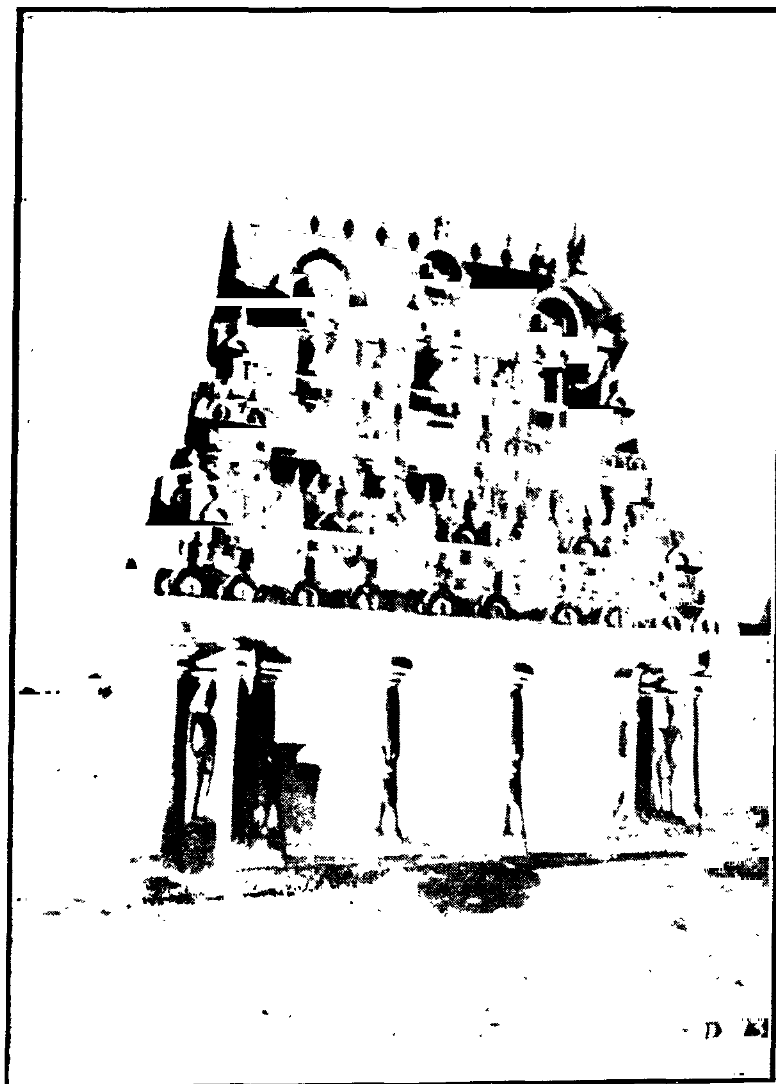
To face page 23.

VARAHA IN THE CAVE AT UDAYAGIRI IN MALWA OF THE TIME OF CHANDRAGUPTA II. c. A.D. 400



For comparison.

GANESA RATHA.



To face page 24 refer p 1}

VISHNU-TRIVIKRAMA.



To face page 16 & refer pp. 13 & 17.

GAJALAKSHMI.



To face page 13.

KRISHNA'S BUTTER BALL.



To face page 13.

Plates 20 & 21.

DHARMARAJA'S LION THRONE.

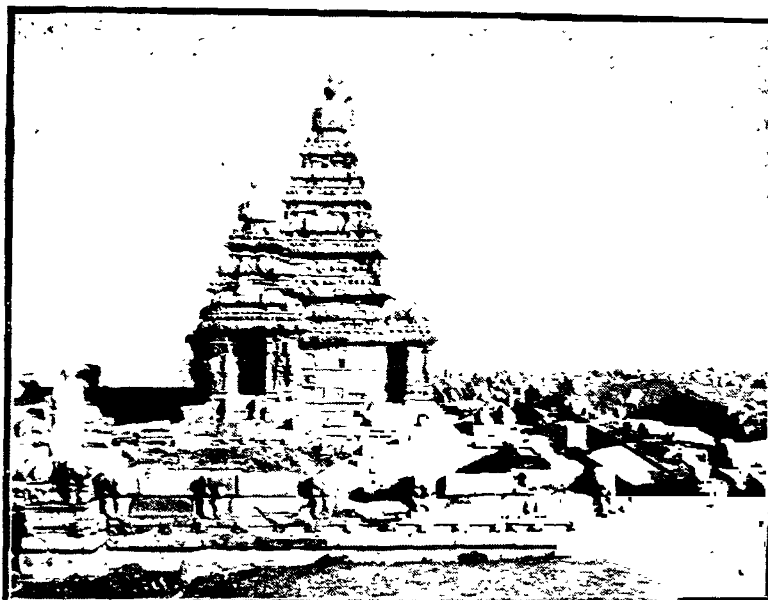
To face page 13.

SHORE TEMPLE—SIDE VIEW.



To face page 11 & refer p. 25.

SHORE TEMPLE.



To face page 25 & refer pp. 14 & 27.

TIGER CAVE— ALUVANGUPPAM.



To face page 26 & refer p. 14.

PANELS OF KING AND QUEEN · ARJUNA RATHA



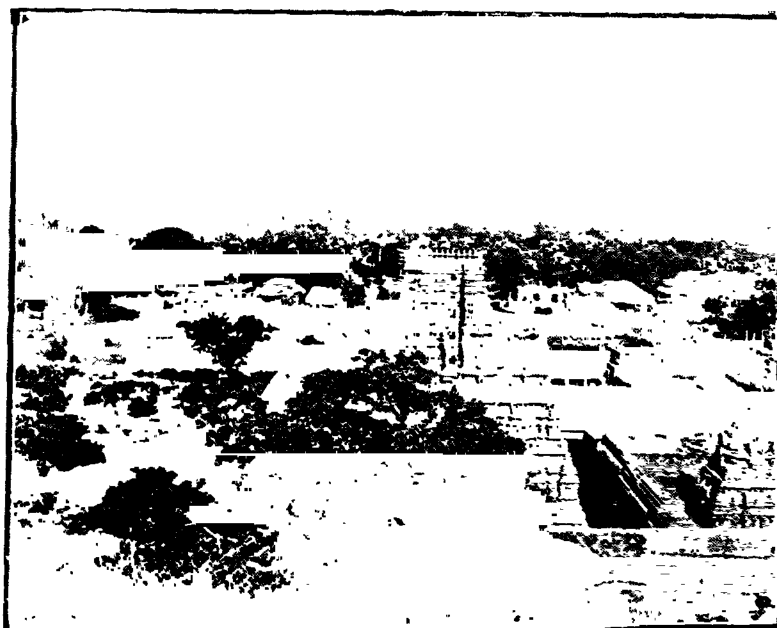
To face page 32.

PANEL OF DURGA.



To face page 11.

MAHABALIPURAM—BIRD'S EYE VIEW.



To face page 15

ALEXANDER'S CAMPAIGN ON THE INDIAN NORTH-WEST FRONTIER.[1]

NOTES FROM EXPLORATIONS BETWEEN UPPER SWAT AND THE INDUS.

BY SIR AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., F.B.A.

MY recent tour of archæological and geographical exploration across the Indian North-West Frontier led me through a fascinating region, hitherto inaccessible for the most part, upon which my eyes had been fixed for fully thirty years. The hill tracts stretching northward beyond the Peshawar border owe their special antiquarian and historical interest to two facts. The fertile valleys drained by the Swât river, together with the tribal territory of Bunêr south-eastward, had long ago been recognized as corresponding to the ancient *Udyâna*,[2] a country famous in Buddhist tradition. The early worship and culture which once flourished there were known to have left their traces behind in numerous as yet unsurveyed ruins. But what invests this whole region with an additional historical interest, and one likely to appeal to a wider public, anyhow in the West, is the fact that it must have been the scene of important events in that arduous campaign which brought Alexander the Great from the foot of the snowy Hindukush to the Indus and preceded his triumphant invasion of the Panjâb. The present account of the explorations carried out by me on this ground from March to May 1926 will be restricted in the main to what indications I succeeded in tracing of the Macedonian conqueror's passage.

Before, however, I proceed to record these and kindred antiquarian observations we may pass a rapid glance over the general geographical features of this region. Its central and most important part is formed by the territory of Swât. The river which drains the whole of it and from which it takes its name (a very ancient one, mentioned already in the Rigveda as *Suvâstu* and by Megasthenes as Σόαστος), descends from the high ice-crowned range between Chitrâl and the headwaters of the Gilgit river and joins the Kâbul river not far from Peshawar. The Swât valley is quite alpine in its upper portion where I saw it flanked by magnificent glacier-clad peaks rising close to 19,000 feet in height. But below the hill tract known as Tôrwâl it widens greatly, and for a distance of over 60 miles comprises a wide expanse of fertile plain on either side, easily irrigated and used largely for rice cultivation.

Bold spurs descending to the river from the watershed range in the south divide this open and rich portion of the main Swât valley at two points. Down to the barrier formed by the Shamêlai spur above the town of Mingaora the valley continues the almost due north-south direction it follows in the mountains. From there it turns south-west to where the precipitous Landakai ridge forms a natural dividing line between Upper and Lower Swât. Thence the valley takes a more westerly course, still retaining its fertile riverine plain for some 20 miles farther. But beyond, from above the confluence with the Panjkôra, it contracts rapidly. Finally it is through narrow and in parts almost impassable gorges that the river forces its way down to the great open plain of the Peshawar valley. Together with the numerous large side valleys on both sides, Swât is a territory singularly favoured by nature and of great potential wealth. Occupied now by Paṭhân tribes, comparatively recent invaders, Swât has for the last four centuries or more suffered greatly from a state of chronic disorder, such as seems endemic in that race when left uncontrolled by some strong power.

South of the lower part of Swât lies the open plain of the Peshawar valley, the ancient *Gandhâra*, drained by the Kâbul river and now, as of old, the most important district on the North-West Frontier. It has always served as a passage wide open for invaders of India

[1] Reprinted, with the kind permission of the author and the Council, Royal Geographical Society, from *The Geographical Journal* for November and December 1927. A few paragraphs only, which relate to arrangements preparatory to the tour of exploration, have been omitted—JT.-EDITOR.

[2] For the sake of convenience we may continue to use this long-accepted Sanskrit form of the name, though the researches of Professor F. W. Thomas and M. Sylvain Lévi have proved the true form of the name, as attested by Buddhist Sanskrit texts, to be *Uḍḍiyāna* or *Oḍḍiyāna*; cf. *JRAS.*, 1905, p. 461; *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, 1, pp. 105 *sqq.*, and below, p. 12.

from the north-west. Where the barren but picturesque hill range dividing the Peshawar valley from Swât rises higher and takes a decided turn to the north-east it throws off a branch at right angles, which runs down to the Indus and encircles the territory of Bunêr. Less extensive and less fertile than Swât and accessible from it by a number of comparatively easy passes, Bunêr seems always to have shared the political fate of its northern neighbour. As we follow the main range above the left bank of the Swât river farther up, its height steadily increases and its character as the great divide between the Swât river and the Indus becomes more defined.

The valleys which run down from this watershed towards the Indus, though not large, are still comparatively open and fertile and hold now a Pathân population closely allied with that of Swât. But above the mouth of the Ghôrband river the Indus valley rapidly contracts into a succession of narrow and very difficult gorges comprehensively designated as the Indus Kohistân. The small independent communities of Dard speech which are settled there, together with those to be found in Tôrwâl and elsewhere on the headwaters of the Swât river, may safely be recognized as a remnant of that pre-Muhammadan population which once held Swât and the adjacent tracts, and which the Pathân invasion has driven back farther into the mountains or gradually absorbed. The great height of the snowy range separating this portion of the Indus valley from the Swât river drainage sufficiently explains why there is no need to pursue our rapid survey in this direction further.

Turning now to the west we find Upper Swât bordered by the territory known as Dîr and drained by branches of the Panjkôra ; this joins the Swât river before the latter emerges on the plain of the Peshawar valley. The tract on the northernmost headwaters of the Panjkôra, in respect of its forests, its ample grazing-grounds and its remnant of Dard-speaking hillmen, resembles the corresponding portion of Upper Swât. Here too the land-owning population in the lower valleys is Paṭhân. But neither in size nor in natural resources can Dîr bear comparison with Swât, and its political importance is due solely to the fact that through it leads the direct route connecting Chitrâl and its Hindukush passes with the North-West Frontier. Crossing the Panjkôra to the west the Paṭhân tribal tract of Bâjauṛ is reached. Considerable as its area of arable land is, Bâjauṛ lacks the advantages of abundant irrigation such as Swât derives from its large snow-fed river ; otherwise, too, the territory is far less favoured by nature. To the west there stretches the Hindurâj range forming the watershed between Bâjauṛ and the large valley of the Kûnar river, included in the Afg̱hân kingdom. Here we find again great natural resources assured by the abundance of water which the Kûnar or Chitrâl river carries down from the snow and ice-clad heights of the main Hindukush range. With the alpine tracts of Kâfiristân which lie between the latter and the Kûnar valley we are not concerned here.

. . . .

Before I proceed to set forth those archæological and topographical indications which my recent explorations have enabled me to gather concerning particular points of Alexander's campaign in the region now controlled by the ruler of Swât, it will be convenient rapidly to review the main historical data to be gathered about that campaign from the available classical records. These notices have been often discussed, and as a clear and critical account of them is readily accessible in the late Mr. Vincent Smith's 'Early History of India', our review may be brief.[3] Alexander in the spring of 327 B.C. crossed the Hindukush from Bactria towards the Kôh i-dâman above Kâbul. There he strengthened the hold he had secured upon this part of the present Afghânistân two years before, and then set out for his Indian campaign. There can be no doubt that as far as the country west of the Indus was concerned

[3] See 2nd edition, pp. 45 *sqq*. Full translations of the notices furnished by Arrian, Diodorus, Curtius and some minor sources are to be found in M'Crindle, 'The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great' (1893).

this enterprise meant, in theory at least, but a reassertion of the sovereignty of that Persian Empire to which he claimed succession and which down to the last Achæmenidian 'King of Kings' had its satrapies right up to the Indus. At Nikaia, a place not yet exactly determined, in the upper valley of the Kâbul river he divided his army. One large force was to move to the tract of Peukelaotis (Sanskrit *Pushkalâvatî*, safely located near Chârsadda, north-east of Peshawar) and to effect the submission of the country as far as the Indus. The other corps was led by Alexander himself into the hill country to the north of the Kâbul river, obviously with a view to securing the flank of his main line of communication along it.

The details of the route followed on Alexander's operations against various towns by "the river called Khoes" and against the tribe of the Aspasioi cannot be determined. But it may be considered as certain that they took him for a considerable distance up the large and populous valley of the Kûnar river.[4] Geographical facts make it equally clear that the scene of subsequent operations, when he had crossed the mountains and moved east,[5] was the present Bâjauṛ. This is rendered quite certain by the mention of the river Guraios, which had to be passed by the Macedonians before Alexander could lead them into the country of the Assakênoi; for the identity of the Guraios with the Panjkôra, coming from the mountains of Dîr and flowing east of Bâjauṛ before it joins the Swât river, is well established.[6] No definite attempt can be made to identify the localities mentioned west of the Guraios, as long as Bâjauṛ remains inaccessible for research.

With the passage of the Guraios or Panjkôra we are brought close to the territory which directly concerns us here; for it has long ago been recognised that the country of the powerful nation of the Assakênoi, the invasion of which was begun after crossing the river, could be no other than Swât. The numerical strength of the nation and the size of the territory held by it are sufficiently indicated by the numbers recorded by Arrian for the army ("2,000 cavalry and more than 30,000 infantry, besides 30 elephants") which had gathered to oppose Alexander's advance. Yet we are told that when the barbarians saw Alexander approaching they did not dare to encounter him in the open, and dispersed to their several cities in order to defend them.[7]

From this and the account of the several sieges which followed the inference seems justified that the Assakênoi, though a brave race, could not have been addicted to those fierce and very effective methods of fighting which make the present hill tribes along the barren parts of the North-West Frontier so formidable opponents on their own ground. From the superior type of the abundant structural remains still extant in Swât from early Buddhist times, and from what we know through the Chinese pilgrims' account of the character of its inhabitants at a later period, it may, in fact, be safely concluded that the material civilization and culture prevailing in that region in Alexander's time and for centuries after was far higher than those to be met with there now, or among the semi-barbarous Paṭhân tribes holding the barren hills from the Mohmand country down to Wazîristân. Nor should it be forgotten that the possession of lands so fertile as those of Swât, combined with the enfeebling effect of the rice cultivation preponderant in its valleys, tends to have a debilitating influence on the inhabitants. This is apparent even from the present Paṭhân population, and must have asserted itself also in the case of its earlier occupants.

As regards the ethnography of the region through which Alexander's hill campaign took him, two points may conveniently be noted here. That the invaders classed the inhabitants

4 See my remarks on the importance of the Kûnar valley and the indications pointing to its having been the scene of those operations, in 'Serindia,' I, p. 3.

5 Cf. Arrian, 'Anabasis,' IV. xxiv.

6 See 'Serindia,' I, p. 2, note 2. The difficulty of the passage across the Guraios which Arrian, IV, xxv., specially comments upon, is illustrated by the experience of the British forces when operating against Bâjauṛ from the Swât side and across the Panjkôra in 1905 and 1907.

7 Cf. Arrian, 'Anabasis,' IV. xxv.

as Indians is certain. This fully agrees with what we know from later records about the Indian character of the civilization and religion which prevailed before the Muhammadan conquest along the whole Kâbul river valley from the Hindukush to the Indus. At the same time there is good reason to believe that the languages then spoken in that region and in the adjacent hill tracts, including Swât, were not Indian, but belonged to that independent branch of Âryan speech, designated as Dard or Dardic, which still has its representatives in the valleys south of the Hindukush from Kâfiristân to Kashmîr. In fact, I have shown elsewhere that the very name *Assakênoi,* in its relation to the corresponding Sanskrit form of *Aśmaka,* as attested among tribal designations of the Indian North-West, bears distinct philological evidence to the Dard speech of those to whom it was applied.[8]

That the territory held by the Assakênoi was a large one and comprised the whole of the present Swât, together probably with Bunêr and the valleys to the north of the latter, is clear ; for the operations which were needed for their effective subjugation, extended, as the classical records show, from the Panjkôra to the right bank of the Indus. The accounts given by both Arrian and Curtius of these operations, though recorded in some detail, do not suffice—in the absence of local investigations—to fix with any critical assurance the position of the sites which they mention. Only for the initial stages of Alexander's march through this large territory was definite guidance available, and that supplied by plain geographical facts. It is certain that in ancient times, as at present, the direct route, and the only one of any importance, must have led from the Panjkôra through Talâsh and across the easy saddle of Katgala into the wide open valley which stretches down from Wuch to the Swât river and to its strategically important crossing now guarded by the fort of Chakdara.

Beyond this the only indication to be derived from geography is the very general one that the several strong places in which the Assakênoi had taken refuge, and which Alexander successively besieged and captured, are likely to have been situated in the main Swât valley, which at all times, just as now, must have been the most fertile and populous portion of the territory. Arrian, whose account of Alexander's campaign is throughout the most reliable and avowedly based on a careful examination of sources largely contemporary, distinctly tells us that Alexander "marched first to attack Massaga, which was the greatest city in those parts." The reference made to its chief under the name of Assakênos shows that Massaga was considered the capital.

Arrian gives a lengthy account of the siege which, after battering engines had been brought up against the walls and the chief killed, ended with the city's capitulation. But he furnishes no clue as to the position of Massaga ; nor does the elaborate description recorded by Curtius, VIII. x., of the defences with which both nature and man had provided the city (called by him Mazaga), help us to locate it at present. At none of the sites examined by me have I been able to find topographical features resembling those which this description indicates.[9] Until further search can be made on the ground, I must content myself with expressing the belief that the site of Massaga may probably have to be looked for farther down in Swât than has hitherto been supposed. Owing to the great expanse of fertile alluvial soil which is to be found there, Lower Swât must at all times have been a very populous and rich portion of the whole valley. Its economic and military importance must have been greatly increased in ancient times, just as it is now, by the ease of direct access from it to the open plain of Gandhâra. It appears to me on various grounds very unlikely that Alexander, having been brought by his route from Bâjauṛ and the Panjkôra straight to Lower

[8] See Stein, 'Serindia,' I, pp. 4 *sq.*

[9] "For on the east, an impetuous mountain stream with steep banks on both sides barred approach to the city, while to south and west nature, as if designing to form a rampart, had piled up gigantic rocks, at the base of which lay sloughs and yawning chasms hollowed in the course of ages to vast depths, while a ditch of mighty labour drawn from their extremity continued the line of defence. The city was besides surrounded with a wall 35 stadia in circumference," etc. ; cf. M'Crindle, 'Invasion of India,' pp. 194 *sq.*

Swât, could have carried his operations far up the main valley, as has been supposed,[10] before he had secured his rear and the direct line of communication with the rest of his army on the lower Kâbul river. For this it was necessary first to defeat such resistance as that important lower portion of Swât was bound to have offered to the invader.

Two points recorded in connection with the capture of Massaga deserve to be briefly noted here. One is the mention made of 7,000 Indian mercenaries brought from a distance who shared in the defence of the place, and ultimately after its capitulation made a vain endeavour to regain their homes and in that attempt were exterminated. The employment by a local chief of so large a paid contingent from outside clearly indicates conditions of organized defence wholly different from those with which a modern invader of tribal territories on the North-West Frontier would have to reckon. In the second place attention may well be called to the fact that in spite of the recorded great valour of the defenders, Arrian's account puts the total loss suffered by Alexander in the course of the four days' siege at only twenty-five men. In the cheap price paid for this success we may recognize a proof of the ascendancy which the Macedonian force of highly trained and war-hardened veterans derived in addition to all other advantages, from the possession of superior armament; for both Arrian and Curtius specially testify to the overmastering effect which the use of the besiegers' war engines, including movable towers and powerful ballistæ, had upon the defenders.

For tracing the further course of Alexander's operations in Swât we can fortunately avail ourselves of archæological as well as topographical indications. Arrian[11] tells us that Alexander "then dispatched Koinos to Bazira, believing that (the inhabitants) would capitulate on learning of the capture of Massaga. He further sent Attalos, Alketas, and Demetrios the cavalry leader, to Ôra, another town, with instructions to invest the town until he himself arrived. A sally made from the latter place against the troops under Alketas was repulsed by the Macedonians without difficulty and the inhabitants driven back within their walls. With Koinos matters did not fare well at Bazira; for its people trusted to the strength of the position, which was very elevated and everywhere carefully fortified, and made no sign of surrender.

"Alexander on learning this set out for Bazira. But having come to know that some of the neighbouring barbarians, prompted to this by Abisares,[12] were preparing by stealth to enter Ôra, he first marched to Ôra. Koinos was instructed to fortify a strong position in front of Bazira, to leave in it a garrison sufficient to keep the inhabitants from undisturbed access to their lands, and to lead the rest of his force to Alexander. When the people of Bazira saw Koinos departing with the greatest portion of his troops, they made light of the [remaining] Macedonians as antagonists no longer equal to themselves and descended to the plain. A sharp encounter ensued in which five hundred barbarians were killed and over seventy taken prisoners. The rest fled together into the town and were more strictly than ever debarred from access to the land by those in the fortified position."

Subsequently, we are told, when the inhabitants of Bazira learned of the fall of Ôra they lost heart and at the dead of night abandoned the town.

I believe the convergent evidence of position, remains and name enables us to locate Bazira safely at the conspicuous hill which rises with precipitous rocky slopes above the left bank of the Swât river near the large village of Bîr-kôṭ and on its top bears the ruins of an ancient fortification. *Bîr-kôṭ*—this is the name as I heard it regularly used by the local people, the "Bari-kot" of the map being the form preferred for some reason in the Persian

[10] See V. Smith, 'Early History of India,' p. 50.

[11] Cf. Arrian, V. xxvii, 5; M'Crindle, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69 *sq.*

[12] By Abisares is meant the king of the territory known from Sanskrit texts by the name of *Abhisâra* and located in the lower and middle hills between the Jhelam and Chenâb rivers; in Alexander's time it comprised also Hazâra; see Stein, 'Râjataranginî,' transl., 1, pp. 32 *sq.*, and below, p. 14.

correspondence of scribes and Mullahs—is a considerable place situated at the point where the three large and well-cultivated valleys of Kandag, Najigrâm, and Karâkar, descending from the watershed range towards Bunêr, join and debouch on the Swât river. Where the broad spur flanking the Kandag valley on the west approaches the left bank of the river it curves round to the north-east. After descending to a low and broad saddle near the village of Guratai it rises again with bare rocky slopes and ends abruptly in a rugged isolated hill, washed at its northern foot by the river. This hill, known as Bîr-kôṭ-ghuṇḍai ("the hill of Bîr-kôṭ"), terminates at its top in a bold rock pinnacle, with a triangulated height of 3,093 feet. Its maximum elevation above the point where the united stream passing Bîr-kôṭ village joins the river is close on 600 feet.

The hill is roughly crescent-shaped and falls off on its convex side towards the river with precipitous rocky slopes very difficult to climb and in places quite impracticable. On the concave side to the south the central portion of the hill is lined with unscalable crags, culminating in the rock pinnacle already mentioned. Towards the south-west the hill runs out in a narrow rocky-ridge, utterly bare throughout and in addition, for the last 300 feet or so of its height, very steep. The south-eastern extremity of the hill which runs down towards Bîr-kôṭ village presents a rocky crest and for the most part is also very steep. But here and there the slope affords room for small terraces, and these are covered throughout with debris from stone walls of roughly built habitations and with abundance of potsherds.

Above the highest and largest of these terraces there rises an imposing stretch of wall (Fig. 1),[12a] massively built with rough but carefully set stone slabs, to a height of close on 50 feet. Extending for a distance of about 80 yards and facing to the south-east, this wall protected the fortified top of the hilltop on that side where the natural difficulties of attack were less than elsewhere. At the same time the ground filled up behind it served to enlarge considerably the level space available on the top. This wall, which is clearly visible from the lands by the village and river, continues at approximately the same height to the north. It forms there a bastion-like projection, and then with a re-entering angle turns round the head of a precipitous rocky ravine which runs down to the river. From there the line of the circumvallation, less massive and less well preserved, is traceable all along the river front. From where a small mound marks the north-western end of fairly level ground on the fortified hilltop the wall turns for short stretches to the south and south-east. Here remains of small towers or bastions (Fig. 2) [12a] occupy projecting rocky knolls and protect that face of the top which was exposed to attack from the previously mentioned narrow ridge descending to the saddle above Gurutai.

From the point where the wall turns to the south-east its line could be followed only for a short distance. The hill is crowned here with sheer cliffs, and no fortification was needed to make it unassailable from the plain. Here the rocky pinnacle already referred to rises steeply to a height of about 60 feet above the level plateau formed by the rest of the hilltop. The sides facing this bear remains of ancient masonry wherever there was room for walls. This and the abundant pottery debris strewing the slopes and summit clearly indicate that this steep knoll had been turned into a kind of keep and occupied for a prolonged period.

The level ground of the circumvallated area on the top measures over 200 yards from north-west to south-east, with a maximum width of over 80 yards. Plenty of low, ruined walls cover the whole of it, marking badly decayed habitations. A mound rising to a height of about 12 feet above the bastion at the south-eastern end may hide the remains of a completely destroyed *stûpa*. Another and somewhat lower debris mound at the opposite north-western extremity of the area might also be taken for a ruined *stûpa*, but for the masses of broken pottery which lie thickly on its top and all round. Most of the decorated pieces of pottery which were picked up at this site show types which, in view of subsequent finds at approximately datable ruins of Upper Swât, can be definitely assigned to the Buddhist period.

[12a] See plates facing p. 12 below.

What time I could spare for this ancient stronghold from the survey of the numerous and interesting Buddhist ruins in the several valleys above Bîr-kôṭ would not allow of any attempt at excavation. But on the line of wall protecting the north-western end of the hilltop (Fig. 2) we came upon curious relics of the means once employed for its defence. We found there numbers of round water-worn stones, undoubtedly brought from the river-bed, of different sizes such as would be used for slings or as heavier missiles. In one heap, which a little experimental digging revealed as one of the ruined towers, there came to light not less than thirty-eight " rounds " of such antique ammunition.

An assured water-supply was essential for the occupation of the site as a stronghold, and in this respect the hill of Bîr-kôṭ was very favourably situated. A main branch of the Swât river flows round the rocky northern slopes and washes their base so closely that no practicable track can be found there. The steepness of the eroded slopes shows that the river must have flown past there for ages. It is certain that as long as the hilltop was defended it was very difficult for an enemy to cut off access to the river-bank. There might have been defences on this side also; for when I descended from the hilltop, in places with difficulty, on the slope to the west of the above-mentioned ravine I noticed remains of old walls and everywhere abundance of ancient potsherds. Walled-up terraces and remnants of old foundations clinging to the rocky slopes were found also to the east of the ravine.

There is some reason to suppose that the occupants of the ancient fastness were not content to trust for the safety of their water-supply entirely to the natural defence provided by the precipitous slopes. I had been told of two rock-cut passages leading into the hill from above the river, and on my descent from the top was shown the entrance to one of them at an elevation of about 180 feet above the river. The height of the entrance is only about 4 feet at the outside. But once a low doorway, built with masonry of the peculiar type familiar from Buddhist structures in Gandhâra, is passed, the height of the gallery, vaulted with horizontal courses of roughly cut slabs, rises to over 10 feet. The width of the gallery between the masonry lining is about 3 feet. In places this lining had fallen and left the rock walls bare. I could ascend the gallery only for *circ.* 16 yards, where I found it blocked by fallen rock. Recesses for a square bolt on either side of the low doorway showed that it could be closed from the inside.

After descending the precipitous slope to about 100 feet above the river, I was shown the exit of another tunnel further to the east. It could be entered only with some difficulty, and looked in places more like a succession of natural rock fissures which had been utilized by man. Here, too, ancient masonry of the Gandhâra type was to be seen in places over the distance of some 25 yards which alone was possible of ascent. Large fallen blocks of stone barred progress beyond. Judging from the local reports both passages had often been searched for " treasure." Only thorough clearing, which would claim time and adequate preparations, could furnish definite evidence as to their direction and purpose. But that one of them, if not both, were meant to provide safe access to water for those holding the fortified hilltop appears to me distinctly probable.

The great antiquity of the site and its prolonged occupation are abundantly attested by the plentiful finds of coins which are made on the top of the Bîr-kôṭ hill and on its slopes, especially after rain. Most of the coins are melted down promptly or, in the case of gold and silver pieces, find their way down to dealers at Peshawar or Rawalpindi. But even thus a rapid search made at Bîr-kôṭ village secured me a large miscellaneous collection of copper coins of pre-Muhammadan date. The specimens range from issues of the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian kings and of the Indo-Scythian or Kushâna rulers down to the mintages which preceded the downfall of the Hindu Shâhi dynasty before Maḥmûd of Ghazna, about the beginning of the eleventh century. Most numerous are pieces issued by Azes, Azilises, and other Indo-Scythian kings who exercised extensive rule on the north-western confines of India during the first century B.C., as well as specimens of the copper coinage of the Kushâna Emperors who succeeded them.

But coin finds of these early periods are not confined to the Bîr-kôṭ hill alone. They are very frequent too at the numerous sites, marked by remains of Buddhist sanctuaries and ancient settlements, which I was able to trace in the vicinity of Bîr-kôṭ village and in the side valleys which debouch there. The results of the rapid archæological survey I was able to carry out during the four days of March, while my camp stood at Bîr-kôṭ conclusively prove that Bîr-kôṭ must have been the centre of a populous and important tract during the centuries which immediately preceded and followed the beginning of the Christian era. The great natural advantages for defence which the isolated rock-girt hill of Bîr-kôṭ offered, are likely to have been appreciated long before the period to which the oldest of the coins there found belong. Only systematic excavation could show how far back the occupation of the stronghold dates. But that it existed already at the time of Alexander's invasion, and that it is the place to which Arrian's account of the siege of Bazira refers, can, I think, be proved by convergent topographical and philological evidence.

To take the topographical indications first, it is clear that the Bîr-kôṭ hill fully answers the description given of the position of Bazira, " which was very elevated and carefully fortified." It is easy to understand why no rapid success could be gained there by the force under Koinos, and why Alexander while himself marching upon Óra was content, instead of attempting a direct siege of Bazira, to leave a small portion of Koinos' troops behind for the purpose of masking the stronghold. The hill of Bîr-kôṭ was a place very difficult to take by anything less than a protracted and arduous siege. It also was a position from which it was easy for Alexander's opponents to block the main road leading up the Swât valley and to interfere with whatever operations he might wish to carry out in that direction. Hence the order to Koinos " to fortify a strong position in front of Bazira," and " to leave in it a garrison sufficient to keep the inhabitants from undisturbed access to their lands." Where that fortified camp is likely to have stood it is impossible to state. But from what I saw of the ground it appears to me that the elevated area now occupied mainly by graveyards just above the point where the streams coming from the Karâkar and Kandag valleys meet, about half a mile from the foot of the Bir-kôṭ hill, would have well served the tactical needs in view.

On the philological side it is easy to prove that the name *Bîr-kôṭ*, " the castle of Bîr," preserves in its first part the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient name which the Greek form *Bazira* was intended to reproduce. The Greek letter ξ, z, was regularly used for the rendering of both the palatal medial *j* and the palatal semi-vowel *y*, two sounds common in the Indo-Aryan and Dardic languages but not known to the Greek alphabet, and *vice versâ*. This is conclusively shown by the evidence of Greek transcriptions of indigenous names belonging to the very region and period with which we are here concerned. Thus in the Greek legends of coins issued by rulers on the North-West Frontier within three centuries of Alexander's invasion we find the name of an Indo-Parthian Satrap who is called *Jihuṇia* in the Kharoshṭhî legend of his coins rendered by Zeionises in the Greek legend of the obverse, while the name of the Greek king Zoilos is reproduced in Kharoshṭhî script on the reverse of his coin as *Jhoïla*[13]. The two Indo-Scythian kings who are known from their Greek legends as Azes and Azilises and whose coins are found with exceeding frequency at sites of Swât, are called *Aya* and *Ayiliṣa* in their Kharoshṭhî legends. On the Greek side of the coinage issued by the founder of the Kushâna dynasty his name appears as Kozulo Kadphises, while the Kharoshṭhî legend of the reverse renders it by Kujula Kasa[14]. Similarly we find the early Turkish princely title of *jabgu* on the coins of the Kushâna Kadaphes reproduced by *Zaoou* in the Greek writing of the obverse, and by *Yaüa* in the Kharoshṭhî of the reverse.[15]

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13 See *e.g.* Whitehead, 'Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum,' 1, pp. 65, 157.

14 Cf. *ibid.*, 1, pp. 104 *sqq.*, 133 *sqq.*, 179. On certain coins of Kozulo Kadphises and of Kadaphes, his supposed successor, the first part of the name is rendered by the Kharoshṭhî legend as *Kayaḷa* or *Kuyuḷa* ; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 180 *sqq.*

15 See Marquart, 'Erânšahr,' pp. 208 *sq.*

From the restored form **Bajira* : **Bayira* it is not difficult to trace the gradual phonetic change into *Bîr* or *Bir*. In the development of all Indo-Âryan languages, as illustrated by the transition from Sanskrit into Prâkrit and from this into the modern Indo-Âryan vernaculars, the elision of intervocalic mediæ *j* and *y* is a well-known rule, and this holds good also of the related Dardic languages[16]. The subsequent reduction of the resultant diphthong *ai* in **Baira* into *î* or *i* is a phonetic change for which analogies are equally plentiful in the two language groups[17]. In the same way the disappearance of the final short vowel under the influence of the stress accent on the penultimate conforms to a phonetic law uniformly observed in all modern Indo-Âryan and Dardic vernaculars[18]. Thus we can account without any difficulty for the successive change of **Bajira* (*Bayira*)>**Baira*>*Bîr*. The addition of the designation *kôṭ*, " castle, fort " (Sanskrit *koṭṭa*), to the name is readily understood, the term *kôṭ* being generally applied to any fortified place throughout the North-West of India, whatever the language spoken[19].

In view of what has just been stated as to the probable pronunciation of the name recorded by Arrian as Bazira, it is of special interest to note that we find the same place mentioned by Curtius under the name of *Beira*[20]. His notice, very brief, follows upon the account of the operations which Arrian more clearly relates as having taken place in the country of the Aspasioi and Gouraioi, *i.e.*, in Bâjauṛ. We are told that Alexander, " having crossed the river Khoaspes, left Koinos to besiege an opulent city—the inhabitants called it Beira—while he himself went on to Mazaga " I have elsewhere indicated the reasons for believing with Marquart that by the Khoaspes the Panjkôra is meant, which Arrian more correctly calls Guraios[21]. Though Curtius, manifestly by error, makes the siege of Beira simultaneous with, instead of subsequent to, that of Mazaga (Massaga), yet there can be no doubt, in view of the reference to Koinos, that the Beira he mentions is identical with Arrian's Bazira. His form of the name is obviously but another attempt to reproduce the indigenous designation of *Bajira or *Bayira.

Curtius tells us nothing more of the stronghold now safely located at Bîr-kôṭ. From Arrian, too, we only learn that the people of Bazira, when they heard of the fall of Ôra, " lost heart and at the dead of night abandoned the town ; [they fled to the rock]. Thus the other barbarians, too, did ; leaving their towns, they all fled to the rock in that country called Aornos." Before we follow Arrian's narrative further in order to look for the probable site of Ôra and then to trace the true position of that much-discussed fastness of Aornos, I may note here two observations bearing on this flight of the people of Bazira. One is that in the text of Arrian the words of which the rendering has been put above into brackets have been treated as an interpolation, rightly as it seems, by some editors. Hence the text does not necessarily imply that they, too, fled to the " rock " of Aornos. The other is that topographical considerations seem to me distinctly averse from this interpretation.

We shall see that the position of Aornos must certainly be looked for close to the Indus. Now the shortest distance from Bîr-kôṭ to any point on the right bank of the Indus where a hill fastness corresponding in general features to Aornos could possibly be situated, is over 32 miles as the crow flies, and to the spur of Pîr-sar, where I believe Aornos to be located, is fully

16 Cf. Grierson, " Paiśâcî, Piśâcas and Modern Piśâca," in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1912, p. 79 ; 'The Piśâca languages of North-Western India,' pp. 109 *sq.*

17 See Grierson, " The Phonology of the Modern Indo-Aryan Vernaculars," in *Z.D.M.G.*, 1895, pp. 407 *sq.*, 419.

18 Cf. Grierson, *loc. cit.*, p. 400.

19 The term *kôṭ* is quite common in local names of Hindukush valleys, like Darêl and Tangîr, where Dardic languages are spoken, and is used also separately in Pashtu.

20 See 'Historia Alexandri,' VIII. x.

21 Cf. Stein, 'Serindia,' 1, p. 2, note 2 ; Marquart, 'Untersuchungen zur Geschichte von Erân,' 2 pp. 243 *sq.*

40 miles. The straight line to which these measurements apply would lead right across a succession of steep hill ranges, and if a route following easier ground along valleys and across passes were chosen, the distance would certainly be still greater. One such route, as the map shows, would have led up the main Swât valley and thence across one of the passes eastwards to the Indus. But this route was in all probability barred by the Macedonian main force operating, as we shall see, higher up on the river.

A nearer and far safer line of retreat would have lain to the south-east up the Karâkar valley, which descends straight to Bîr-kôṭ from the main Swât-Bunêr watershed; by it the fugitives could have reached within little more than a single night's march a mountain refuge as secure as any that might be sought by them far away on the Indus. I mean Mount Ilam, that great rocky peak, rising to 9 250 feet above sea-level, which dominates the watershed range between Upper Swât and Bunêr, and with its rugged pyramid-shaped summit forms a very conspicuous landmark for both territories. The top of Mount Ilam is girt on all sides with crags and very precipitous slopes which would render an attack upon those holding it most difficult if not practically impossible. The top is formed by two distinct rocky eminences enclosing a hollow space which holds a spring and affords room for a small camp. Sacred legends have clung to this mountain since Buddhist times, as the record of the famous Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-tsang shows[22], and its top is still the object of an annual pilgrimage by the Hindus of Swât and neighbouring parts. A track used by modern pilgrims leads up to Mount Ilam from the side of Bîr-kôṭ through the picturesque Nullah of Amlûk-dara, a branch of the Karâkar valley holding fine Buddhist ruins. The distance from Bîr-kôṭ to the top may be estimated at about 11 miles. In view of these local observations the suggestion appears to me justified that the place of safety sought by the fugitives from Bazira was much more likely to have been Mount Ilam than the distant Aornos by the Indus.

The definite identification of Bazira (or Beira) with the ancient fortress above Bîr-kôṭ may help us to locate also the town of Ôra, Ωρα, which Arrian's above-quoted account of Alexander's operations after the fall of Massaga brings into obvious relation with its siege. We have seen that Alexander, after having set out for Bazira, subsequently was induced to proceed straight to Ôra, for the preliminary investment of which he had previously dispatched certain detachments. From the fact that he ordered Koinos, who stood before Bazira, to join him for the attack upon Ôra with the main portion of his force, and at the same time took care to have Bazira masked by the remainder holding a post of observation, we may reasonably draw two conclusions: one is that Ôra is likely to have lain in the same direction as Bazira but beyond it, and the other that Ôra was a place of importance which Alexander felt prompted to secure quickly in view of the reported move to reinforce its defenders.[23]

Taking into account the general geographical features, we are thus led to look for Ôra higher up in the main Swât valley and at some point which the presence of ancient remains would definitely indicate as having been occupied by a fortified town of importance in early times. Now the Upper Swât valley above Bîr-kôṭ at present shows a number of large villages which might be called towns, such as Mingaora, Manglawar, and Chârbâgh, all on the left bank of the river. But at none of these did I succeed in tracing definite evidence of ancient fortification. Nor did I learn of such remains at any of the large villages to be found near the right bank. It is different at Uḍegrâm, a considerable village and now seat of a "Tahsil," situated about 10 miles by road above Bir-kôṭ, where the fertile and well-irrigated riverine plain attains its widest in Upper Swât.

[22] For the identification of Hsüan-tsang's *Hi-lo* mountain with Mount Ilam, first proposed by M. Foucher, 'Géographie ancienne du Gandhâra,' p. 48, and confirmed by what I saw on my visit in May 1926, cf. 'Serindia,' 1, p. 16.

[23] See above, p. 5.

Immediately to the south-east of the village there opens the mouth of a small side valley descending from a steep rocky hill range behind which there lies to the east the large valley of Saidu. The crest of this rugged range rising close on 2,000 feet above Uḍegrâm, and the extremely precipitous slopes which run down from it westwards, bear a very remarkable mountain fastness, undoubtedly of ancient date, known to the local Pathâns as "King Gira's castle." A full description of the site must be reserved for another place. But the few following details will help to convey some idea of the peculiar hill formation which here had offered itself as a natural stronghold.

Where the serrated crest of the range, only some 20 yards across at the widest and in places a mere knife-edge, overlooks the valley of Saidu, it falls off with sheer vertical rock walls for hundreds of feet. Yet even on this side where a successful attack would scarcely have been practicable for the boldest climbers, remains of massive walls cling to the bare rocky crest for a distance of over 500 yards. From the ends of this fortified top ridge there descend two very narrow and precipitous spurs of bare rock crowned with the flanking walls of the stronghold (Fig. 3). These walls, about 7 feet thick on the average, are built of carefully packed courses of rough stones which have been set in mud plaster now hardened. Notwithstanding their apparently insecure position on steep slopes, these walls still stand in places to a height of 9–10 feet. About 1,000 feet below the crest the gradual convergence of the rib-like rock spurs makes the two flanking lines of wall approach each other within some 200 yards. Here a line of very massive walls, bearing terraces and in places strengthened by small bastions, curves round from the west and joins them up.

Within the area thus protected and only a little above the point where this cross-line of wall runs close to the northern flanking wall, there issues a fine perennial spring from among big boulders filling the bottom of an otherwise dry torrent bed. It was the presence of this spring, the only source of water available within the fortified area, which rendered it capable of use as a place of safety. The importance attached to the spring is shown by the massive construction of the walls, here doubled, which descend into the gorge to defend it. Wherever higher up on the rocky slopes terraces or little ledges afforded room ruined walls of dwellings mark ancient occupation. Their far-advanced decay as compared with the remains of Buddhist monastic quarters, etc., surveyed at other sites, distinctly points to great antiquity. Plenty of low crumbling walls from ancient structures are to be met with lower down, too, amidst the thick growth of scrub and thorny trees which covers the widening gorge below the bottom portion of the defences. Such remains are equally frequent also at the foot of the southern spur. There a succession of walled terraces, all once, no doubt, occupied by houses, orchards or fields, affords the easiest approach to the fortified area. This explains why we found the fairly level ridge, where the flanking wall on that southern spur ends, guarded by a particularly massive bastion still rising in places to a height of over 20 feet.

Pottery debris of distinctly ancient type could be picked up in plenty over most of the ground here briefly described. Yet in view of the extreme steepness of the slopes over which the remains of ruined dwellings within the walled area are scattered, and the consequent inconveniences of approach and communication between them, it seems to me hard to believe that these quarters were regularly occupied except at times of danger. On the other hand, the construction of massive defences on such difficult slopes and up to 1000 feet above the nearest water must have implied such exceptionally great efforts that it is not likely to have been undertaken except for the purpose of assuring a safe retreat for the inhabitants of an important locality. For such a place the open mouth of the valley towards Uḍegrâm village, now covered with extensive Muhammadan burial-grounds and sacred groves belonging to the Ziârat of Pîr Khushhâl Bâbâ, would have afforded ample room. Finds brought to me of small fragments of Græco-Buddhist sculpture, an inscribed seal, and coins belonging to Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian issues distinctly indicated early occupation of this ground. But owing to its sacred character no systematic search was there possible. Muhammadan

local tradition ascribes the conquest of " King Gira's fortress " to Maḥmûd of Ghazna, whose forces, after a long siege, took it from the last infidel king of Swât under the leadership of the saint now buried at the Ziârat below.

It has appeared to me desirable to record these observations about the remarkable hill stronghold above Uḍegrâm in some detail; for the indications already discussed as to the direction of Alexander's operations beyond Bazira, in conjunction with what I shall presently show about the name of the place, suggest the question whether we ought not to look there for the probable location of Ôra. Unfortunately, Arrian's further brief mention of Óra supplies no topographical or other local hint. It is confined to the bare statement that " Alexander did not find the siege of Ôra difficult, for he took the town on the first assault against its walls and secured the elephants left behind there." Nor does Curtius' account help us. He mentions indeed a place Nora, to which Alexander dispatched a force under Polysperchon after the capture of Mazaga, and this has been generally assumed to be the same as Arrian's Óra. But all we are told about it is that Polysperchon " defeated the undisciplined multitude which he encountered and pursuing them within their fortifications compelled them to surrender the place."[24]

As regards the name *Uḍegrâm*, it should be explained in the first place that it is certainly a compound of which the second part is the word *grâm*, " village " (Sanskrit *grâma*), well-known to Dardic languages and very common in local names of Swât, as a reference to the map shows. The first part *Uḍe-* (also heard as Uḍi-) is pronounced with that distinctly cerebral media *ḍ* which to European ears always sounds like a cerebral *r*, and often undergoes that change to *r* also in Modern Indo-Âryan as well as in Dardic languages.[25] The temptation is great to recognize in Arrian's Ωρα the Greek rendering of an earlier form of this name *Uḍe-*, and to derive the latter itself from that ancient name of Swât which in its varying Sanskrit forms of *Uḍḍiyǎna*, *Oḍḍiyǎna*, has been recovered by M. Sylvain Lévi's critical scholarship from a number of Buddhist texts.[26] The simplification of the double consonant *ḍḍ*, the complementary lengthening of the preceding vowel *û* (*ô*), which would explain the long initial vowel in, Ωρα, and the subsequent shortening of this vowel in modern *Uḍe-* (when becoming the antepenultimate in the compound Uḍegrâm), all these phonetic changes assumed in the history of the name can be fully accounted for by well-known rules affecting the transition of Sanskrit words into Prâkrit and thence into modern Indo-Âryan forms.[27] Nevertheless, it will be well to bear in mind that the nexus of names here indicated must remain conjectural until epigraphical or other evidence helps to establish it.

Arrian after recording the fall of Óra and the abandonment of other towns by their " barbarian " inhabitants, has nothing to tell us of further operations in the country of the Assakênoi. He gives a brief description of that mighty mass of rock called Aornos to which they all had fled, and relates how the fame of its impregnability fired Alexander with an ardent desire to capture it.[28] This account of Aornos may be left for discussion further on. We are next told that he turned Óra and Massaga into strong places for guarding the country and fortified Bazira. Then the narrative takes us suddenly south to that division of his army

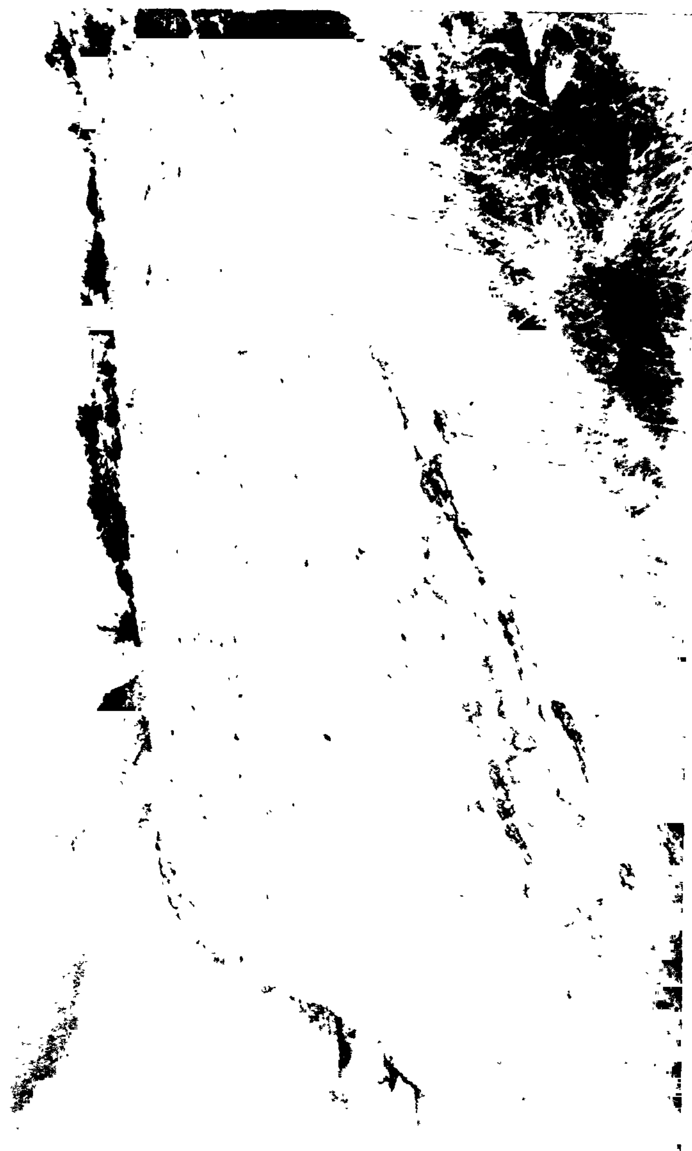
[24] Cf. Curtius, VIII. xi.

[25] Cf. Grierson, *loc. cit.*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1896, p. 5; 'Piśâca Languages,' p. 104. For an example of *ḍ* being rendered by Greek *r*, cf. Ptolemy's name *Larikê* for Gujarât, reproducing a Prakrit derivative **Lâḍikâ* of the Sanskrit name *Lâṭa*; also Weber, " Greek pronunciation of Hindu words," *Indian Antiquary*, 2, p. 150.

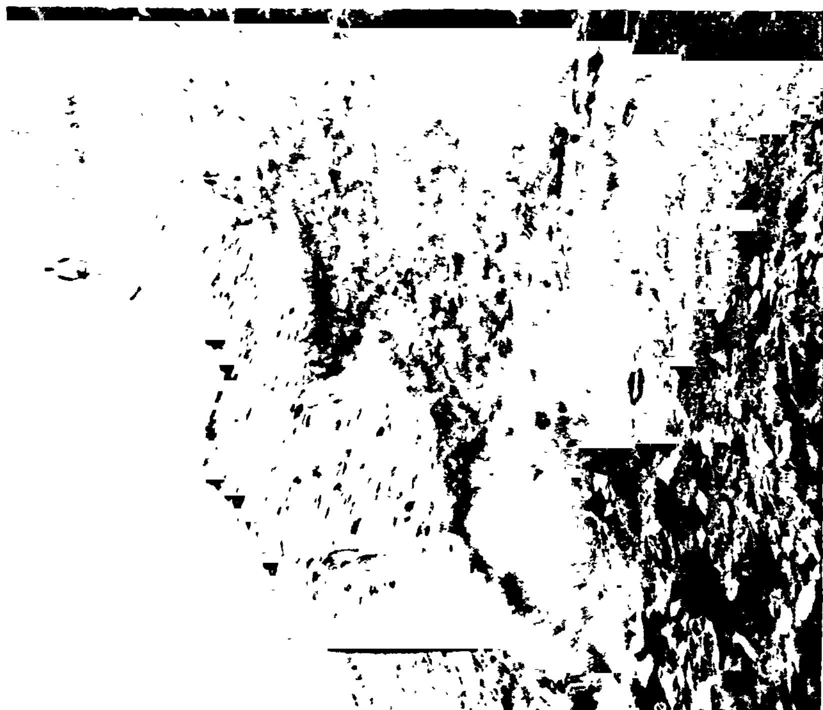
[26] See S. Lévi, " Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahâmâyûrî," *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, *janv.-févr.*, pp. 105 *sq.* There, too, it has been convincingly shown that the form *Udyâna* (" the Garden "), commonly accepted by European scholars as the Sanskrit name of Swât, is but an *idolum libri*, based upon a " learned popular etymology " which a gloss on the Chinese notice of Swât in Hsüan-tsang's *Hsi-yü-chi* first records.

[27] Cf. Grierson', *loc. cit.*, *Z.D.M.G.*, 1895, p. 414; 1896, pp. 21 *sq.* Closely corresponding rules can be shown to have affected also the phonetic development of Dardic languages, especially of that Sanskritized Dardic tongue which, from the evidence of the present Tôrwâlî and Maiyã in the Swât and Indus Kohistân, must be assumed to have been spoken in Swât before the Pathân conquest.

[28] See Arrian, IV. xxviii, 2.



SOUTH-EASTERN PORTION OF FORTIFICATIONS ON BIR-KOT HILL.



WALL ON NORTHERN SPUR FLANKING ANCIENT STRONGHOLD ABOVE UDEGRAM



RUINED TOWERS AT NORTH-WEST END OF BĪR-KOT HILL

which under Hephaistion and Perdikkas had been sent down the Kabul river to secure the Peshâwar valley. Under Alexander's orders they had fortified there a town called Orobatis, for which no satisfactory location has as yet been found ; having garrisoned it, they had proceeded to the Indus to bridge it.

That Alexander himself had with the capture of Ôra concluded his campaign in the Swât valley and moved across the hill range into the Peshâwar valley is clear from what follows. He is said to have marched to the Indus and to have received the submission of the city of Peukelaôtis, where he placed a Macedonian garrison. This city has long ago been identified with *Pushkalâvatî*, the ancient capital of Gandhâra, close to the present Chârsadda on the Swât river and north-east of Peshâwar. It is wrongly described by Arrian as lying not far from the Indus. The error must warn us as to possible geographical mistakes even in the most reliable of the narratives dealing with Alexander's Indian campaign. We are next told that Alexander " reduced other towns, some small ones situated on the Indus," while accompanied by two chiefs of this territory : their names, Kophaios and Assagetes, are unmistakably Indian.

Before I proceed to analyze the data we possess concerning the famous " rock of Aornos," to the siege and conquest of which Arrian's account now immediately turns, it will be convenient briefly to indicate certain considerations of a quasi-geographical order which, I believe, deserve specially to be kept in view when looking for the right identification of that much-discussed site. We have seen that Alexander's operations along the Swât river must have covered Lower Swât and that most fertile and populous portion of Upper Swât which extends to the great bend of the valley near Mingaora above Udegrâm. We have also learned that after the fall of Ôra, which must certainly be located above Bir-kôṭ and probably below that bend, all the inhabitants abandoned their towns and fled for safety to " the rock of Aornos."

Now if we look at the map and keep in mind the situation created for the Assakênoi by the Macedonian posts established at Massaga and Ôra, it will be clear that the bulk of the fugitive population evacuating the towns farther up the valley could have sought safety neither to the west nor to the south. In the former direction the way was obviously barred by the invaders. To the south, as far as it could be reached by routes not commanded by the Macedonian posts guarding the main valley, there lay Bunêr, a country singularly open for the most part and accessible by numerous passes from the side of the Peshâwar valley. The plains of the latter had already been reached by the portion of Alexander's army sent down the Kâbul river ; thus Bunêr, too, lay open to invasion.

Safe lines for general retreat were obviously restricted to the north and east. In the former direction the main Swât valley continues remarkably easy and open for a distance of close on 30 miles above Mingaora, and the same remark applies to the side valleys opening from it, at least in their lower parts. No safe refuge from invasion, so swift and determined as that of Alexander, could be hoped for there. Higher up where the Swât river breaks through the narrow gorges of Tôrwâl, invasion would, no doubt, be kept off by the natural difficulties of the ground. But there, just as the high alpine heads of the valleys which descend to the Swât river from the snow-covered watersheds towards the Panjkora and Indus, local resources would have been far too limited for the maintenance of a great host of fugitives. Nor should the great climatic hardships be ignored which those fleeing from the towns of the valley plain would have had to face at the time in those alpine parts of Swât. We know that the Macedonian invasion must have reached Swât in the late autumn of B.C. 327, and the rigours of the approaching winter to be faced high up in the mountains would have sufficed to deter any large numbers from seeking safety northward.

Conditions were distinctly more favourable to the east. There a number of large and for the most part very fertile valleys comprising the tracts of Ghôrband, Kâna, Chakêsar, Pûran, and Mukhozai stretch down to the Indus from the Swât watershed. They can be reached by several easy passes, none much over 6,000 feet in height. All are throughout

the year practicable for laden mules and ponies, from the open side valleys which leave the Swât river at the large villages of Manglawar, Chârbâgh, and Khwâja-Rhela, respectively. A single day's march from the riverine plain of Swât suffices to bring the traveller over any of these passes to the head of the Ghôrband valley, whence access is easy to the rest of those valleys. In addition there are routes from Mingaora, more direct if not quite so easy, connecting that important place in Central Swât with Pûran and Kâbalgrâm on the Indus.

The advantages which this side would offer for retreat from invaded Swât are clear enough. By crossing the watershed range towards the Indus the fugitives would place a natural barrier between themselves and the enemy. In the tracts there reached they could count upon finding resources sufficient for their maintenance until the danger had passed.[29] The great distance intervening between those tracts and the Peshâwar valley might offer protection from the Macedonian forces in the plain. Finally, having secure access to the Indus, they could easily draw help from across the river when further attack threatened, or else continue their retreat to that side if fresh resistance failed.

With regard to the last-named advantage the evidence available from historical facts both ancient and modern may conveniently be at once pointed out here. We have seen already above that what prompted Alexander to hasten in person to the siege of Ôra was the news of assistance being sent to its defenders by Abisares.[30] It is true that the Abhisâra territory whose king is here meant comprised in later times mainly the lower and middle hill tracts to the east of the Vitastâ or Hydaspes, the present Jhelam.[31] But there is good reason to believe that at the time of Alexander's invasion its ruler's power extended also over the hill portion of Uraśâ, the present District of Hazâra, east of the Indus. This is proved by what Arrian tells us of the Indians who after the capture of Aornos had fled from neighbouring parts across the Indus to Abisares, and also by what he subsequently relates of an embassy from Abisares which Arsakes, ruler of an adjacent territory, attended as a feudatory.[32] It has been recognized long ago that by Arsakes the chief of Uraśâ is intended, the territory which in Ptolemy's 'Geography' appears under the name of Ἄρσα or Οὔαρσα.[33]

The close relation between Swât and Hazâra is fully explained by the map. This shows us that the above-mentioned tracts of Chakêsar and Ghôrband are faced immediately to the east of the Indus by the comparatively large and open valleys of Nandihâr and Allâhi. These are now occupied by Paṭhân tribes, all here, as also farther down by the Black Mountain, closely linked with those established on the other side of the river. From these valleys easy routes lead to Agrôr and the fertile central plain of Hazâra known as Pakhli, about Mansehra and Baffa. This geographical nexus is well illustrated by the fact that the population of this part of Hazâra is largely composed of a tribe known as Swâtîs, descended from the pre-Muhammadan inhabitants of the Swât valley whom historical records and living tradition alike prove to have been driven out of their original seats by the Paṭhân invasion of the fifteenth century. The same close relation is reflected also, to come down to very recent times, by the fact that during the several Black Mountain expeditions since the annexation of the Panjâb, the various Paṭhân tribes settled on both the Swât and the Hazâra sides of the river always took their common share in the fighting.

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29 The extent of these resources even at the present time is illustrated by the following data ascertained on my passage through Chakêsar and Pûran. Both tracts have suffered severely from protracted local feuds as well as by the heavy fighting which preceded their conquest by the Miângul in 1923. Yet the revenue in kind paid now to the ruler of Swât at the lightly assessed rate of one-tenth of the produce was reckoned at 6,000 maunds of grain for Chakêsar and at about 4,000 maunds for Pûran. Yet in the latter area I noticed that a very great portion of the available land had gone out of cultivation. In Chakêsar, too, abandoned cultivation terraces could be seen in many places. Half-deserted villages were conspicuous in Kâna and in what I saw of Ghôrband.

30 See Arrian, IV. xxvii. 7; above, p. 5.

31 Cf. Stein, 'Râjataranginî' transl., notes on i. 180; v. 217.

32 Cf. Arrian, IV. xxx.; V. xxix.

33 For the identification of Arsa and Arsakes, cf. my note on 'Râjataranginî' v. 217.

After this rapid survey of the ground to which the Assakênoi, the early predecessors of those "Swâtîs," are likely to have retreated for safety, we shall be better able, I think, to consider the questions raised by what our extant accounts relate of Alexander's great feat at Aornos. Among them Arrian's record is the fullest and undoubtedly also the most reliable. We may attach to it all the more critical value because one of the two contemporary authorities whose narratives Arrian in his preface declares as more worthy of credit than all the rest, and whom he principally follows, was that Ptolemy, son of Lagos and the first of the Ptolemies of Egypt, who personally had played a chief part in the conquest of Aornos.[34]

After recording the barbarian's flight to Aornos, Arrian immediately proceeds to inform us of the reason which filled Alexander with the eager desire to capture that rock fastness. Arrian's statements on this point have a peculiar interest for the historical student ; for they help to throw welcome light on certain psychological factors which undoubtedly have played an important part in more than one of Alexander's wonderful enterprises—just as they did in those of his modern counterpart, Napoleon. At the same time we may recognize in those statements a significant indication of the critical attitude with which Arrian—and perhaps his chief authority also—was apt to view the fabulous element fostered by the hero of his story.[35]

We are told of Aornos :

" This is a mighty mass of rock in that part of the country, and a report is current concerning it that even Herakles, the son of Zeus, had found it to be impregnable. Now whether the Theban, or the Tyrian, or the Egyptian Herakles penetrated so far as to the Indians I can neither positively affirm nor deny, but I incline to think that he did not penetrate so far ; for we know how common it is for men when speaking of things that are difficult to magnify the difficulty by declaring that it would baffle even Herakles himself. And in the case of this rock my own conviction is that Herakles was mentioned to make the story of its capture all the more wonderful. The rock is said to have had a circuit of about 200 stadia, and at its lowest elevation a height of 11 stadia. It was ascended by a single path cut by the hand of man, yet difficult. On the summit of the rock there was, it is also said, plenty of pure water which gushed out from a copious spring. There was timber besides, and as much good arable land as required for its cultivation the labour of a thousand men.

" Alexander on learning these particulars was seized with an ardent desire to capture this mountain also, the story current about Herakles not being the least of the incentives."[36]

We may never know whether the ambition stimulated by such reports about Aornos was the sole incentive for Alexander to decide upon its capture. This decision may possibly have been due quite as much, if not more, to the strategic consideration invariably kept in view by Alexander of not leaving an enemy behind until he had been completely crushed. But anyhow we have seen that instead of pursuing the fugitive Assakênoi to their mountain retreat, Alexander moved from Swât into the Peshâwar valley. Thereafter, resuming contact with that portion of this army which had already arrived by the route of Kâbul river, he organized Macedonian control over this important district and then proceeded to the Indus.

In view of what has been shown above as to the direction to the East of the Swât-Indus watershed which the retreat of the inhabitants of Upper Swât was likely to have taken, it is easy for us to understand the sound strategic reasons underlying what might otherwise

34 Ct. Arrian, 'Anabasis,' Prooemion, where Ptolemy's name significantly meets us as the very first word.

35 See also 'Anabasis,' V. iii, where Arrian expresses similar critical misgivings in connection with Alexander's visit to the city of Nysa, alleged to have been founded by Dionysos. He quotes there Eratosthenes' view "that all these references to the deity were circulated by the Macedonians in connection with the deeds of Alexander to gratify his pride by grossly exaggerating their importance." (M'Crindle).

36 'Anabasis,' IV. xxviii. 1-4 ; translation, by M'Crindle, 'Invasion of India,' pp. 70 sq.

seem a needless deflection from an important direct objective. An attack upon that mountain retreat of the Swât fugitives from the South by the Indus offered several distinct advantages. Entanglement in a mountainous region where passes and narrow defiles, if defended, might seriously hamper advance would thus be avoided. It would become possible to cut off the fugitive host from retreat into the territory East of the Indus and from such assistance as Abisares, the ruler on that side, might offer. Nor were the facilities likely to be neglected which the Indus valley and convenient access South to the fertile plains of the Peshâwar valley would offer in respect of supplies and other resources in case of prolonged operations.

The importance of the last consideration is clearly indicated by what Arrian tells us immediately after the passage already quoted, which records the reduction of a number of small towns situated on the Indus.

"After he had arrived at Embolima, which town lay not far from the rock of Aornos, he there left Krateros with a portion of the army to collect into the town as much corn as possible and all other requisites for a prolonged stay, in order that the Macedonians having that place as a base might by protracted investment wear out those holding the rock, in case it were not taken at the first assault. He himself taking with him the archers, the Agrianians, the brigade of Koinos, the lightest and best armed from the rest of the phalanx, two hundred of the companion cavalry and a hundred mountain archers, marched to the rock."

Arrian does not furnish us with any indication as to the position of Embolima. But as the accounts of Curtius and Diodorus agree in placing Aornos on the Indus,[37] the town which was to serve as Alexander's base of supplies may with good reason be also looked for on the Indus. This is borne out by Ptolemy's mention of Embolima as a town of Indo-Scythia situated on the Indus, with co-ordinates corresponding to those which he indicates for the confluence of the Indus and Kôa or Kabul river.[38] But as no reliance whatever can be placed on Ptolemy's latitudes and longitudes as far as his map of India is concerned, this does not help us further to determine the exact position of Embolima.[39] Nor can we derive guidance in this respect from the fortunate fact that Professor Sylvain Lévi has discovered references to the same locality in Buddhist texts which mention it under the original Sanskrit form of its name as *Ambulima*;[40] for these texts contain no definite local indications.

General Abbott, when discussing in 1854 at great length his location of Aornos on the Mahâban range to the South of Bunêr and Chamla, proposed to recognize Embolima in the village of Amb, situated on the right bank of the Indus, from which the present semi-independent chief of Tanâwal territory in Hazâra takes his title.[41] The identification of Mount Mahâban with Aornos, though generally accepted for many years, proved untenable in light of what the close examination of the ground, carried out by me in 1904, showed as to the true topographical features of the supposed site.[42] For these could not be reconciled with the plain and comparatively precise indications that are supplied to us by the classical accounts, and in the first place by that of Arrian, as to the character of the natural stronghold and its immediate surroundings.

37 See below, p. 528.

38 See 'Geographia,' VII. i. 27, 57.

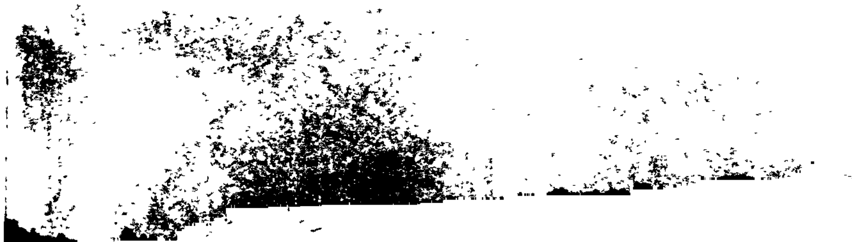
39 More useful, perhaps, is the relative bearing to the south-west of Embolima, which Ptolemy indicates for *Asigramma*, mentioned by him as another town of Indo-Scythia and as situated on the Indus; for Asigramma can probably be identified with the ruined site of Asgrâm situated about 2 miles to the west of the Indus just outside the extreme north-east corner of the Peshâwar District; cf. my 'Archæological Survey Report, N.W.F.P.' (Peshâwar, 1905), p. 47. But as no value can be attached to the indication of distance between the two places as deduced from the respective co-ordinates, no safe conclusion is possible as to the exact position of Embolima.

40 See S. Lévi, *loc. cit.* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, *janv.-févr.*, p. 103.

41 See "Gradus ad Aornon," *J.A.S.B.*, 1854, pp. 338, 344. This identification had been suggested already by M. Court, one of Ranjit Singh's generals; cf. *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1839, p. 310.

42 Cf. 'Archæol. Survey Report, N.W.F.P.' (1905), pp. 28 *sq.*

KUZ-SAR.



1. PĪR-SAR RIDGE (AORNOS) FROM SOUTHERN SLOPE OF ŪNA-SAR PEAK

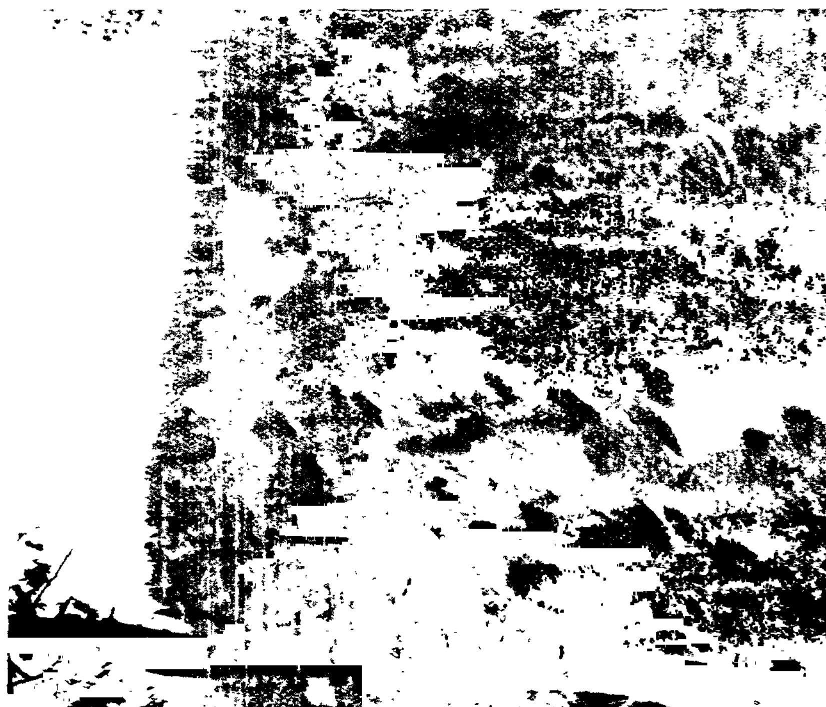




5. INDUS VALLEY AND SNOWY KAGAN DIVIDE FROM BELOW SOUTH END OF PĪR-SAR.



7. ROCKY SLOPES BELOW KUZ-SAR END OF PĪR-SAR



6. BŪRIMĀR ALP FROM MĀSHLUN SHOULDER BELOW NORTH END OF PĪR-SAR

But a recognition of this fact will not necessarily invalidate the location of Embolima at Amb. Arrian's narrative shows that it took Alexander two marches from Embolima to reach the neighbourhood of Aornos. Hence even if the above location is accepted we may still look for Aornos higher up the Indus in that area comprising the tracts of Ghôrband, Chakêsar, and Pûran, to which the consideration fully set forth above point as the ground most likely to have been sought by the population retreating from Upper Swât. It should, however, be remembered that the identification of Amb with Embolima (Sanskrit *Ambulima*) rests so far solely on the identity of the modern name with the first syllable of the ancient one, and that the assumed apocope of fully three syllables at the end of the latter is more than can easily be accounted for by the rules governing the phonology of modern Indo-Âryan vernaculars. If Embolima were to be looked for farther up the river the position occupied by Kâbalgrâm, a large village at the mouth of the fertile Pûran valley and a centre of local trade, might suggest itself on topographical grounds as a likely site.

Ever since my visit to Mahâban in the autumn of 1904 had furnished conclusive evidence against the location of Aornos on that range, I had kept in view " the possibility of our having to look for Aornos higher up the great river."[43] But it was only in 1919, after the return from my third Central-Asian expedition and after prolonged labours on the results of the second, that my attention was drawn in a definite fashion to ground where a likely solution of the problem could be hoped for. The right bank of the Indus and all the adjacent territory to the west of it had, indeed, remained as inaccessible as before. But fortunately work on the maps reproducing the surveys carried out during my three Central-Asian expeditions brought me in 1918-19 into close contact with the late Colonel R. A. Wauhope, R.E., at the Trigonometrical Survey Office, Dehra Dun.

The personal knowledge which this highly accomplished officer of the Survey of India had gained of that ground during the survey work conducted by him on the left bank of the Indus during the Black Mountain expeditions of 1888 and 1891-2 furnished me with a very valuable clue. From high survey stations then established on the Black Mountain range, and again during the occupation of the Chagharzai, Nandihâr and Allâhî tracts, Colonel Wauhope had ample opportunities for becoming familiar with the general features of the hills on the opposite side of the Indus valley all the way between the Hassanzai country, above Amb, and Chakêsar. Being a sound classical scholar all his life, he was interested in the question of Aornos, and what he had observed at the time had led him to form the belief that a position corresponding to that described by Alexander's historians was more likely to be found on the spurs descending steeply to the Indus opposite Thâkôṭ in Nandihâr than anywhere else. But as an experienced topographer he rightly recognized also that a definite location could be hoped for only by close examination on the spot.

The spurs just referred to are the easternmost finger-like offshoots of the range which trends with a due easterly bearing and a total length of close on 20 miles from the Swât-Indus watershed above Manglawar and Chârbâgh to the Indus. On the opposite side the river there passes the mouths of the Nandihâr and Allâhî valleys. From the available Survey of India maps, including Sheet No. 43 $\frac{B.}{N.E.}$ on the scale of 2 miles to the inch, it was seen that the range may be roughly described as dividing the valleys of Ghôrband and Chakêsar; that its crest rises to triangulated heights between 9,265 feet in the west and 7,011 feet in the east; and that round its eastern foot the Indus flows in a wide bend. Little else could be made out from the map, based as it necessarily was for this ground on sketches made from a distance, on native route reports and the like.

My first endeavour, made in 1922 after a rapid visit to Agrôr and the Indus banks facing Amb, had been to secure access to the ground just indicated from the tribal territory of Nandihâr on the opposite side of the river. But by the time I was able to renew the attempt

43 See 'Archaeol. Survey Report, N.W.F.P.' (1905), p. 30.

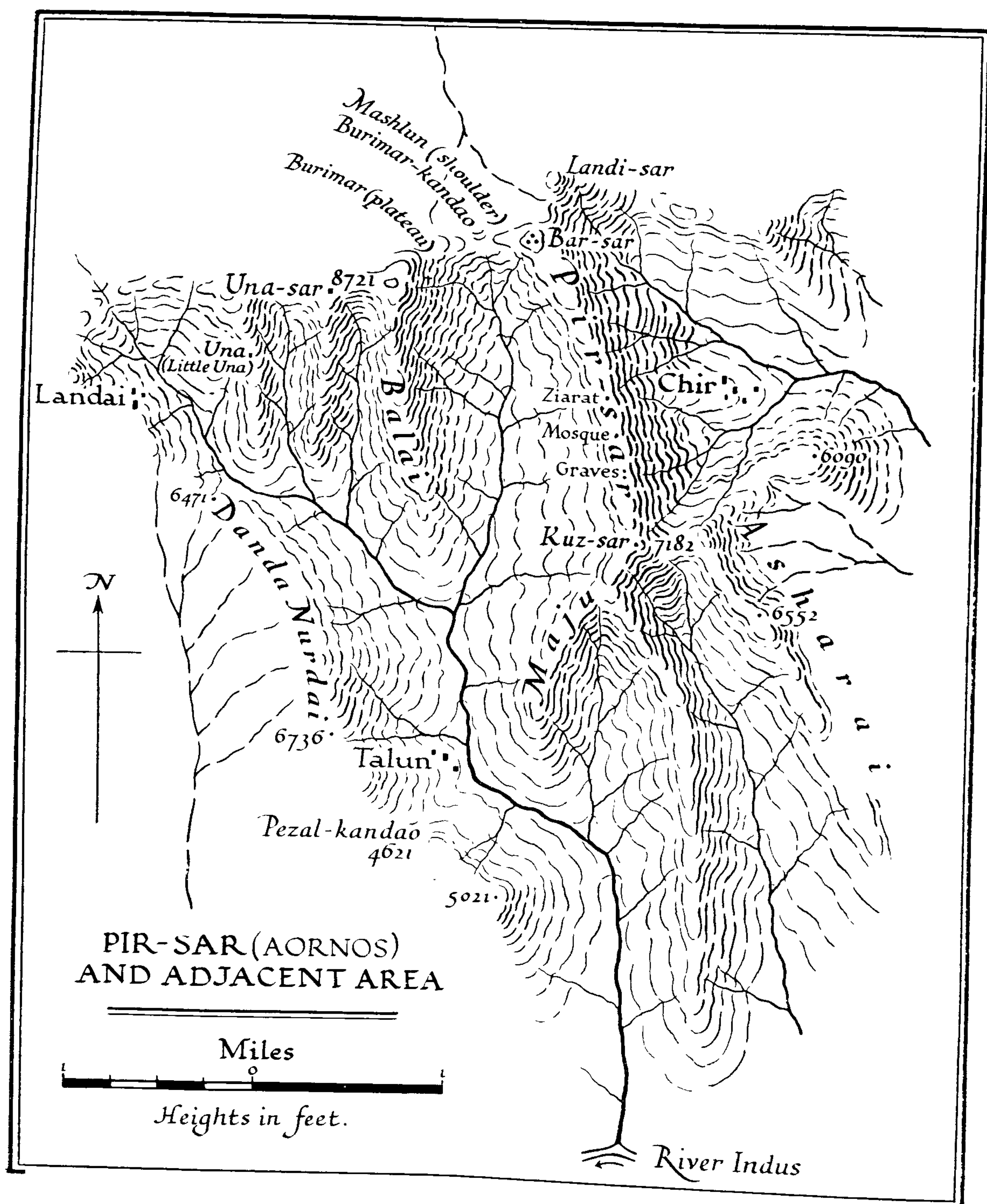
in 1925 that same ground, together with the rest on the right bank of the Indus down to the Barandu river some 9 miles above Amb, had passed under the sway of the Miângul ruler of Swât. The question of giving me access had therefore to be taken up with him by the political authorities of the North-West Frontier Province. The first definite news of his assent reached me early in December on my return to India. I felt particularly gratified by the condition which the Miângul had indicated, that I should visit the tract in question not from across the Indus but from the side of Swât; for obviously I could thus hope for a chance of extending my exploratory work over far more of interesting ground than originally contemplated. From the same letter I learned that the site of Aornos, which had been mentioned as the principal objective of my visit, was locally known by the name of *Pîr-sar*.

This precise information as to the locality to be looked for was bound to be received by me with surprise; for former experience in this region had shown me that genuine local tradition of Alexander's campaign twenty-two centuries ago survives there as little as it does anywhere else on the North-West Frontier or in the Panjâb. Indeed, none could reasonably be expected considering the great length of time passed, the far-reaching ethnic changes, the ephemeral character of the great Macedonian's passage, and the total absence of any historical recollection concerning him and his invasion in the whole range of Indian literature, as distinct from the "Alexander romance" introduced in its Persian garb through the Muhammadan conquest. What I subsequently had occasion to hear from Sipâh-sâlâr Aḥmad 'Alî, the Miângul's commander-in-chief, who accompanied me throughout my tour, and from others of the ruler's *entourage*, has confirmed my belief that their connection of Alexander's name with that particular locality of Pîr-sar had originated merely from the way in which the object of my proposed visit had been communicated to the Miângul in official correspondence, and from the interest which had thus been directed towards a site likely to answer the general description conveyed. Nevertheless the apparent precision with which the local inquiry made at the ruler's desire had fixed upon that locality, was a matter not to be ignored. This will explain why, when the completion of our surveys in Upper Swât allowed me to turn towards the Indus and to approach there the ground to which Colonel Wauhope had drawn my attention, I wished to visit Pîr-sar in the first place.

Our route starting from Khwâja-khe in Upper Swât led first across the Karôrai pass into the northern portion of the Ghôrband tract. Thence over the Shalkau pass, close on 10,000 feet in height and still deeply covered with snow, the head of the large and fertile valley of Kâna was gained. Here we closely approached the still inaccessible portion of the Kohistân on the right bank of the Indus. By descending the Kâna valley from north to south the lower course of the Ghôrband river was reached. Along it lies a much-frequented route from the Indus to Swât. Fa Hsien on his way from Darêl, and probably other Chinese pilgrims, had followed it[44]. Almost opposite to the mouth of the Kâna valley there descends a valley from the above-mentioned range dividing Ghôrband and Chakêsar, and an easy pass at its head above the village of Upal forms the most direct connection between the two tracts.

Starting on foot from the village of Upal on the morning of April 26, we ascended first to a spur which at a height of about 6,000 feet bears a small plateau occupied by a Gujar hamlet and its fields. Here at the ruin of a small walled enclosure remains of ancient decorated pottery, as well as an ornamental bronze bracelet of very early shape, were picked up practically on the surface. From there the ascent lay first past terraced fields and then steeply over slopes clothed with luxuriant conifer and ilex forest to the crest of the range reached at an elevation of a little under 8,000 feet. Along this crest, very narrow and rocky throughout, or on the steep southern slope close below it, led the track, such as it was, eastwards. Fine views had been obtained before of the great glacier-clad peaks above the Swât river headwaters, and on passing below the top of the eminence, shown with the triangulated

[44] See 'Serindia,' i. pp. 7 *sq.*


Mashlun (shoulder)
Burimar-kandao
Burimar (plateau)
Landi-sar
Bar-sar
Una-sar
8721
Una
(Little Una)
Landai
Balai
Pir-sar
Chir
Ziarat
Mosque
Graves
6090
Kuz-sar
7182
Ashara
6471
Danda Nurdai
N
6552
Maju
6736
Talun
Pezal-kandao
4621
5021
PIR-SAR (AORNOS)
AND ADJACENT AREA
Miles
1 0 1
Heights in feet.
River Indus

height of 8360 feet on the map, and known as Acharo-sar, there was sighted through the pines and firs the Indus valley below and the long snow-topped range of the Black Mountain beyond it. Past a very fine spring issuing below Acharo-sar we reached soon the open top of a side spur, which lower down bears the grazing plot known as "Little Ûṇa." And from this point there came into view the bare rocky peak of Ûṇa-sar, or "Mount Ûṇa" (shown on the map with the triangulated height of 8.721 feet), which I had before heard mentioned as the highest on this side of the range, and stretching away from it southward I sighted the flat-topped ridge of Pîr-sar.

It was a very striking sight, this long almost level ridge, as it rose there, girt all round with cliffs, above the precipitous smaller spurs and steep ravines which were seen to run down to the Indus close on 6,000 feet below (Figs. 4, 5). At its northern end it was seen to slope down from a steep tree-clad hill, and this from where we stood, about 2 miles off to the west, appeared to join up with the main crest of the range as it continues to the east of Ûṇa-sar. Pîr-sar seemed near enough as I looked across the deep valley flanked by precipitous slopes which separated us from it; but in the end it took us nearly three hours more to reach it.

First we had to make our way past the steep southern face of Mount Ûṇa, and as lower down this falls off with sheer walls of rock, to ascend by a troublesome track to within 200 feet or so below the summit. Then it became possible to cross to the northern slope of the crest, steep too, but well timbered, and thus to descend to the small tree-girt alp of Bûrimâr (Fig. 6), where we found some summer huts of Gujar graziers and the fenced-in resting place of some Muhammadan saint. At first Bûrimâr seemed to link up with the wooded conical height marking the northern end of Pîr-sar; but when the lower edge of the gently sloping alp was reached I noticed, with some dismay at the time, I confess, that a deep and precipitous ravine previously masked by close tree growth still separated us from that height. The descent to its bottom, which, as careful aneroid observations on two separate occasions showed, lay fully 600 feet lower, was very fatiguing owing to the steepness of the slope and the slippery nature of the ground.

When the bottom of the gully was at last reached in the gatheirng dusk it proved to be a very confined saddle, less than 40 yards long and only about 10 yards across. Fallen trees encumbered the saddle and lay thickly also in the narrow ravines descending on either side. Progress was trying, too, along the precipitous cliffs lining the south-western slopes of Bar-sar ("the top hill"), as the northern end of the Pîr-sar ridge is known. It was with real relief that at last long after nightfall level ground was reached where the flat portion of the top adjoins Bar-sar. It was a strange sensation to pass for close on a mile along what the full moon shining under a cloudless sky showed to be verdant fields of young wheat. Then camp was pitched near a rudely built mosque, at an elevation which subsequent observations with the mercurial barometer proved to be fully 7,100 feet above sea-level.

I have thought it expedient to describe the march which brought us to Pîr-sar in some detail, because it may help to visualize better those topographical features which lead me to believe that this remarkable ridge represents the long-sought-for site of Aornos. For the same reason I may proceed at once to record the observations gathered by a careful examination of the ridge and the surrounding ground in the course of a three days' stay. Reference to the accompanying sketch-map (Plate V), from the survey on the scale of 3 in. = 1 mi. prepared by Surveyor Tôrabâz Khân under my direct supervision, will best help to illustrate them.

Pîr-sar is but one of a series of narrow spurs which the range stretching from Upal throws out south towards the Indus. before it drops rapidly in height beyond the triangulated point 7011. There it flattens out fan-like towards the low plateau of Maira washed at its foot by the Indus. Of these spurs Pîr-sar preserves its height farthest, and, owing to the uniform level and the very fertile soil of its top, affords most scope both for cultivation and grazing. The practically level portion of the top extends at an average elevation of about 7,100 feet for over 1½ miles. At its upper end this flat portion is adjoined for some distance by gentle slopes equally suited for such use (Fig. 8).

Owing to its greater height and the depth of the valleys on either side Pîr-sar forms a dominating position ; overlooking all the other spurs, it offers an exceptionally wide and impressive view. This comprises the whole of the Indus valley from below the Mahâban range in the south to where the winding course of the great river lies hidden between closely packed spurs descending from the high snowy ranges towards Kâgân and the Swât head-waters (Fig. 5). To give some idea of the extent of the vast panorama commanded from Pîr-sar it must suffice here to mention that it includes northward the great ice-crowned peaks above Tôrwâl, Dubêr, and Kandia, and to the east all the ranges which adjoin the central part of Hazâra ; southward the plain of the Peshâwar valley above Attock could be distinctly sighted.

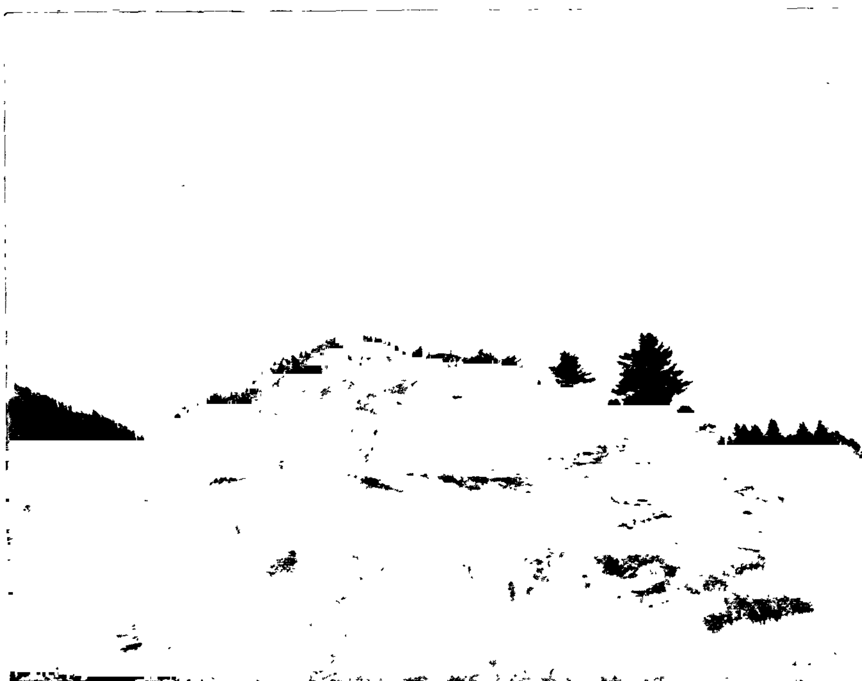
The spur from its level top, to which the name *Pîr-sar*, " the holy man's height," is properly applied, falls off both on the east and west with very steep rocky slopes. In places these form sheer cliffs, while in others pines and firs have managed to secure a footing. The southern end of Pîr-sar rises into a small but conspicuous hillock, known as Kuz-sar, " the lower height," as opposed to the Bar-sar at the northern end (Fig. 4). There the spur divides into three narrow branches, all flanked by precipitous rocky slopes (Fig. 7). The crest of the middle one is in its upper portion so steep and narrow as to be practically inaccessible. That of the eastern branch, known as Ashârai, is very narrow too, but bears some knolls which afford room for small patches of terraced cultivation. The shortest branch, called Mâju, which juts out like a bastion to the south-west, also bears two such small patches on its crest, before it terminates in sheer cliffs at a level of about 1,600 feet below the top of Pîr-sar.

The western slopes of Pîr-sar descend steeply for some 2,000 feet into a very confined valley (Fig. 4). This in parts of its bottom is an impracticable ravine, while in others little terraces bear a few scattered fields. On the opposite side of the valley there rises with formidable bare cliffs, almost perpendicular in places, the small spur of Balai. It has short stretches of more gentle slope on its top used for summer grazing ; but these are practically accessible only from the crest of the main range just below the Ûṇa-sar peak. A deep ravine divides the spur of Balai westwards from another and much longer one, known to the local Gujars as Danda-Nûrdai. This separates from the main range near the grazing-grounds of Landai and farther down faces the south-western slopes of Pîr-sar. Its narrow serrated crest is crossed by two passes. The lower one, called Pêzal-kandau, at an elevation of about 4,000 feet, gives access to a portion of the valley where, opposite to the cliffs of Mâju, some cultivation is carried on by the scattered homesteads of the Gujar hamlet of Tâlun. From below the Pêzal-kandau it is possible to ascend by a difficult track to the crest of the Mâju spur, and thence to the southern end of Pîr-sar. Across the other pass, about 6,500 feet above sea-level, a somewhat easier route leads from the valley behind the Nûrdai-Danda spur to the grassy slopes below the alp of Little Ûṇa, and thence joins the track passing along the top of the main range. We shall see below that these passes may claim some interest in connection with the proposed location of Aornos on Pîr-sar.

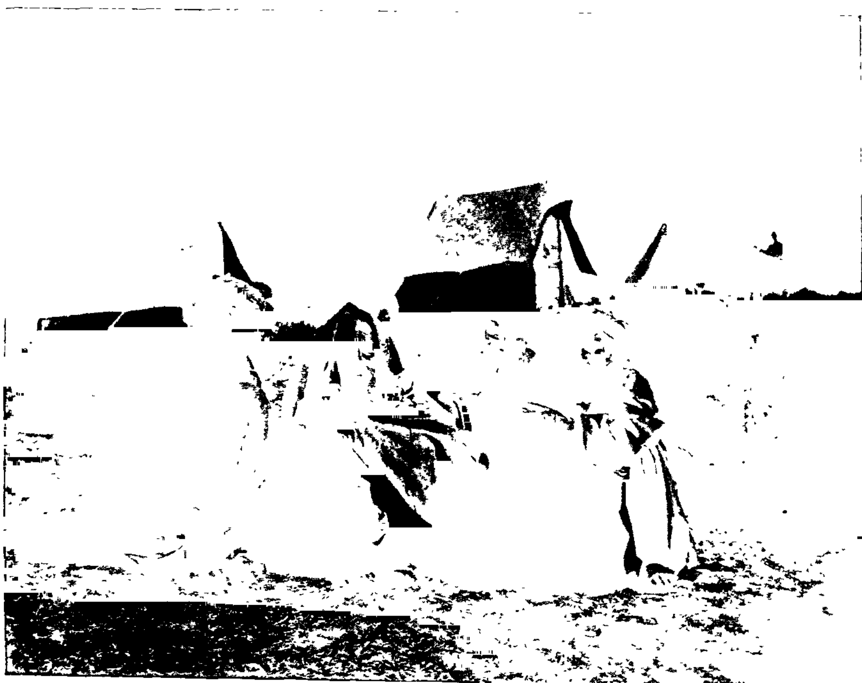
From here we must turn back to Pîr-sar to acquaint ourselves rapidly with the ground which adjoins eastwards. That it differs in some aspects from that observed to the west is due mainly to the fact that the main range, after throwing off to the south the commanding spur of Pîr-sar, very soon falls off in height and becomes bare of tree growth. The drainage descending here from it does not flow south in well-defined separate valleys, but gathering in one wide trough takes its course to the Indus south-eastwards. Between the deeply eroded nullahs which join this trough there rises a succession of short knolls and ridges. All have very steep slopes, but are crowned by little plateaus which as seen from Pîr-sar give them an appearance curiously suggestive of small detached islands. Most of these little hilltops bear patches of cultivation ; but all are devoid of trees and water, and only capable of temporary occupation. The slopes of Pîr-sar facing east descend also very steeply. About 1,500 feet



8. NORTH END OF PIR-SAR RIDGE WITH BAR-SAR HILL ABOVE, AND SWAT-INDUS WATERSHED IN DISTANCE.



9. FIELDS NEAR THE MIDDLE OF THE PĪR-SAR RIDGE.



10. GUJARS EXAMINED ABOUT LOCAL TRADITIONS ON PĪR-SAR.

below the middle of the spur they become somewhat easier and here allow room for the small hamlet of Chîr, permanently tenanted by about a dozen of Gujar households. But as its terraced fields occupy the angle between two deep-cut ravines, with rocky scarps descending precipitously for some 500 feet, access to Pîr-sar is made very difficult from this side too.

It only remains for me briefly to describe the top of the Pîr-sar spur. This presents itself for a distance of a little over 1½ miles as an almost level plateau, occupied along practically its whole length by fields of wheat. The width of the flat ground on the top varies from about 100 to 200 yards, with strips available for grazing by the side of the fields. Fine old trees form small groves in places (Fig. 9), and one of these near the middle of the ridge shelters a much frequented *ziârat*, or shrine. There are several small springs in the little gullies which furrow the steep slopes close below the ridge, and these feed the streams which pass near the fields of Chîr or drain into the valley above Tâlun. But in addition two large reservoirs, have been constructed with *bands* of rough stonework in order to store plentiful water from rain or melting snow, and thus to meet the need of the herds of cattle brought for grazing during the summer months. We found them filled to a depth of several feet. Over two dozen of homesteads, roughly built in the Gujar fashion, and scattered in groups over the plateau, serve to shelter the families which move up from Chîr and Tâlun with their cattle and occupy Pîr-sar from the latter portion of spring till the autumn. The mosque to be referred to below forms the centre of the settlement. The fact that the Pîr-sar ridge stretches from north to south and is nowhere shaded by higher ground assures abundance of sunshine to its top. In consequence this gets clear of snow very early in the year. This explains also why, in spite of an abnormally late spring and the bitterly cold winds still blowing down from the Indus Kohistân at the time of our stay (April 27-29), we found the wheat already standing high.

At its southern end Pîr-sar is guarded, as it were, by the hill of Kuz-sar already mentioned, which rises about 100 feet above the plateau and completely commands the difficult paths leading up from the Mâju and Ashârai crests. At the northern extremity the plateau is still more effectively protected by the bold conical hill of Bar-sar, which rises to a height of about 7,900 feet, and is thus on its top about 800 feet higher than the plateau. The approach from the latter to the thickly wooded top lies first over easy grassy slopes (Fig. 8), but from about 300 feet below it becomes very steep and rocky. The top portion of Bar-sar, as the plan shows, has a distinctly triangular shape. The sides of the triangle to the east and south-west are lined with crags and very precipitous. The same is the case with the side facing north-west. From the angle pointing north there leads an easier slope down 200 feet to a narrow saddle, and beyond it there rises close by a small flat-topped outlier of Bar-sar known as Lânde-sar (" the lower height "). Its elevation is but little less than that of Bar-sar, and the slopes below it are very steep and rocky on all sides except where the saddle links it with Bar-sar.

It is by the angle pointing west that Bar-sar joins up with the main range, in the axial line of which it lies. But it is just here that the continuity of the range is broken by the deep and precipitous ravine which we encountered on our first approach to Pîr-sar. The bottom of this ravine lies approximately on the same level as the plateau of Pîr-sar and about 600 feet below the alp of Bûrimâr which, as we have seen, faces Bar-sar. I have already had occasion to describe the troublesome descent from Bûrimâr to the bottom of this ravine known as Bûrimâr-kandao. But the angle at which the narrow rocky *arête* from the top of Bar-sar runs down to it is still steeper. The succession of crags, in places almost vertical, is here, however, broken at one point by a projecting small shoulder, called *Mâshlun*. This, visible in the distance in Fig. 8, is quite flat on its top and extends for about half a furlong westwards, with a width of some 30 yards at its end. Trees grow on it thickly, just as on the rocky slopes above and below too. This shoulder of Mâshlun juts out at a height of about 450 feet above the bottom of the ravine, and behind it precipitous cliffs rise for another 350 feet or so higher to the summit of Bar-sar. I shall have to recur further on to the remains

of an ancient fort traceable on this summit, and to the important topographical indication presented by the shoulder of Mâshlun.

Having now described the actual configuration of Pîr-sar I may briefly sum up the essential features which were bound to invest it with exceptional advantages as a place of safety and natural stronghold for the ancient inhabitants of this region. Its great elevation, more than 5,000 feet above the Indus, would suffice to make attack difficult. The extent of level space on its top, greater than that to be found on any height of equal natural strength further down on the right bank of the Indus, would permit of the collection of large numbers both for safety and for defence. Its central position would make Pîr-sar a particularly convenient place of rally for large and fertile hill tracts such as Chakêsar and Ghôrband, as well as for that portion of the Indus valley lying close below, where the space available for cultivation is wide and villages accordingly large and numerous. The great height and steepness of the slopes with which Pîr-sar is girt would suffice to make its defence easy in times when those fighting from superior height had every physical advantage on their side. And in this respect full account must also be taken of the fact that even on the side where the spur is adjoined and overlooked by the main range, the deep ravine of the Bûrimâr-kandao assured isolation.

From this survey of Pîr-sar we must now turn back to the record of Alexander's operations where we left it on his arrival in the vicinity of Aornos. Arrian's description of them is so clear and instructive in its topographical details that it appears best to reproduce it here *in extenso.*[45] I give it as in Mr. M'Crindle's translation, with a few slight alterations, which reference to the original text seems to me to render desirable.

" Some men thereupon who belonged to the neighbourhood came to him, and after proffering their submission undertook to guide him to the place most suited for an attack upon the rock, that from which it would not be difficult to capture the place. With these men he sent Ptolemy, the son of Lagos, and a member of the bodyguard, leading the Agrianians and the other light-armed troops and the selected hypaspists, and directed him, on securing the position, to hold it with a strong guard and signal to him when he had occupied it. Ptolemy, following a route which was trying and difficult, secured the position without being perceived by the barbarians. He fortified this all round with a palisade and a trench, and then raised a beacon on that part of the mountain from which it could be seen by Alexander. The signal fire was seen, and next day Alexander moved forward with his army ; but as the barbarians offered valiant opposition, he could do nothing more owing to the difficult nature of the ground. When the barbarians perceived that Alexander had found an attack [on that side] to be impracticable, they turned round and attacked Ptolemy's men. Between these and the Macedonians hard fighting ensued, the Indians making strenuous efforts to destroy the palisade and Ptolemy to hold the position. The barbarians had the worse in the skirmish, and when night fell withdrew.

" From the Indian deserters Alexander selected one who knew the country and could otherwise be trusted, and sent him by night to Ptolemy with a letter importing that when he himself assailed the rock, Ptolemy should not content himself with holding his position but should fall upon the barbarians on the mountain, so that the Indians, being attacked on both sides, might be perplexed how to act. Alexander, starting at daybreak from his camp, led his army to that approach by which Ptolemy had ascended unobserved, being convinced that if he forced a passage that way and affected a junction with Ptolemy's men, the work still before him would not be difficult. And so it turned out ; for up to mid-day there continued to be hard fighting between the Indians and Macedonians, the latter forcing their way up while the former plied them with missiles as they ascended. But as the Macedonians did not slacken their efforts, others succeeding to others, while those [before] in advance rested, they gained with trouble the pass in the afternoon and joined Ptolemy's men. The troops

45 'Anabasis,' IV. xxix—xxx.

being now all united were thence put again in motion towards the rock itself; but an assault upon it was still impracticable. So came this day to its end.

"Next day at dawn he ordered the soldiers to cut a hundred stakes per man. When the stakes had been cut he began from the top of the height on which they were encamped, to pile up towards the rock a great mound, whence he thought it would be possible for arrows and for missiles shot from engines to reach the defenders. Every one took part in the work, helping to pile up the mound. He himself was present to superintend, commending those that with eagerness advanced the work, and chastising any one that at the moment was idling.

"The army on that first day extended the mound the length of a stadion. On the following day the slingers, by slinging stones at the Indians from the mound just constructed, and the bolts shot from the engines drove back the sallies made by the Indians on those engaged upon the mound. The work of piling it up went on for three days, without intermission. On the fourth day a few Macedonians had forced their way to and secured a small hillock level with the rock. Alexander without ever resting drove the mound forward, intending to join the mound to the hillock which the handful of men already held for him.

"But the Indians, terror-struck at the unheard-of audacity of the Macedonians who had forced their way to the hillock, and on seeing the mound already connected with it, abstained from further resistance, and sending their herald to Alexander, professed their willingness to surrender the rock if he would treat for peace with them. But the purpose they had in view was to consume the day in spinning out negotiations, and to disperse by night to their several homes. When Alexander perceived this he gave them time to start off as well as to withdraw the round of sentries everywhere. He himself remained quiet until they began their retreat; and then he took with him seven hundred of the bodyguard and of the hypaspists and was the first to scale the rock where it had been abandoned. The Macedonians climbed up after him, pulling one another up, some at one place, some at another. And then at a preconcerted signal they turned upon the retreating barbarians and slew many of them in the flight; some others retreating in terror flung themselves down the precipices and died. Alexander thus became master of the rock which had baffled Heracles himself."

With this clear, sober, and full record of Arrian the accounts given by Diodorus and Curtius agree in all essential topographical points. That both these authors used common sources here as elsewhere also, is evident from various indications. But Diodorus contents himself with a much-condensed abstract, and Curtius' narrative owes its greater length mainly to his usual expansion of such minor aspects of the story as specially lend themselves to rhetorical treatment. It will therefore be sufficient, in the case of either account, to note only those points which have a bearing on the location of Aornos.

Diodorus describes the "rock" as a natural stronghold, 100 stadia in circumference, 16 stadia in height, and with a level surface forming a complete circle.[46] The Indus washed its foot on the south; elsewhere it was surrounded by deep ravines and inaccessible cliffs. An old man familiar with the neighbourhood promised against a reward to take Alexander up the difficult ascent to a position which would command the barbarians in occupation of the rock. Following his guidance, Alexander first seized the pass leading to the rock, and as there was no other exit from it, blocked up the barbarians. He then filled up the ravine which lay at the foot of the rock with a mound and getting thus nearer vigorously pushed the siege by assaults made for seven days and nights without intermission. At first the barbarians had the advantage owing to the greater height of their position. But when the mound was completed and catapults and other engines had been brought into action, the Indians were struck with despair and escaped from the rock at night by the pass from which Alexander had on purpose withdrawn the guard he had left there. Thus Alexander secured the rock without risk.

[46] Cf. Diodorus, 'Bibliotheca,' XVII. lxxxv.; M'Crindle, 'Invasion of India,' p. 271.

Curtius in his description of the rock (*petra*), which he calls by the name of *Aornis*, does not give any dimensions but mentions that the Indus, deep and confined between steep banks, washes its foot.[47] Elsewhere there are ravines and craggy precipices. In rhetorical style, apparently inspired by a reminiscence from Livy, Curtius likens "the rock" to the *meta* of the Roman circus, "which has a wide base, tapers off in ascending, and terminates in a sharp pinnacle."[48] This description, if it is based on some passage of his original source, would suggest that one portion of the "rock" rose into a steep conical point. We are told that under the guidance of an old man from the neighbourhood a light-armed detachment was sent ahead by a detour to occupy the highest summit unobserved by the enemy.[49]

Curtius next relates that in order to make an assault practicable a ravine was being filled up with a mound. For this the trees of a forest close at hand were cut down and their trunks, stripped of branches and leaves, thrown in. Within the seventh day the hollows had been filled. An assault up the steep slopes by the archers and Agriani was then ordered. Thirty selected youths from among the king's pages under Charus and Alexander formed the forlorn hope. In the highly rhetorical description which follows it is, however, the king himself who is said to have put himself at the head of the assault. Many are said to have perished, falling from the steep crags into the river which flowed below, "since the barbarians rolled down huge stones upon those climbing up, and such as were struck by them fell headlong from their insecure and slippery footing." We are then told in lengthy poetical words of the death of the two leaders, Charus and Alexander, who had got up high enough to engage in a hand-to-hand fight, but were overpowered and fell.

The king, affected by these losses, then ordered the retreat, which was carried out in an orderly fashion. Alexander, though resolved to abandon the enterprise, yet made demonstrations of continuing the siege. Thereupon the Indians, with a show of confidence and even triumph, feasted for two days and two nights, but on the third night abandoned the rock. When their retirement was discovered, the king ordered his troops to raise a general shout. This struck such terror into the fugitives that many "flinging themselves headlong over the slippery rocks and precipices" were killed or were left behind injured.

The three accounts translated or analyzed above are the only ones which have come down to us furnishing any specific data about Aornos. By comparing them we can deduce the following definite indications as regards the locality intended. Aornos was a natural stronghold, situated on a mountain of great height, which precipitous rocky slopes and deep-cut valleys below rendered capable of easy defence against an aggressor. It is important to note that no mention is made anywhere of fortification by the hand of man. There was sufficient level space on the top to permit of considerable numbers finding there a safe refuge. The site was near to the Indus, which flowed at its foot.[50] Its relative height must have been very striking to account for the definite measurements of 11 and 16 stadia respectively, which Arrian and Diodorus record, approximately corresponding to 6,600 or 9,600 feet. In the same way the circuits of 200 and 100 stadia respectively, which these two authors mention, approximately corresponding to 22 or 11 miles, can obviously apply only to a mountain massif or range and not to a single hill or peak.

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47 Cf. 'Historiæ,' VIII. xi.

48 See M'Crindle, *loc. cit.*, p. 197, referring to Livy, Bk. XXXVII. xxvii.

49 As the leader of the detachment is mentioned Mylleas (or Mullinus), the king's secretary; neither form of the name is otherwise known. The substitution of his name for that of Ptolemy shows that Curtius follows here a source distinct from that of Arrian.

50 Both Diodorus and Curtius definitely mention this point, and Arrian's silence does in no way contradict it. On the other hand, no weight can attach to the statement in Curtius' highly coloured description of the siege, which makes those who lost their foothold in scaling the "rock" from the ravine fall into the river; for the possibility of this is manifestly excluded by his comparison of the rock with a *meta* "which has a wide base, tapers off in ascending," etc.

That Aornos was situated on such a massif or range is in fact made perfectly clear by what all three authors relate of the commanding height attacked by the Macedonians before the start of the siege and reached after an arduous ascent. Both Arrian and Curtius state that the march by which the light-armed detachment sent ahead by Alexander secured this position under local guidance remained unobserved by the enemy. This distinctly suggests that the route followed to that commanding height led up a valley which was hidden from the view of the defenders of Aornos. This assumption finds strong support in Arrian's reference to the pass (πάροδος) to which Alexander, when subsequently following the same difficult route, had to ascend amidst severe fighting, before he could join Ptolemy's detachment holding the position above Aornos. Incidentally the opposition here encountered by Alexander indicates that this route leading to the height of the range, though not visible from Aornos and hence not obstructed on the first occasion, was yet accessible to its defenders without their having first to dislodge the detachment on the height. We see from Arrian that an attempt to dislodge it had in fact been made on the preceding day but had failed.

We come now to the most significant among the topographical features recorded in connection with Alexander's siege of Aornos: I mean the deep ravine separating the heights on which the Macedonian camp stood from the nearest part of the "rock." Here, too, Arrian's account is the fullest and clearest. It shows us that the primary object for which Alexander had to resort to the expedient of constructing a great mound across this ravine was to bring the opposite slope held by the enemy within effective range of what by an anachronism might be called his troops' small arms and field artillery. The precipitous nature of that slope would lend itself to easy and most effective defence, in particular by means of large stones rolled down, a formidable method of defence, the actual use of which Curtius here specially mentions.[51] No assault could succeed here until "it would be possible for arrows and for missiles shot from engines to reach the defenders."

We obtain some indication of the great width of the ravine, and indirectly also of its depth, from Arrian's statements concerning the construction of this mound. By the united efforts of the troops it was extended on the first day the length of a stadion, *i.e.*, *circ.* 600 feet. After this it became possible for slingers posted on the mound and for shots from the engines to drive back sallies made against those engaged upon the mound. But "the work of piling it up went on for three days without intermission," before an assault made on the fourth enabled a handful of Macedonians to establish themselves on "a small hill which was on a level with the rock." Yet even after this, we are told by Arrian, the construction of the mound was continued until it was joined up with the position thus gained.[52] This position must have lain still considerably below the crest of the height which faced the ravine from the side of the "rock." Thus only is it possible to account for the stiff climb which it cost Alexander and his selected 700 men to reach the top and fall upon the retreating barbarians during the night following their offer of surrender.

I may now proceed to show how easy it is to recognize all the topographical details elucidated above as regards Aornos and Alexander's siege of it in the local features of Pīr-sar and its environs as illustrated by the map and my preceding description. Taking the general features first, we see from the map that the Indus flows in a wide bend round that eastern

51 Very striking illustrations in modern times of the results which may be obtained by this means of defence on alpine ground, were supplied by its use on the part of the valiant bands of Tyrolese peasants who successfully defended their country in 1809 against invasion by Napoleon's French and Bavarian troops.

52 This notice of Arrian about the continued extension of the mound disposes of the apparent discrepancy which certain commentators have found between his account and that of Diodorus and Curtius, who mention seven days as the time taken over the construction of the mound.

extremity of the range of which the Pîr-sar spur is the largest and most conspicuous offshoot. Diodorus' more specific statement that the Indus washed the rock on its southern side is borne out by the map. This shows that the portion of this bend nearest for those coming up the Indus valley lies due south of Pîr-sar. The relative elevation of Bar-sar at the northern end of the spur (7,914 feet by clinometer), if measured from the bank of the Indus (*circ.* 1,700 feet at Thâkôt) agrees remarkably well with the height of Aornos, 11 stadia or about 6,600 feet, as recorded by Arrian.[63] If the relative height of the Ûṇa peak (8,721 feet above sea-level by triangulation) rising immediately to the west of Bar-sar is taken, the agreement becomes, if anything, still closer. Obviously no such test can be applied to the measurement of the circuit; for we do not know on what lines or on which level it was taken. It is curious to note that if a map measurer is passed round the foot of the eastern extremity of the range from near Sarkul on the Indus past the Takhta pass to Shang and thence back again behind the Ûṇa peak we get a total direct length of some 22 miles. But of course other measurements, greater or lesser, would also be possible.

Coming next to the commanding height near Aornos which a light-armed force was sent ahead under Ptolemy to occupy, it is clear that the small plateaus on either flank of Mount Ûṇa would exactly answer the purpose in view. This was to secure a position on that side from which the "rock" was most assailable. Taking into account all the tactical advantages which the possession of higher ground must have implied for the assailant, in times before the invention of long-range firearms even more than since, there can be no doubt that the side whence an attack upon the rock-girt plateau of Pîr-sar would offer most chances of success would be where the spur joined on, and was overlooked by the main range. This is the Bûrimâr plateau on the eastern shoulder of the culminating peak of Ûṇa (Fig. 6). But there are considerations which make me inclined to favour the gently sloping alp of "Little Ûṇa" immediately below the western flank of Ûṇa-sar as the most likely site of Ptolemy's fortified encampment. From here it was easier to guard the route leading up from the river, and thus to give that assistance for the subsequent ascent of the main force which Arrian's account shows to have become indispensable once the defenders had discovered the Macedonian move. "Little Ûṇa" offers also the advantage, anyhow nowadays, of easier access to water, and by its situation it was less exposed to attack from the enemy's main position on Pîr-sar.

The route by which the crest of the range where it overlooks Pîr-sar could best be gained from the river certainly led up the valley to the west of the Danda-Nûrdai spur, and thence from its head to "Little Ûṇa." The information collected by me showed that this route is considered the easiest from that side for reaching the grazing-grounds on the top of the main range. It is regularly used by the local Gujars when moving there from their hamlets above the Indus. The ascent in the valley is undoubtedly steep, but its bottom is less confined than that of the valley on the other side of the Danda-Nûrdai spur towards Pîr-sar. Near the head of the valley the pass shown in the map with a clinometrical height of 6,471 feet gives access to the lower slopes of Little Ûṇa and from these the alps occupied by the Gujar huts of Achar and Little Ûṇa can be gained without difficulty.

It is the route just described which for the reasons indicated I believe to have been followed first by Ptolemy and then also by Alexander's main column. Arrian tells us that after Alexander had seen the beacon lit by Ptolemy on the mountain he had occupied, he next day moved forward with his troops, but as his progress was obstructed by the barbarians,

[63] Bar-sar as well as the rest of Pîr-sar is visible from more than one point of the right bank of the Indus between Sarkul and Gunahghar. It is obvious that the height measurement recorded by Arrian must be a relative one, and that the river-bank can reasonably be supposed to have been the place from which it was taken. A height measurement of this kind from a convenient base is a simple geometrical task, and Greek surveying knowledge at the time of Alexander was fully equal to it.

" he could do nothing more on account of the difficult nature of the ground." A look at the map explains how easy it was for the enemy collected on Pîr-sar to obstruct Alexander's march in that valley once Ptolemy's preceding move had been discovered and had indicated the direction which Alexander's attack was likely to take. The valley west of the Danda-Nûrdai spur is within easy reach from the south-western outlier of Pîr-sar across the heights above the pass known as Pêzalkandau, 4,620 feet above sea-level. By crowning these heights the enemy could seriously interfere with the Macedonians' move up the valley without risking a battle in the open. It was equally easy for them, when Alexander's advance up the valley had been brought to a standstill, to turn round and moving higher up to attack Ptolemy's detachment holding the fortified camp which, we have seen, may be placed at or near Little Ûṇa.

This attack was beaten off, and when Alexander on the next day resumed his advance up the valley, the Indians who contested it were attacked in the rear by Ptolemy, to whom Alexander during the night had managed to send orders to this effect, as recorded by Arrian. The importance of this help, as well as the difficulties encountered by Alexander, can be well understood by looking at the map. Not until the pass marked there with the height of 6,471 feet had been taken could the junction with Ptolemy's force be effected, and considering its elevation and the steepness of the Danda-Nûrdai spur, Arrian's description of the severe struggle it cost to gain this pass (πάροδος) cannot have been exaggerated. Once the Macedonian forces were united in the course of the afternoon the further advance towards the " rock," which Arrian mentions as having been made during the remainder of the day, could present no difficulty. This advance would necessarily lie along the crest of the range as far as the Bûrimâr plateau. That it came to a standstill, as Arrian records, without any attack on the rock being possible at the time is fully explained by the great natural obstacle met beyond, the fosse of the Bûrimâr ravine.

I have already described above the general character of this ravine, its considerable depth and the precipitous nature of its slopes. But in order to realise better how fully its features explain Alexander's resort to having a mound constructed to cross it, attention must be called to some details. I have referred above to the protection afforded to Pîr-sar by the extremely steep rocky slopes with which the Bar-sar hill forming its northern bastion falls off towards the ravine some 800 feet lower separating it from Bûrimâr. These slopes, so easily defended from above, could not be attacked with any chance of success unless they could be brought within the range of missiles. Now the direct distance separating the top of Bar-sar from ground of approximately equal level on the Bûrimâr plateau is some 1,300 yards, and that between the Mâshlun shoulder of Bar-sar and a corresponding elevation on the slope below Bûrimâr certainly not less than 500 yards. It hence follows that since the *ballistai* and *katapeltai* forming the Greek artillery of that period could throw stones and darts only to a distance of some 300 yards,[54] and slingers and bowmen their missiles not much further, it was necessary to advance the position from which their " fire " was to be used. This could be done here with effect only in a horizontal direction, for a descent into the ravine would not have increased the chance of commanding the higher slopes.

The ingenious expedient of constructing a mound to secure this object is thus fully accounted for by the configuration of the ground observed at the Bûrimâr ravine. In the same way the use made of timber for its construction, whether in the form of stakes or tree-trunks, fully agrees with the abundance of tree growth still observed on the slopes both above and below the Bûrimâr plateau. Undoubtedly this plentiful timber available on the spot would supply the handiest material for the purpose. That the mound is said to have been advanced a stadion, or about 200 yards, on the first day is easily understood in view of the slope near the eastern edge of the Bûrimâr plateau being comparatively easy. But it becomes steadily

[54] Cf. M'Crindle, 'Invasion of India,' p. 21.

steeper and steeper as the bottom of the ravine is approached, and in consequence the rate in the daily advance of the mound was bound to decrease in proportion to the greater depth to be filled up. Thus it is explained why, even when on the fourth day a few Macedonians had forced their way to a small hillock on the opposite slope, it was necessary to continue work on the mound in order to join the two, as Arrian tells us.

I believe we can safely recognize this " small hillock " (ὀλίγον γήλοφον) in the shoulder of Mâshlun, described above. Its level as measured by aneroid is about 450 feet above that of the bottom of the Bûrimâr-kandao, and about the same above the flat portion of Pîr-sar. It is true that Arrian calls this small hill ἰσόπεδον τῇ πέτρᾳ, " level with the rock." But this is easily understood, considering that a continuous slope passing Bar-sar connects Mâshlun with the plateau portion of Pîr-sar. That there still rose a steep height above the " small hillock " is made perfectly clear by Arrian's own narrative, where he describes the stiff climb which brought Alexander and his 700 to the top of the " rock ", after the mound had been joined to the hillock and while the defenders were abandoning Aornos. I myself retain a very vivid recollection of the trying scramble over steep crags by which the summit of Bar-sar was gained after my visit to Mâshlun. I can hence realize what this ascent of about 350 feet may have meant for men encumbered by armour. That the height of Bar-sar was a very convenient place for the Macedonians to assemble and then at a preconcerted signal to turn upon the retreating barbarians, as related by Arrian, is obvious. In the same way it is easy to understand that some of the latter in their terrified flight during the night lost their lives by falling down precipices below Pîr-sar.

The above observations will show how closely all topographical details about Pîr-sar agree with what our extant records tells us of Aornos and Alexander's operations against it. But this identification may be supported also by antiquarian and philological evidence. There is no mention whatsoever in our texts of the natural defences of Aornos having been strengthened by the hand of man, and we may attach all the more significance to this negative fact in view of the obvious desire of our authors to emphasize the greatness of the difficulties overcome at the capture of the stronghold. That Aornos was recognized by them to have been solely a natural stronghold is clearly shown by the fact that they ordinarily designate it simply by the term *petra*, " the rock."[55] But we are told by Arrian that Alexander after the capture built there a fortified post and entrusted its guard to Sisikottos, an Indian deserter who had joined him in Baktra and proved trustworthy. Curtius, too, mentions Sisicostus as having been charged with the guarding of the rock and the adjoining territory. Curtius further mentions that Alexander erected altars on the " rock " to Minerva and Victory, while Arrian refers merely to sacrifices performed there by him.

In view of Arrian's statement it is of distinct interest that I found the badly decayed remains of what undoubtedly was a small fort on the summit of Bar-sar. The walls occupy whatever level space there is on the top, and to the north, towards Lânde-sar, descend also on the slope. They form an irregular quadrilateral, of which the longest side eastwards measures 136 feet and the shortest to the north 60 feet. The walls, 5 feet thick throughout, are deeply buried in debris and earth, largely humus deposited by decay of the luxuriant forest vegetation which has grown up and flourished evidently for centuries between and over the ruins. It was only by a careful search that the lines of the enclosing walls and some small rooms in the southern part of the area enclosed could be traced. What little excavation was possible within the limits of time and labour showed masonry of a type not unlike that found at Bîr-kôṭ and at ancient dwellings of early Buddhist times in Swât, stone slabs, unhewn but fairly uniform in thickness, being set in mud plaster. Among the potsherds

55 The same notion seems to be conveyed also by Curtius, where, in recording Alexander's triumph, he speaks of him as *rex locorum magis quam hostium victor* ; cf. 'Historiæ,' VIII, xi., *fin.*

brought to light from the floor of one of the rooms there were some showing ornamentation similar to that found at Buddhist sites of Swât, but less finished.

What pointed to considerable antiquity was the far-advanced decay of the whole structure as compared with the fair condition in which most of the ruined dwellings and fortified mansions dating from Buddhist times are found at Swât sites. Yet these by their position are far more exposed to erosion and other destructive factors than the very top of Bar-sar could be. The position is such as could not have been chosen for any other purpose than defence. Whether the remains indicated can go back as far as the Macedonian invasion, and whether they mark the spot where the fort erected under Alexander's orders might have stood, it is impossible to assert without thorough investigation, such as was not possible at the time of my visit. But it is certainly noteworthy that the ruined fort crowns just that height which protects the Pîr-sar plateau on the side where, as we have seen, it was most exposed to attack.

The old Gujars who had been summoned from the hamlets below as depositories of local lore (Fig. 10), knew of no special tradition attaching to those ruined walls.[56] Nor had they ever heard of Alexander having visited these parts. But they had been told by their elders that Pîr-sar had served as the summer abode of a Râja called Sirkap, who otherwise lived below at the village of Sarkul on the Indus opposite Thâkôt. This name of "Râja Sirkap" is widely attached to ancient sites in these parts on either side of the Indus, *e.g.*, to the ruins of the earliest as yet explored city at Taxila. But it gives no clue beyond indicating a traditional belief that the Pîr-sar plateau was occupied in early times long before the advent of Islâm. The same Gujar informants derived the name Pîr-sar from a Saiyid Pîr Bêghan, who is said to have lived on the plateau before the Pathâns took the land, and to have been buried as a saint at the previously mentioned Ziârat, near the centre of Pîr-sar.

Whether the ground now under cultivation or occupied by Gujar huts and graveyards on Pîr-sar hides any datable remains it is impossible to say. But in the mosque which lies some 300 yards south of the Ziârat there are two large carved slabs of white calcareous stone, now used to support the roof but undoubtedly ancient. Their exposed portions measure 6 feet in height, with a width of 16-17 inches and a thickness of 4 inches. They were said to have been dug up somewhere near the centre of the area some time ago. But nobody could or would indicate the exact spot; my inquiry here, as elsewhere, suggested, no doubt, an intention to hunt for buried "treasure."

There still remains the philological evidence to be set forth. It is furnished by the name *Ûṇa*, in Pashṭû also spelt *Ûṇṛa*, applied to the peak rising immediately above Bûrimâr and overlooking Pîr-sar. We do not know the exact indigenous form of the local name which the Greek Ἄορνος was intended to reproduce. But if we assume it to have sounded **Avarna*, it is as easy to account for its phonetic transition into modern *Ûṇa* (*Ûṇṛa*) as it is to prove that Ἄορνος was the most likely Greek rendering of it. As regards the latter, it will suffice to point to the Greek Ἴμαος as the well-known rendering of the Sanskrit *Himava (n)t*, applied like its doublet Ἠμωδός, *Haimavata*, to the Himâlaya range, or what was believed by the Greeks to be a portion of it.[57] That the name rendered by Ἄορνος appealed to Greek ears also by its apparent Greek meaning "[the mountain] where there are no birds," is likely enough. We know from the reproductions of other Indian local names how ready Alexander and those with him were to seek an echo of Greek words in the Indian appellations

[56] Among them was Ibrâhîm Bâbâ, a venerable old man, who was brought up with much trouble in a litter and declared to be a fountain-head of local information. He remembered having fought as a man between twenty and thirty against the British at the Ambêla Pass in 1862.

[57] Cf. Arrian, 'Indikê,' ii. 3. In Ptolemy's 'Geography' Imaos undoubtedly represents the great meridional range which joins the T'ien-shan to the Hindukush.

they heard.[58] But there is not the least reason to doubt that Ἄορνος was meant to render a genuine local name and was not a freely invented Greek designation.[59]

There is definite philological evidence to show that in the modern name *Ûṇa* (*Ûṇṛa*), pronounced with that peculiar cerebral *ṇ* sound, which in Pashṭû spelling also figures as *ṇṛ*, we may safely recognize a direct phonetic derivative of an earlier form * *Avarna*, the assumed original of Aornos. The contraction of an earlier *ava*, both initial and medial, into *ū̆* is well known to the phonology of the Dardic as well as of the Indo-Âryan language branches.[60] Similarly the regular assimilation of the cerebral consonant *ṛ* to a following *n* and the subsequent simplification of the resulting double consonant *ṇṇ* into *ṇ*, with eventual complementary lengthening of the preceding vowel, is fully attested in the phonetic development of both Indo-Âryan and Dardic languages.[61]

I have left it to the last to consider a classical notice, which, if it is taken to refer to Aornos, as I believe it must, is of quasi-chronological interest and indirectly helps to support the proposed location of that stronghold. Chares of Mytilene, one of Alexander's chief officials, is quoted by Athenæus as having in his history of Alexander recorded a method of conserving snow used at the siege of the Indian town of Petra. According to Chares, we are told, "Alexander ordered thirty trenches to be dug close to each other and to be filled with snow, branches of trees being also thrown in, in order that the snow in this way may be preserved longer.[62] I believe that in this stray notice we have a useful indication both of the elevation of the "rock" and of the season when Alexander besieged it.

We know from a record of Aristobulos, who shared Alexander's campaign and is quoted by Strabo, that the army, having set out for India from the Paropamisadai, *i.e.*, the valleys between the Hindukush and Kâbul, after the fall of the Pleiades spent the winter in the hill territories of the Aspasioi and Assakênoi, but in the early spring descended to the plains and moved to Taxila, thence to the Hydaspes and the country of Poros.[63] That the siege of Aornos was the last of the major operations carried out before the crossing of the Indus and the advance to Taxila is quite certain from the concordant records of Arrian and the other historians. And also that this operation was undertaken after Alexander had descended to the plain of the Peshawar valley. We can therefore place that siege neither much before nor much after the month of April 326 B.C.

Now from my personal experience on my recent explorations in the Swât region during March, April, and May, and from the climatic conditions previously observed on similar ground of the North-West Frontier, I may safely assert that in April snow could not be found there much below an elevation of 6,000 feet. On the other hand, should water be needed for large numbers, the need of preserving snow for drinking purposes on heights situated between 6000 and 9000 feet might well arise at a season when slopes are exposed to the powerful sun

58 See Weber, "On the Greek pronunciation of Indian words," *Indian Antiquary*, ii. pp. 147 *sqq.* For well-known instances of this kind of "popular etymology," cf. *e.g.* Ἀκεσίνης, "the healer," as Alexander's rendering of the old Sanskrit name *Asiknî* of the river Chenâb in the Panjâb, and the inauspicious interpretation of its other name *Chandrabhâga* as Σανδροφάγος as "eater of Alexander."

59 It deserves to be noted that the fanciful interpretation of the name as meaning "inaccessible even to the birds" is only to be found in such very late authors as Dionysios Periegetes and Pseudo-Callisthenes (see C. Müller's edition, III. iv. note). It could scarcely have appealed very seriously to the Macedonians, who on their passage from Baktra across the Hindukush had seen mountains so much higher than any to be met in this portion of the Indus valley.

60 See Grierson, 'Piśâca Languages,' pp. 88, 126; "Phonology," *ZDMG.*, 1895, p. 409.

61 Cf. Grierson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 21, 123; *ZDMG.*, 1896, pp. 21, 28.

It deserves to be noticed that the strongly cerebral sound *ṇ* (*ṇṛ*) of Pashṭû occurs not only in words borrowed from Indian dialects, but also represents the Old Iranian combination, *r*+*n*; cf. Darmesteter, 'Chants Populaires Afghans,' pp. xlvii. *sq.*

62 See Athenæus, III. p. 124, C, as quoted by C. Müller in his edition of Arrian, 'Fragmenta,' p. 117. Anspach, 'De Alexandri Magni expeditione Indica' (Leipzig, 1903), p. 32, note 90, rightly observes that the erroneous designation of Petra as a "town" must be attributed to Athenæus, not to Chares.

63 Strabo, 'Geographia,' XV. p. 691.

of an Indian spring. From what I saw on my way past the Ûṇa peak and the adjacent heights I believe that the expedient recorded by Aristobulos would probably nowadays also recommend itself if troops were obliged for a time to occupy that high ground and its southern slopes. The spring of the present year had been quite exceptionally belated. Yet at the time of my visit at the very end of April we found snow only in small sheltered hollows on the northern slopes of Mount Ûṇa and none at all on the south. The fine spring above "Little Ûṇa" and another at Adramâr, about the same distance on the opposite side of the peak, would scarcely suffice for a large force encamped on this part of the range. Hence a thoughtful commander, faced by uncertainty as to the length of his stay on those heights, would only act wisely if he took steps to conserve whatever remained of the winter's snowfall. We thus see that this fragmentary reference also perfectly accords with that combined evidence of texts, topography, and name which has led us to locate Aornos on that rock-girt site by Mount Ûṇa.

The notices left to us of Alexander's movements after the capture of Aornos are too brief and too divergent in their details to permit us to trace his route with certainty on the map. Arrian tells us that Alexander moved from the rock into the territory of the Assakênoi, having been informed that the brother of Assakênos, with elephants and a host of neighbouring barbarians, had taken refuge in the mountains of that region.[64] When he reached there the town of Dyrta he found it, together with the surrounding district, abandoned by its inhabitants. Thereupon he detached certain commanders to examine the localities and to secure information from any barbarians captured, particularly about the elephants. We have seen above that Assakênos was the ruler whose capital Massaga was taken on the Macedonians' first entry into Lower Swât. Hence the mountain region in which his brother had taken refuge, and which was reckoned as part of the territory of the Assakênoi, might well have been Bunêr; for this, as the records of the Chinese pilgrims clearly show, was in ancient times included in Swât territory, just as it is now again.[65] But as the position of Dyrta has not been identified and no other indications are furnished, the above remains uncertain.

Bunêr can be reached from the side of Pîr-sar and Chakêsar by several routes leading through Pûran and the Mukhozai and Chagharzai country. And to Bunêr seems to point what we are next told about Alexander having marched on the Indus: "and the army going on before made a road for him, as those parts would otherwise have been impassable." This description would well apply, as first suggested by General Abbott, to the most direct route leading from the central parts of Bunêr to the Indus along the Barandu river; for the lower valley of the latter, as yet unsurveyed and in part inaccessible owing to the colony of "Hindustânî fanatics" at present settled there, is reported to be a narrow gorge in places impracticable for traffic.

From captives Alexander learned that the Indians of that territory had fled to Abisares, *i.e.*, to the ruler of Hazâra, having left the elephants behind by the river. Alexander's successful capture of these elephants is then related. Finally we are told that, serviceable timber having been found by the river, this was cut by the troops and the ships built with it taken down the Indus to where a bridge had long before been constructed by the other portion of the army. At the present time the lowest point on the right bank of the Indus where something like forest can be found is a few miles above Amb, where the half-inch map sheet No. 43 $\frac{\text{B.}}{\text{S. E.}}$ marks the "Palâli Rakh." But conditions may have been different in ancient times.[66]

[64] See 'Anabasis,' IV, xxx, 5.

[65] Cf. 'Serindia,' I, p. 9.

[66] There is also a possibility, first indicated by General Abbott, to be taken into account, viz., that the original record referred to logs of timber such as are nowadays cut in high side valleys up the Indus, particularly in Tangîr and Kandia, and allowed to drift down the river for sale in the Yusufzai plain. At Darband, on the left bank some miles above Amb, an eddy helps to arrest such drift timber, which then is dealt with by traders.

Diodorus' account of what followed the capture of Aornos is very brief.[67] We are told by him that Aphrikes, an Indian chief, was hovering in that neighbourhood with 20,000 soldiers and 15 elephants. The chief was killed by his own men, who brought his head to Alexander and thereby purchased their own safety. The elephants wandering about the country were secured by the king, who then arrived at the Indus, and, finding it bridged, gave his army a rest of thirty days before crossing to the left bank. Curtius' account, evidently taken from the same source, supplements the above by some details, which however do not furnish any clear topographical guidance.[68] Alexander is said to have marched from the "rock" to Ecbolima. Having learned that a defile on the route was occupied by 20,000 armed men under Erix, he hurried forward, dislodged the enemy with his archers and slingers, and thus cleared a passage for his heavy-armed troops behind. Erix was killed in flight by his own men, and his head brought to Alexander. Thence he arrived after the sixteenth encampment at the Indus, where he found everything prepared by Hephaistion for the crossing.

That by Ecbolima the same place is meant as Arrian's and Ptolemy's Embolima is scarcely subject to doubt; also that the chief Erix is the same whom Diodorus calls Aphrikes. But both authors fail to give any clear indication as to where the defile held by this chief lay. If the sixteen marches to the Indus crossing have to be reckoned, as Curtius' wording implies, from that defile, this certainly could not be looked for on the Barandu river; for thence the march to Ûnd (Uhand), the ancient Udabhâṇḍa, where the passage of the Indus in all probability took place,[69] could not have taken more than four or five marches. The defile held by Erix may have lain far away from the Indus, and hence been distinct from the difficult route by which Arrian makes Alexander reach the Indus. In this case Curtius has erred in indicating Ecbolima as the immediate goal of Alexander's move after Aornos was taken. However this may be, Curtius' reference to those sixteen marches, if considered together with Arrian's account, shows that Alexander's operations after the taking of Aornos must have been fairly extensive. In this we may well recognize a fresh proof of the importance which was attached by him to the complete subjugation of the Assakênoi.[70] The reason obviously was the need to secure the flank of the main line of communication towards India against interference from the hills northward.

We have now accompanied the great conqueror right up to the starting point for his invasion of India proper, and here we must leave him. Alexander's triumphal progress through the wide plains of the Panjâb has, owing to the fascination exercised at all times by strange distant India, attracted most interest on the part of his historians, ancient as well as modern. But only those who are familiar with the natural difficulties of the territories beyond the present North-West Frontier and with their military history in recent times can fully appreciate the greatness of the obstacles which Alexander's genius as a leader and the extraordinary pluck and toughness of his hardy Macedonians faced and victoriously overcame during their preceding long campaign in those mountains.

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67 'Bibliotheca,' XVII, lxxxvi. 2-3.

68 'Historiæ,' VIII. xii.

69 Cf. Vincent Smith, 'Early History of India, 2, p. 55.

70 Arrian, V. xx. 7, mentions a report which Alexander, while on his way to the Akesines or Chenâb, received from Sisikottos, the Satrap of the Assakênoi, about their subsequent revolt, and records the measures taken by Alexander to quell this.

REMARKS ON THE ANDAMAN ISLANDERS AND THEIR COUNTRY.

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(*Continued from vol. LIV, page 94.*)

V.

Amended Extracts from the Census Report, 1901.

(*a*) *The Andamanese and their Island.*

In vol. LII, p. 151, of this Journal I gave my reasons for publishing here amended extracts from the *Census Report* of 1901 on the Andamans, as additional evidence regarding the Islands and the people inhabiting them. I also stated in the course of my remarks on Mr. A. R. Brown's observations on them why I held that such evidence as is available is still of importance.

I propose to divide the subject into the following heads: (*a*) the Andamanese and their Islands, (*b*) Geography, Meteorology, Geology, and History, (*c*) Ethnography. I propose further to add extracts from Mr. M. V. Portman's *Reports* on (*d*) the first dealings with the Onges in 1886, and (*e*) *Proceedings* in relation to the Jârawas in 1902; both of which were first published as appendices to the *Census Report*[1].

The land occupied by the Andamanese, generally known as the Andaman Islands, or more shortly as the Andamans, consists of the Great Andaman group and the Little Andaman, attached to each of which are a great number of smaller islands and islets. There is also the inhabited North Sentinel at some distance to the west of the general group. The Great Andaman consists of five main islands running from north to south thus:—North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Bâratâng, South Andaman, Rutland Island. All these are dove-tailed into each other by very narrow straits, not so wide as the ordinary rivers of a continent. The Little Andaman is situated at a considerable distance to the south. All round the Great Andaman are islands of every size; to the east is Ritchie's Archipelago and to the west are the Labyrinth Islands. Every single island of the whole group is covered with a hilly jungle, the denseness of which must be seen to be appreciated, and passable only to its indigenous inhabitants. It is therefore impossible without much preparation and expense to traverse the interior of the islands, but happily it is quite easy to move about the deeply indented coasts, containing more harbours and snug anchorages than the whole Indian Peninsula. The length of the Great Andaman group is 156 miles: its average width is 9 to 10 miles and with the outlying islands some 25 miles. Two distant islands, Narcondam and Barren Island, to the east, are also included in the Andaman group, but they are both uninhabited.

At the time of the Census, 1901, the Andamanese, as a race apart, were held to be divided into Twelve Tribes all but one of which, the Jârawas, were friendly and most of them very mixed up with each other. In this mixed condition they were nomads, much given to rapid wandering for food all over the islands composing the Great Andaman, in which the Penal Settlement is situated. The names of the Twelve Tribes from North to South were, in the Bêa Language, Châriâr, Kôra, Tâbô, Yère, Kede, Jûwai, Kôl, Bôjigyâb, Balawa, Bêa, Önge (Little Andaman) and the wild hostile Tribe, Jârawa.

The Tribal divisions of the Andamanese were well-known to the authorities of the Penal Settlement, excepting those of the Kôra and Tâbô, which were discovered during the Census operations. I was present when, in 1900, the Kôra were discovered or, to speak more accurately, differentiated. They had been previously well known, themselves and their encampments, but had been considered to belong to the Châriâr. The discovery as to the true facts —that they were a separate Tribe with a territory and language of their own—so late as 1900 is an example of the difficulty in procuring accurate information from such primitive savages as the Andamanese. It mattered nothing to them that Kôra men and women had

[1] In this part of these remarks I will point Andamanese names and words as they appear in the *Census Report*, and will only mark the long vowels and ă, è, o̥, ö, ó, as peculiar sounds. Further diacritical marks are not necessary.

been to the Home for the Andamanese at Port Blair and had been classed as Châriâr. All they thought of the matter was that the *sâhibs* held them to be Châriâr, but that they and all the Andamanese knew better.

In regard to the Tâbôs in the interior of the North Andaman, whose existence was unsuspected by the authorities until the Census, it was found that they were in the same moribund condition as that which characterised the Andamanese in direct contact with Europeans. As this was a remarkable fact, enquiries were instituted, and the natives' explanation of the cause of the destruction of the Tribe was that they had killed each other off in consequence of the introduction of the contagious disease amongst them by the Châriâr and Kôra Tribes. It is *primâ facie* difficult to believe that a Tribe, however primitive, would actually kill off the sick to such an extent as to wipe itself out in obedience to what appears to have been a custom. But instances are by no means wanting where marriage customs, for instance, have been persisted in by savages long after it must have become clear to the tribesmen whither they were being led.

It was well known at the time of the Census that the Andamanese population, even a generation earlier, had been far more numerous than it was then, and in the generation since the Census of 1901 it has again further diminished greatly. The question of the diminution was carefully gone into at the Census, and the following observations made by myself at the time as to the causes thereof are pertinent to the present purpose :—

I have been acquainted with the Andamanese off and on since 1875, and I was present amongst them in one of the great devastating outbreaks of infectious disease (measles introduced by convicts from Madras) in 1877, and I personally know how much more numerous they were then than now. The one sad result of the Census in 1901 was to demonstrate beyond all doubt, what most local officials suspected and some asserted, that infectious and contagious diseases, the result of contact with an advanced civilisation, are wiping out the Andamanese: at any rate the friendly sections of them. With a population so diminished in one generation and a birth-rate so inadequate as that shown by the Census enquiries, it is obviously impossible, unless the people reach that point of saturation with these diseases which is also the point of immunity and recovery from their effects, for the race to last out much longer. Excluding the Önge-Jârawas, all the other tribes now numbered at the Census, on any reasoned calculation, not more than 700, of which some 250 belonged to one tribe, the Yêre, out of an estimated total 3,500 only a generation before, while the children could not in any case have been much more than 25 per cent. of the adults. On these figures, in two more generations, *i.e.*, in probably less than 60 years from 1901, even if undisturbed and unmolested by the Jârawas ever-increasing in relative strength, the friendly tribes must die out. A century from then must be taken as the extreme limit of a forecast of their existence, unless of course the law of saturation with disease to the point of immunity comes into play in the meanwhile.

It also seems not difficult to foresee that it is possible that in a short time the Great Andaman will be occupied by foreign settlement and that the Jârawas only will survive, with a chance, in the case of their becoming friendly and losing their exclusive bearing, that they too will succumb to a rapid disappearance, through what may be called the natural action of infectious and contagious disease, not necessarily carried to them by the civilised alien, but more probably, as past experience shows, by infected members of the remnants of the " friendly " tribes captured in collisions with them.

There would be nothing new in such a disastrous effect of infectious or contagious disease on savages when introduced among them for the first time. It seems to be a process of nature not to be seriously checked by administrative measures. From the very first instructions of the Marquess Wellesley to Archibald Blair in 1789 to the existing practice in dealing with the Andamanese, there has never been any change in the general policy maintained towards the aborigines of the islands. They have been treated uniformly with kindness and

consideration. From the first recorded hostile brush with them in 1787 to the operations ending with the gallant death of Mr. P. Vaux on 24th February 1902, nothing more has ever been done than was necessary to prevent murderous raiding into the lands under active occupation by ourselves. It is disease introduced by the carelessness and callousness of civilised individuals in the first instance, and spread broadcast amongst the savages by their own ignorance in the next place, that has worn down the actual numbers among the friendly tribes, to one-fifth of the former total in one generation, and has apparently rendered the union of the sexes infructuous in three-fourths of the cases.

The question of the probable population of the Islands before the Andamanese came into close contact with Europeans and Indians resolved itself practically into that of the density per square mile possible, according to the methods employed by the people to gain a living from the soil. The limit of density was put on enquiry and consideration at about two to the square mile, which gave say 5,000 as the highest probable pre-European indigenous population, and the conditions would keep it stationary at that figure for many centuries. At the Census 1901, the estimated Andamanese population was under 2,500 : in 1911 it was 1,317 : in 1921 it was 455.

There is another possible method of gauging the old population in non-contact times. Portman (*History of Our Relations with the Andamanese*, vol. I, p. 17) points out that an estimate of the old population might be arrived at from locating and enumerating the existing kitchen-middens of the Andamanese, on the assumptions that each midden represents the head-quarters of a collection of thirty people, and that apparently each such collection, owing to the habits of the people, would require from four or five such head-quarters. A population of 2,500, the estimated Census (1901) figure given above, would therefore require, say, 800 middens, *i.e.*, there should be a midden to every three square miles of territory.

The kitchen-midden argument works out thus :—(1) the size, fifty feet diameter usually, does not permit more than thirty people to live by or on it : (2) change of headquarters is frequently necessary owing to (*a*) monsoons, (*b*) exhaustion of food supply in the neighbourhood, (*c*) nomadic instincts, (*d*) stench from discarded food thrown around. As a matter of practice, the Andamanese do not return for three months after they have left a midden, nor for about a year after a death at one, and occasionally they abandon a midden for many years, and cannot occupy one for more than a few weeks at a time from the stench about it. These considerations fix four as the smallest number of middens per thirty people, or, say, one to every square mile of territory.

The middens also beyond all doubt prove that the Andamanese are now as they were an exceedingly long time ago. There are but few " newer " middens, and the older ones show great age : newness and age being gauged by height. The antiquity of the old middens is proved by the fossil shells at the base. Now, except that certain shell-fish have been fashionable at one period and certain others at another, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese left to himself finds his food to-day as he did in the days when the now fossilized shells contained food for him. At the base of the middens are found the same refuse and the same pottery as we find shown on the surface to-day. Here then we have a people unaltered in habits from primeval time and whose numbers, if these premises be correct, we should be able to estimate from existing data, as they must have been stationary through all time. The questions on this argument really are therefore :—(1) how many middens are there ? (2) where are they ? These questions it was unfortunately not possible to answer at the time of the Census of 1901, although the answer would either upset the theory or afford an approximate estimate of the old Andamanese population and of the strength of each tribe. I have not heard that any attempt has been made yet to get them answered since 1901.

(*b*) *Geography, Meteorology, Geology and History.*

(i) Geography.

Before entering on an account of the inhabitants of the Andaman Islands, some preliminary remarks are necessary on the geography of the land they inhabit, its meteorology, geology and history.

As regards geography the position and general description of the Islands may be stated as follows: The Andaman Islands, large and small, are said to number 204, and lie in the Bay of Bengal, 590 geographical miles from the Hooghly mouth, 120 miles from Cape Negrais in Burma, the nearest point from the mainland, and about 340 miles from the northern extremity of Sumatra. Between the Adamans and Cape Negrais intervene two small groups, Preparis, and Cocos; between the Andamans and Sumatra intervene the Nicobar Islands, all indicating a submarine range connected with the Aracan Yoma Range of Burma, stretching in a curve, to which the meridian forms a tangent, between Cape Negrais and Sumatra; and though this curved line measures 700 miles, the widest sea space is about 91 miles. The extreme length of the Andaman Group is 219 miles, with an extreme width of 32 miles. The principal outlying islands are the North Sentinel, a dangerous island of about 28 square miles, lying about 18 miles off the west coast of the South Andaman; the remarkable marine volcano, Barren Island, 1,158 feet, quiescent for the last hundred years, 71 miles to the North-East of Port Blair; and the equally curious isolated mountain, the extinct volcano known as Narcondam, rising 2,330 feet out of the sea, 71 miles east of the North Andaman. The land area of the Andaman Islands is taken as 2,508 square miles.

To the west of the Andamans, distant about 18 miles, are the dangerous Western Banks and Dalrymple Bank, rising to within a few fathoms of the surface of the sea and forming, with the two Sentinel Islands, the tops of a line of submarine hills parallel to the Andamans: to the east, some 40 miles distant, is the Invisible Bank with one rock just awash, and 34 miles south-east of Narcondam is a submarine hill rising to 377 fathoms below the surface of the sea. Narcondam, Barren Island, and the Invisible Bank, a great danger of these seas, are in a line almost parallel to the Andamans inclining somewhat towards them. Certain physiological facts have long been held, in combination with phenomena exhibited by the fauna and flora of the respective terminal countries, to point to the former existence of a continuous range of mountains, thought to be sub-ærial, from Cape Negrais in Burma on the north to Achin Head in Sumatra on the south. According to the doubtful authority of Wilford, Hindu legends notice this remarkable range, ascribing it to Rama, who first attempted here to bridge the sea, an enterprise afterwards transferred to the south of India, and accomplished by the hero-god at the more practicable point we call Adam's Bridge.

According also to Portman, the tradition of the South Andaman, or Bojigngiji, group of tribes is that Maia Tomola, the ancestral chief of the nation from which they all sprung, dispersed them after a cataclysm, which caused a subsidence of parts of a great island, divided it up into the present Andaman Islands, and drowned large numbers of the old inhabitants together with many large and fierce beasts that have since disappeared. As a matter of physical geography such a subsidence need not have been more than of 20 fathoms or 120 feet to convert one single island into the present Andaman group. Portman also notes, as tending to show the junction of the Andaman Islands with the mainland, that besides the South Andaman tradition, the people of the Little Andaman have names for animals that do not now exist and they cannot describe. The acceptable evidence on this subject that I have been able to gather goes to show, on the assumption that, except in the case of isolated volcanic peaks, 200 fathoms is the extreme limit of the rising and sinking of land on the earth's surface, that it is possible that there was a time when the whole Andaman group with Preparis and the Cocos formed one continuous hill connected with Cape Negrais, and that this hill was separated by a sea of, say, 400 fathoms deep from the Nicobars considered as one island, and the general Nicobar Island again by a sea of, say, 600 fathoms deep from Sumatra.

The accepted conclusive argument proving the isolation of the Andaman Sea from the connected oceans is that of Carpenter,[2] who showed that the temperature of its great depths involved the existence all round it of submarine hills, the greatest depth of which below sea level could not be more than 750 fathoms. I have been at some trouble to draw

[2] Records of *Geological Survey of India*, vol. XX, 1887.

contours of the depths of this sea from such data as the charts at my disposal afford and it seems to me that they fully support Carpenter's conclusion. The openings into the Andaman Sea from the connected oceans are:—from the Bay of Bengal, the North and South Preparis Channels, the Coco Channel, Duncan Passage, Ten Degrees Channel, and the Great Channel; from the Gulf of Siam, the Straits of Malacca. This last has a bar only a few fathoms deep and clearly isolates the Andaman Sea from the Gulf. The greatest depths in the other channels are as under: North Preparis Channel, 47 fathoms; South Preparis Channel, 150 fathoms; Coco Channel, 36 fathoms; Duncan Passage, 17 fathoms; Ten Degrees Channel, 565 fathoms; Great Channel, 798 fathoms.

On either side the line of the Andamans and Nicobars the sea rapidly deepens to 1,000 fathoms and thence on the west in the Bay of Bengal to over 2,000 fathoms within 60 miles of the Nicobars and probably within 100 miles of the Andamans; and on the east in the Andaman Sea to 2,000 fathoms within 85 miles of the Nicobars and within about 95 miles of the Andamans. The contours thus show beyond doubt the existence of a lofty range of submarine mountains between Cape Negrais and Acheen Head rising from the ocean depths up to 15,000 feet and nowhere less than 6,000 feet on the east, and up to 15,000 feet and nowhere less than 10,000 feet on the west, thus separating the Bay of Bengal from the Andaman Sea. Of this great range 700 miles long, taking 100 fathoms as a base, the continental and island summits are shown in one central line north to south as (1) Cape Negrais (Arakan Yomas) and Preparis Islands, (2) Cocos and Andaman Islands, (3) Nicobar Islands, (4) Acheen Head (Sumatra). The Western Banks, the Sentinel Islands and Dalrymple Bank are lower summits to the west of the central line. According to my contours outlying summits of detached spurs of the central line to the east are Barren Island and the Invisible Bank. They also show that Narcondam and the submarine hill to its south-east are separated from the Central Andaman and Nicobar Range, being summits of outlying spurs of the Yomas attached to Cape Negrais. This last fact supports the old assumption that the dormant Barren Island volcano belongs to the *immediate* Sunda group of volcanoes, while the long extinct Narcondam Volcano belongs to Pegu group, both belonging to the *general* Sunda group.

As the arguments derivable from the submarine contours have not, so far as I know, been hitherto worked out, and as they may be thus of some general interest, I have thought it necessary to deal with them at some length. It must be remembered that much of the ethnographic, as well as the natural history, speculation about both the Andamans and Nicobars depends on the assumed degree of their isolation from the Asiatic Continent.

From a consideration of the ocean contours may be deduced the following facts:—

(1) A narrow ridge runs between Great Nicobar and Acheen Head from ten to two miles wide with just less than 800 fathoms at the greatest depth of water in it.

(2) The Andaman Sea has been sounded to 2,000 fathoms about 84 miles east of Car Nicobar, and the Bay of Bengal to well over 2,000 fathoms 61 miles east of Teressa. In the Andaman Sea the deep water of 2,000 fathoms or more does not run probably further north than 125 miles east of Port Blair. In the Bay of Bengal the deep water of 3,000 fathoms is probably distant about 100 miles west of the Andamans.

(3) Probably the deepest water between the Invisible Bank and the Andamans is under 900 fathoms, the Bank itself being the summit of a long hill running some 90 miles north-north-east to south-south-west directly on to Car Nicobar, the deepest point between it and Car Nicobar being some 900 fathoms.

(4) Probably the deepest water between Barren Island and the Andamans is under 1,000 fathoms, the island being the peak of a hill running some 35 miles north-east to south-west direct on to Rutland Island. The deepest point between it and the Invisible Bank is under 1,100 fathoms.

(5) At 94 miles due east of Stewart Sound is a patch of 377 fathoms, the summit of a submarine hill running apparently west to east some 45 miles. Between this hill and south-west to Barren Island and west to the Andamans are great depths

probably over 1,500 fathoms. Between it eastwards to the Tenasserim Coast the depth is probably something over 1.200 fathoms. Between it and Narcondam 34 miles to the north-west the depth is under 1.000 fathoms.

(6) Narcondam lies due south of Negrais Island, and the 400 fathom contour runs round it and the coasts of the Andamans and Burma. The water between it and the Andamans, 71 miles to west, is deep, probably up to at least 1,200 fathoms. Between it and Barren Island, 74 miles to south-west, the depth is great, probably over 1,500 fathoms. Between it and the hill above mentioned to south-east the depth is under 1,000 fathoms. Between it and Negrais Island the deepest water is 411 fathoms in a hole to north-west, otherwise the depth here is not more than 362 fathoms.

(7) The 100 fathom line runs round all the Andamans, the Cocos and all the Western Banks, the two Sentinels and Dalrymple Bank. It runs also right round the Nicobars.

The main part of the Andaman group is a band of five chief islands, so closely adjoining and overlapping each other, that they have long been known as one, *viz.*, " the Great Andaman." The axis of this band, almost a meridian line, is 156 statute miles long. The five islands are (north to south)—North Andaman, 51 miles long; Middle Andaman, 59 miles; South Andaman, 49 miles; Bâratâng, running parallel to the east of the South Andaman for 17 miles from the Middle Andaman; and Rutland Island. 11 miles long. Four narrow straits part these islands—Austin Strait between North and Middle Andaman; Homfray's Strait between Middle Andaman and Bâratâng and the north extremity of South Andaman; Middle (or Andaman) Strait between Bâratâng and South Andaman; Macpherson's Strait between South Andaman and Rutland Island. Of these only the last is navigable by ocean-going vessels. Attached to the chief islands are, on the extreme north, Landfall Islands, separated by the navigable Cleugh Passage; Interview Island, separated by the very narrow but navigable Interview Passage, off the west coast of the Middle Andaman; the Labyrinth Islands off the south-west coast of the South Andaman, through which is the safe navigable Elphinstone Passage; Ritchie's (or the Andaman) Archipelago off the east coast of the South Andaman and Bâratâng, separated by the wide and safe Diligent Strait and intersected by Kwangtung Strait and the Tadma Jûru (Strait). Little Andaman, roughly 26 miles by 16, forms the southern extremity of the whole group, and lies 31 miles south of Rutland Island across Duncan Passage, in which lie the Cinque and other islands, forming Manner's Strait, the main commercial highway between the Andamans and the Madras Coast. Besides there are a great number of islets lying off the shores of the main islands.

The coasts of the Andamans are deeply indented, giving existence to a number of safe harbours and tidal creeks, which are often surrounded by mangrove swamps. The chief harbours, some of which are very capacious, are, starting northwards from Port Blair, the great harbour of South Andaman :—*East Coast*, Port Meadows, Colebrooke Passage, Elphinstone Harbour (Homfray's Strait), Stewart Sound, Port Cornwallis (the last three are very large); *West Coast*, Temple Sound, Interview Passage, Port Anson or Kwangtung Harbour (large), Port Campbell (large), Port Mouat, Macpherson's Strait. There are, besides, many other safe anchorages about the coasts for sea-going vessels: notably Shoal Bay and Kotara Anchorage in the South Andaman, Cadell Bay and the Turtle Islands in the North Andaman, and Outram Harbour and Kwangtung Strait in the Archipelago.

The islands forming Great Andaman consist of a mass of hills enclosing very narrow valleys, the whole covered by an exceedingly dense tropical jungle. The hills rise, especially on the east coast, to a considerable elevation; the chief heights being, in the North Andaman, Saddle Peak, 2,402 feet; in the Middle Andaman, Mount Diavolo behind Cuthbert Bay, 1,678 feet; in the South Andaman, Koiob, 1,505 feet, and Mount Harriet, 1,193 feet, the Cholunga range, 1,063 feet; in Rutland Island, Ford's Peak, 1,422 feet. Little Andaman, with the exception of the extreme north, is practically flat. There are no rivers and few perennial streams in the islands.

The scenery of the islands is everywhere strikingly beautiful and varied, and the coral beds of the more secluded bays in its harbours are conspicuous for their exquisite assortment of colour. The scenery of the harbours has been compared to that of Killarney by Professor V. Ball, and no doubt they do recall the English Lakes. One view of Port Blair Harbour is strongly reminiscent of Derwentwater as seen from the Keswick end.

The whole of the Andamans and the outlying islands were completely surveyed topographically by the Indian Survey Department under Colonel J. R. Hobday in 1883—6, and a number of maps on the scale of two miles to the inch were produced, which give an accurate coast line everywhere and astonishingly correct contours of the inland hills, considering the difficulties presented by the denseness of the forests with which they are covered. For Port Blair and neighbourhood a series of maps on the scale of four inches to the mile were made. The exact latitude and longitude of Chatham Island in Port Blair Harbour were determined astronomically by Mr. Nicholson of the Great Trigonometrical Survey in 1861 : latitude 11° 41′ 13″ N.; longitude 92° 42′ 44″ E. The marine surveys of the Andamans date back many years, and one can go back to the days of Ritchie (1771) and of Blair and Moorsom (1788—96) for partial charts which are still usable. Brooker's surveys of 1867 added much knowledge about Port Blair, but the serious dangers of the western coral banks were not removed by surveys till 1888-9 under Commander A. Carpenter, when a great advance in the charts generally was made. His general chart was that in use at the Census (1901), corrected by subsequent surveys up to 1899. The coasts on the whole are fairly well charted, but some most necessary work still remains to be done before a voyage round these dangerous coral-bound coasts can be said to be free from anxiety. It is, however, worth noting that the long standing notice on charts that "the dangers of the coast of the North Andaman have not been surveyed" has been at last removed, and that the Coco Channel has been made safe for ships.

(ii) Meteorology.

The Meteorology of the Andaman Islands is of more than local value, and owing to the great importance of the information to be obtained there as to the direction and intensity of cyclonic storms and as to weather prognostications generally as regards the eastern and northern portions of India, a well appointed meteorological station has been established at Port Blair on Ross Island since 1868.

Two very serious considerations for commerce are involved here : *viz.*, timely and reliable warnings of storms in the Bay of Bengal and reliable weather forecasts. Accuracy in storm warnings and weather forecasts depends on the establishment of a number of meteorological reporting stations all over a given area of sea and land. It is therefore not sufficient for accurate warnings and forecasts to have meteorological stations round the Bay ; they must be also established, if practicable, within it. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands can provide a number of such stations right across the Bay from north to south.

The great importance to commerce of weather forecasts brought about repeated attempts to connect the Andaman Islands with the continent by telegraph, as otherwise the meteorological observations have merely a scientific value, being received in India too late for practical purposes. In 1867 a serious attempt at a cable to Port Blair failed owing to the initial and maintenance costs involved and also the hilly nature of the sea-bottom about the islands. After 1900 the question was reopened, and a connection of the islands with India by wireless telegraphy established.

Speaking generally, the climate of the islands may be described as normal for tropical islands of similar latitude. Warm always, but tempered by pleasant sea breezes: very hot when the sun is northing : irregular rainfall, but usually dry during the north-east monsoon and very wet during the south-west : exposed to both monsoons and subject to violent weather with excessive rainfall, but to cyclones rarely, though within the influence of practically every cyclone that blows in the Bay of Bengal, hence the value of the islands from a

meteorological point of view. Up to the Census, cyclones had been recorded in the Bay in every month except February, and heavy rain has fallen throughout the year ; but cyclones are unusual except from May to November the early part of November being the most likely season for them ; and much rain is not usual from December to May.

Accounts and records show that cyclonic storms struck Port Cornwallis in December 1792, the Archipelago in November 1844, and Port Blair in 1864 and November 1891. There are also abundant signs of a destructive storm between Stewart Sound and Port Cornwallis in 1893. The great storms of 1891 and 1893 travelled across the islands in a north-westerly direction, creating havoc on both East and West Coasts. There is a full and valuable record of the disastrous storm of 1891 (*Cyclone Memoirs*, No. V., Government of India, 1893).

The rainfall varies much from year to year and to an extraordinary degree at places quite near each other, and unfortunately the official meteorological station on Ross Island (up to 1901) was situated in by far the driest spot in Port Blair. At this station the rainfall varied in 31 years, 1871-1901, from 83·28 inches in 1900 to 137·67 inches in 1882. In that period there were 2 years of less than 90 inches rainfall : 4 years under 100 inches : 11 years under 110 inches : 21 under 120 inches : 28 under 130 inches : 3 over 130 inches. On these figures the average rainfall can be taken as 115 inches, a figure exactly reached in 1883, and of the rest of the 31 years under observation, in exactly 15 years more, and in exactly 15 years less, than 115 inches of rainfall were registered. So 115 inches may be taken as the average annual rainfall at the Port Blair official meteorological station. At the time of the Census there were 7 rain-gauges maintained in the Penal Settlement round Port Blair, then occupying about 80 square miles, which may be described as follows :—

Central Station (Official) South Ross from which—

North Ross is distant directly			½	miles	North	Height	150 ft.
Mount Harriet	,,	,,	3⅞	,,	North-West	,,	1,200 ft.
Goplâkabang	,,	,,	7¾	,,	North-West	,,	sea level.
Viper	,,	,,	5	,,	West-South-West	,,	150 ft.
Anikhet	,,	,,	5¾	,,	West-North-West	,,	100 ft.
Navy Bay	,,	,,	2¾	,,	South-West-West	,,	200 ft.

Of these the wettest was Navy Bay, and the order of wetness to the driest was as follows :—Navy Bay, Anikhêt, Viper. Goplâkabang, Mt. Harriet, North Ross, South Ross. How greatly the rainfall at these stations varied from that on Ross Island from year to year at the same station and from each other can be seen from the following table :—

——	1895.	1896.	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.
North Ross	133·34	108·73	128·52	116·89	78·63	83·50	121·37
South Ross	125·64	107·28	136·41	127·22	87·01	83·28	132·59
Anikhêt	194·97	155·19	205·52	165·08	112·55	131·69	187·58
Goplâkabang	158·86	145·10	184·92	151·70	122·88	115·48	153·56
Mount Harriett	154·66	117·08	166·62	148·14	88·95	93·40	115·89
Navy Bay	199·17	162·11	212·75	179·73	138·78	144·18	205·54
Viper Island	166·65	131·50	169·14	140·60	102·57	106·08	166·27
Mean of all stations ..	156·37	132·42	171·98	147·05	104·46	108·23	148·06

The accompanying sketch map[3] of part of the Settlement shows the relative situation of the rain-gauges, and is interesting as an indication of how damp air currents, in this case from the South-West and North-East, can be affected by greatly varying elevations in hilly regions.

[3] The maps will appear in a subsequent issue.

Calm weather can be counted on in February to April and in October. Fogs and chilly night winds are common in January to March in the valleys and inner harbours and also after excessive rains. Off-shore breezes at night and on-shore breezes in the day are most marked during calm weather, due to the differences in temperature of sea and land. March and April are often hazy. The barometer normally varies but little between 29·873° and 29·722° Fahr., being highest in February and lowest in June.

The temperature is highest in March, April and May, and lowest in December, January and February. It may be said to rain all the year round: that is, always in most months of the year, sometimes during every month, and on an average every other day of the year, which is to say that there are on an average 188 days in the year on which some rain falls. The driest months are January, February and March and the wettest July, August and September, but very heavy rain may fall in May and June. As much as 25 to 40 inches of rain may fall in a month, and in the 'wet' parts of the Islands much more.

This climate is, however, really due to the facts that the Andamans are situated between 10 and 14 degrees North in the open sea (Bay of Bengal), and are therefore subject to both the South-West and North-East Monsoons (really the W. S. W. and N. N. E.). The former blows during May, June, July, August, and September (5 months) and the latter during November, December, January, February and March (5 months), the months of change being April and October.

A tidal observatory with self-registering gauge was established on Ross Island (Port Blair Harbour) in 1889 (lat. 11° 41′ N.; long. 22° 45′ E.), which gives a mean range of greatest ordinary spring tides of 6·6 ft. The highest high-water and the lowest low-water are 8·0 ft. above and 0·8 ft. below datum level (Indian low spring water-mark, at Port Blair 3·53 ft. below mean sea-level.) The apparent time of high water at the full and change of moon is 9 h. 36 m. At various parts of the great harbour of Port Blair the actual times for the tides depend on wind, strength of current and distance from the open sea. The average variation in time of high tides at the several points is from 18 m. to 57 m. later than at Ross Island, and in height it is from 20 inches less to 17 inches more than at Ross. Wind and current will at these points effect time by as much as 29 m. either way. No doubt the same thing happens in the many other harbours and creeks in these mountainous islands, a fact of much consequence in every-day life, where communications are maintained along the shores by boat.

(III) GEOLOGY.

There has been no complete geological survey of the Andamans, but expeditions by experts have been officially undertaken to make preliminary examinations of the Islands. These examinations have been carried on under the greatest difficulties of every kind, not the least being the dense and lofty forests with which the entire Islands are covered. Judging by the report of such expeditions, the submarine ridges forming them contain much that is geologically characteristic of the Arakan Yomas and formations common also to the Nicobars, to the islands off Sumatra and to Sumatra itself. The older rocks characteristic also in the same form of the Nias Islands on the West Coast of Sumatra are probably early tertiary or possibly late cretaceous, but there are no fossils to indicate age. The newer rocks common to the Nicobars and Sumatra are in Ritchie's Archipelago chiefly and contain radiolarians and foraminifera. There is coral along the coasts everywhere and the Sentinel Islands are composed of the newer rocks with a superstructure of coral, but no atoll is known in the vicinity of the Islands. There is a good deal of serpentine rock, also some jasper, chromite, and copper and iron pyrites, and small pockets of coal. About Port Blair a firm grey sandstone identifiable with the Negrais rocks occurs with interbedded slaty shales, and not infrequently nests of coaly matter and occasionally of conglomerate and pale grey limestones. This

sandstone is the characteristic rock of the neighbourhood and is generally, if not always, non-calcareous. In the Archipelago and over a large area in the Andamans, the islands are formed of soft limestones made of coral and shell sand, soft calcareous sandstones and soft white clays, with occasionally a band of conglomerate. Green and red jaspery beds, similar to those of Manipur and Burma and the Nicobars are found, which may belong to the same series as the sandstones and shales. On Entry Island in Port Meadows are beds of probably volcanic origin, perhaps later than the Port Blair sandstones. Intrusive rocks of the serpentine series and a scoriaceous rock resembling lava occur in the Cinque Islands, Rutland Island, and in spots on the South and Middle Andamans. Hard breccias of volcanic origin are found at Namûnaghar in the Penal Settlement and yield an excellent building stone. Good red clay for bricks is found abundantly in pockets. Lime of the best quality is obtained from old coral, but a workable limestone exists in limited quantities. A pretty reddish building marble is also found. Red ochre (*koioh*) is found in considerable quantities in pockets and used, when mixed with *garjan* oil, as an excellent covering for shingled roofs. Mica in probably workable quantities has been found about Navy Bay Hill in Port Blair Harbour.

A theory of a still continuing subsidence of the islands was first formed by Kurz (*Vegetation of the Andamans; Govt. Report*, 1890) on his investigation of the vegetation in 1866 and was confirmed by Oldham in his *Report on the Geology of the Andamans* of 1884, though with some reluctance owing to the fact that the Arakan Coast to the north and the Nicobars show signs of recent elevation. The subsidence seems to be of recent origin, and signs of its continuance, most markedly on the East Coast, are to be found at several places :—Port Mouat, Ranguchâng on the East Coast of the South Andaman near Port Blair, Outram Harbour and Havelock Island in the Archipelago, the northern ends of the Little Andaman, the North Sentinel, and the North Andaman. The extremely interesting islands of Narcondam and Barren Island are volcanoes of the general Sunda group, the extinct volcano of Narcondam belonging apparently to what is known as the Pegu group and the quiescent Barren Island to the Sunda group proper. Barren Island was last in eruption in 1803, but there is still a thin column of steam from a sulphur bed at the top and a variable hot spring at the point where the last outburst of lava flowed into the sea, showing a temperature of 107° Fahr. at the end of the 19th century.

Although the Andamans lie along, or at any rate are close to, a recognised subterranean line of weakness, earthquakes of great violence have not so far, in the short time of British occupation, been recorded. Recorded dates of earthquakes are August, 1868; February, 1880; and then shocks at times till December 31st, 1881: February, 1882; August, 1883; July, 1886; July, 1894; October, 1899. The sound of the great seismic disturbance in the Straits of Sunda on August 26, 1883, was heard at Port Blair at 9 P.M. of that day and the extra tidal waves caused thereby were felt at 7 A.M. on the 27th. The great Assam Earthquake of 1897 was not felt at all. It is possible that the reason for the Andamans escaping violent earthquakes, while the Nicobars are subject to them, is that they are just off the line of greatest weakness, which may run from Sumatra through Great and Car Nicobar, Barren Island, Narcondam to the Arakan Yoma.

The marine fauna of the Andamans is of unusual interest and a projected aquarium on Ross Island would have proved of great scientific value had it been carried out. On examination the marine life goes to show what other physiological facts have proved—the close connection of the Islands with both Burma and Sumatra and the distant alliance with the Indian Peninsula. The land fauna, in several particulars, shows that the Andamans are closely allied zoologically with their neighbours, Arakan and Burma.

The economic zoology of the islands has been thus summarised by Major A. R. S. Anderson I. M. S., Principal Medical Officer of the Islands at the time of the Census. "The coral reefs and dead shells afford an immense field for obtaining a very fine quality of lime, which

has for many years past been used in the Andamans in building operations. Sea cucumbers or trepang are collected, dried and exported to the Chinese market. Wax and honey are obtainable in fairly large quantities in the forests; the honey is, however, of rather poor quality. Cuttle bones in large numbers can easily be picked up all round the islands wherever there is a sloping shore. Ornamental shells can be obtained with great ease in the rocky pools, reefs and shallow waters. Edible oysters are very plentiful. Pearls and mother-of-pearl oysters are occasionally obtained, but no systematic search for these valuable products has ever been instituted. The edible turtle and tortoise-shell turtle are plentiful. The former are sparingly exported and the shell of the latter is collected and exported. Edible birds'-nests of the finest quality are found in many of the caves in both groups of Islands. They are exported to the Chinese market."

The existing sea shells have been extensively collected by local European residents for many years past, but there does not appear to be anything specially distinctive about them, and the various species have been incorporated into the general standard works on conchology. The presence of *scalaria preciosa* and of *argonauta argo* is noteworthy. But the land shells are more distinctive in their nature, and seem to corroborate the evidence procurable from the flora and the fauna of the Islands. They have received a good deal of attention both from scientific expeditions and from local collectors. There was a well appointed expedition fitted out by the Danish Government in 1846 in the frigate *Galathea*, in which the zoologist, Reinhardt, first paid much attention to the mollusca. The conclusion apparently to be drawn from such knowledge as has been accumulated is, on the high authority of Godwin-Austen (*Journal of the Zoological Society*, 1895), that there is a distinct and close relationship in the past shown' with Burma and Arakan by many closely allied species, and equally marked is the paucity of forms having an alliance with Peninsular India. On the other hand, some species are common to these islands and to Sumatra and Java.

A section of the general Forest Department of India has been established in the Andamans since 1883 and, in the neighbourhood of Port Blair, 156 square miles had been formally set apart by 1901 for regular forest operations. The timber available for economic purposes is both plentiful and various, but naturally not much of it is used economically by the Andamanese. The trees chiefly used as timber by them for their own purposes are mangrove, padouk, *Melochia velutina*, some of the *Sterculiaceæ*, *Bombax insigne*, *Areca Pandanus*, bamboo, *Anadendron paniculatum*. They also gather and eat the fruit of a great variety of trees and use the leaves of the following for medicinal purposes :—*Trigonostemon longifolius*, *Alpinia*, species. The great mangrove swamps supply unlimited firewood of the best quality even for Europeans.

Both Kurz and Prain have written elaborately on the imported flora of the Andamans, and among the intentionally introduced plants and trees may be mentioned tea (*Camellia theifera*), Liberian coffee (*Coffea liberica*), Cocoa (*Theobroma Cacao*), Ceará rubber (*Manihot Glaziovii*) which did not do well, Manilla hemp (*Musa textilis*), besides a number of shade and ornamental trees, fruit trees especially of the anti-scorbutic kinds, vegetables, and garden plants.

Generally speaking, the forests are filled with evergreen trees, covered all over with climbers, but patches of deciduous forest occur, sometimes over large tracts, conspicuous in the dry season when the leaves are off the trees. The huge buttressing of several species is a peculiar feature, and so is the growth of the forest in certain parts in belts, dependent apparently on the soil below : *e.g.*, the tracts of the bamboo (*Bambusa schizostachyoides*) which almost exclusively occupy the indurated chloritic rock. Aborescent *euphorbias*, screw-pines (*Pandanus odoratissimus*), and large cycads give on the coasts a remarkable appearance to the forests. Several palms are commonly seen, though the cocoanut is not indigenous. The general character of the forests is Burmese, with an admixture of Malay types. In the cleared

places about Port Blair the grazing appears to be abundant, but is not really so, owing to the action of two destructive weeds : the needle bearing grass (*Avena fatua*). which is pretty but not edible by any kind of food animal, and being of a stronger growth than ordinary grazing grass supplants it wherever it is not rigorously kept down : and the sensitive plant (*Mimosa pudica*), an imported nuisance. which rapidly covers all open and low lying places and is edible only by goats.

(IV) HISTORY.

Having thus rapidly described the physical conditions under which the Andamanese live I now pass to a very brief consideration of the place of the Islands in general history.

The existence of the islands now known as the Andamans has, owing to the ancient course of trade, been reported from quite early times, though which of Ptolemy's island names ought properly to be attached to them may still be regarded as a moot point. Gerini, in his ingenious paper, *Notes on the Early Geography of Indo-China*. (*J.R.A.S.* 1897, p. 551ff) gives Bazakata for the Great Andaman, Khalinê for the Little Andaman, Maniola for Car Nicobar, and Agathou Daimonos for Great Nicobar. In the mediaeval Latin editions of Ptolemy a remark somewhat as follows often appears opposite Bazakata : "*cuius incolæ vocantur Aginnatæ qui nudi semper degere feruntur, in hac conchæ sunt multæ.*" While it is on Maniola that the people are called *anthropophagi*. Even if one is inclined to accept this plausible theory, it is nevertheless, as will be seen from what follows, probable that Yule is right in his conjecture that Ptolemy's *Agathou daimonos nêsos* preserves a misunderstanding, as perhaps does also the contemporary Aginnatæ (with its later corruptions, Allegate, Alegada, on maps) for its inhabitants, of some sailors' term near to the modern Andaman. The old error that Ptolemy's maps were drawn by Agathodaemon, the grammarian of the 5th Century, A.D., is repeated in Portman's *History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, 1899, p. 50 and elsewhere.

Little Andaman, as a name, has a curious and obscure history on the old maps. In some of them we find Isle d'Andemaon (and Andaman) and also Isle de Maon (and Man), as if "Andaman" was the Great Andaman and "Man" the Little Andaman. Then in maps we have Chitre Adaman 1595, 1642 : Chique Andemaon 1710 : Cite Andemaon 1710, 1726, and Crita I. 1720 obviously corrupted out of Chitre, Chique and Cite. I have seen also Cite d'Andaman responsible for a town or city in the Andamans. And it is just possible that Chique Andemaon is responsible for the modern Cinque Islands between Great and Little Andaman, which are not five but obviously two islands. Cheaty Andaman survived till 1858. Little Andaman, in its modern form, does not appear till the maps of Blair in 1790 odd.

The Chinese and Japanese knew the Islands respectively as Yeng-t'o-mang and Andaban in the first millenium A.D. (*vide* Takakasu's Edition of I-tsing pp. xxx and xxviii ff) which clearly represent the Andaman of the *Arab Relations* of 851 A.D. Then comes Marco Polo with his Arabic dual form Angamanain in 1292. After which we have Nicolo Conti (*c*. 1430) with Andamania, and after him almost every eastern traveller and map-maker with some form of "Andaman." All these terms seem obviously to be based on the Malay name for the islands, as the Malays of the Peninsula have, for many centuries, used the islands for their piratical practices and for a trade in Andamanese slaves to their own country and Siam (this up to about 1860), and have known them by the term Handumân, which most likely preserves the very ancient Hanumân (monkey, *scil*. savage aboriginal antagonist of the Aryans) so well-known to the Indian Epics and carried down to the Malays in story and translations.

In the great Tanjore inscription of 1050 A.D. the Andamans are mentioned under a translated name along with the Nicobars, as Timaittivu, "Islands of Impurity" and as the abode of cannibals. In the Chinese *History of the T'ang Dynasty* (618-906 A.D.) they are called the land of the Râkshasas, and the Andamanese are to-day regarded as Râkshasas (or ogres, *i.e.*, traditional savage antagonists of the Aryans) by the Natives of India on being first seen, and were so called at once when they appeared in the streets on a visit to Calcutta

in 1883. As the abode of the Râkshasas the Andamans were also known to the Southern Indians in mediæval times, and this persistence in regarding the Andamanese as the Râkshasas or their descendants confirms the ancient derivation of "Andaman" as a name from Hanumân through Malay Handumân. The Andamanese have returned the compliment and know all Orientals as Chauga or ancestral ghosts, *i.e.*, demons, and have preserved an ancient knowledge of them in a term for trepang or sea-slug as the "Oriental's slug," the collection of this valuable edible and of the equally valuable birds'-nests being one object of the visit of the Malays, Burmese and Chinese in days gone by, in addition to trapping slaves, which last practice no doubt had something to do with the savage hostility of the Andamanese towards all who landed on their shores.

The notices of the Islands by the old travellers are continuous, and they regularly appear in some shape or other on all maps from the "Ptolemies" of the 15th-16th Century onwards, till we reach the middle of the 18th Century, when the East India Company's and Royal Naval commanders and surveyors began to make accurate reports of parts of the coasts in charts preserved for us in the works of the indefatigable Dalrymple. Owing to the piracies and ill-treatment of shipwrecked and distressed crews, the Company under Lord Cornwallis commissioned the great surveyor Archibald Blair in 1788 to start a Settlement on the ordinary lines, to which convicts were afterwards sent as labourers. Blair, with the acuteness he shows in all his work, fixed upon the harbour he called Port Cornwallis, but now known as Port Blair, for the Settlement and began his labours there in 1789. The Settlement flourished under him at that spot, but was removed in 1792 for strategical reasons to the present Port Cornwallis, where it gradually perished miserably in 1796 from the effects of a bad, unhealthy site and want of experience of the climate. Here it was under Major Kyd. Blair's and Kyd's *Reports* have all been preserved in the *Bengal Consultations* and are published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vols. xxviii *et seq.*

Thereafter notices of the Andamans are not numerous, but they must have occupied Government attention, for a formal *résumé* of information was officially drawn up in 1802. In 1824 the fleet formed for the attack on Burma made its rendezvous at Port Cornwallis. In 1825 J. E. Alexander, *Travels from India to England*, gives an interesting account of a landing at the Little Andaman. In 1836, Malcom, the missionary, notices the Andamans in his *Travels in Southern Asia*. In 1839, Dr. Helfer, the geologist, was murdered north of Port Cornwallis. In 1844 the transports *Briton* and *Runnymede*, from Sydney and Gravesend, respectively, were wrecked together on the Archipelago in a cyclone on 12th November. They contained detachments of the 10th, 50th and 80th Regiments, and the full record of the occurrence that has been left affords a fine example of pluck, endurance and resource in a great emergency. In 1850, a Mr. Quigley from Moulmein wrote a misleading and mischievous account of a visit to Interview Island. There is preserved an interesting account of the wreck of the *Emily* in 1849 off the West Coast and of the subsequent efforts to assist the crew. On this occasion the second mate was murdered by the aborigines, and there are records at this period of other murders dating before 1848 and continuing on till 1856 These led to the second occupation of the Islands, a step which was hastened by the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857. This event threw a large number of mutineers, deserters and rebels on the hands of the Government, with whom it was difficult to deal, and in November of that year it was finally decided to send them to the Andamans to start the Settlement. The Government sent the "Andaman Committee" to make a preliminary exploration, with Dr. Mouat as president, and this Committee, in a *Report* remarkable for its common sense, fixed upon Port Blair as the site of the Settlement. Upon this report and an equally able report by Captain Hopkinson, Commissioner of Arakan in 1856, the great experiment in treating convicts was commenced, one of the last acts of the East India Court of Directors being the formal confirmation of the Indian Government's proceedings. In 1872 the Andamans and Nicobars were formed into a

Chief Commissionership, and in that year occurred the one event of general importance that has made the Andamans well known: the murder of Lord Mayo, Viceroy of India, by a convict while on a visit of inspection to the settlement for the welfare of whose convict population he had worked so sympathetically.

(c) *Ethnography.*

In dealing with the outlines of the ethnography of the Andaman Islands, I shall follow the *Census Report* and consider the people from the point of view of (*i*) race, (*ii*) physical and (*iii*) mental characteristics, (*iv*) habits and customs, (*v*) art. Many of my observations will be found to differ from those in Mr. A. R. Brown's *Andaman Islanders*.

(*i*) **THE RACE.**

The Andaman Islands, so near to countries that have for ages attained a considerable civilisation and have been the seat of important empires, and close to the track of a great commerce which has gone on for at least 2,000 years, continue to our day the abode of savages as low in civilisation as almost any known upon earth, though close observation of them discloses the immense distance between them and the highest of the brute beasts in mental development, one most notable fact being that they eat nothing raw, cooking all their food, however slightly, and making pots for the purpose, and this from time immemorial.

As to what general variety of the existing human beings the Andamanese belong, it can be clearly predicated of them that their various tribes belong to one people, speaking varieties of one fundamental language, and that they are Negritos. Many theories have been advanced as to their affinities: the most credible being that they are connected with the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Philippines, and the silliest, though not the least persistent, that they are descendants of shipwrecked cargoes of African slaves. On the whole the safest thing to say about them is that they are probably the relics of a bygone Negrito race, now represented by themselves, the Semangs, and the Aetas, that in very ancient times occupied the south-eastern portion of the Asiatic continent and its outlying islands before the irruptions of the oldest of the peoples, whose existence or traces can now be found there. In this view the Andamanese are of extreme interest as preserving owing to an indefinite number of centuries of complete isolation in their persons and customs the last pure remnant of the oldest kind of man in existence. The possibility of their representing the archaic type of the Negrito and the consequent extreme ethnological interest they arouse was long since pointed out by Sir W. Flower (*Pigmy Races of Men*, Royal Institution, Feb. 13th, 1888).

It is to be noted, however, that Professor Owen considered them to be not connected on anatomical grounds with the people of any existing continent. In view of that opinion it will be of interest here to state the points of agreement and difference between the Andamanese and the Semangs, a wild race which is found in Northern Perak, Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, and Northern Pahang in the Malay Peninsula. They have come considerably under outside influence and especially under that of the wavy-haired (Sakai) and the long-haired (Jakun, wild Malay) tribes of the Peninsula and even of the civilised Malays themselves.

Points of Agreement of Semangs with Andamanese.

Hair: In colour and growth.

Height: Men 57 to 58 inches, women, 53½ to 54½ inches.

Skin: In texture and colour.

Shape of head: Mesaticephalic and brachycephalic.

Eyes: In colour and shape.

Food: In its nature and elaborate preparation.

Huts: In leaf shelters; with the Önge-Jarawas, in communal huts, though not so good.

Funerals: In ceremonies and probable former disinterment of bones.

Belief: In the bridge to Paradise.

Bows: With the Önge-Jarawas only.

Points of Difference between Semangs and Andamanese.

Face : In the great variation of the Andamanese face.
Implements : In the blow-gun and *poisoned* arrows and spears.
Hunting : In trapping game.
Feeding : Men before women.
Quivers : In having reed quivers ; Andamanese stick their arrows in the waist belt.
Ornamentation : In quality and artistic merit.
Ornaments : In personal ornaments, and in piercing the nose.
Huts : In rock-shelters cave dwellings, tree huts, barricaded huts.
Clothing : Of hammered barks ; loin-cloth for men, petticoat for women.
Magic : In its practice and in use of magical designs.
Music : In nose-pipe and bamboo castanets.
Songs : In their nature.
Marriage : Based on purchase, and in ceremonies.
Beliefs : In Shamanism, metamorphism into tigers of living men, in ideas as to "God."
Language : In its mixture with Malay and Mon ; basis can be proved *perhaps* to be (? Önge-Jarawa) Andamanese, though the specimens I have seen afford very little hope of this.

Also a portion of the Semangs have fixed habitations and a rude agriculture, this latter capacity being entirely absent in the Andamanese.

The antiquity of the Andamanese on their present site is proved by their kitchen-middens, rising from 12 to 15 feet and more in height, some having fossilised shells at the base. As has been already noted, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese gets his food at the present time just as he did in the days when the now fossil shells contained living organisms.

The largest and traditionally the oldest, the original, home of the race by a consensus of Andamanese opinion and worth scientific exploration (any other to be greatly deprecated), is the kitchen-midden of Wota-Emi on Bâratâng in Elphinstone Harbour on the east coast of the South Andaman.

In reference to the kitchen-middens it is worth noting that all Andamanese tradition commences with the cataclysm accompanied by a subsidence of a large portion of the surface of their old country already noticed, and the people point to certain ancient kitchen-middens, such as that at Port Mouat, on the sea level to prove it. They say that these were commenced by the survivors of the cataclysm and that the sites were previously high up on the mountain sides, where no one could build a kitchen-midden.

I-tsing, the Chinese Buddhist monk, in 672 A.D. (Takakasu's Ed. p. xxx) mixed up in his account of his travels the Andamanese with the Nicobarese, and describes them thus :— "The men are entirely naked, while the women veil their person with some leaves. If the merchants in joke offer them their clothes, they wave their hands (to tell that) they do not use them."

But the earliest distinct notice of the Andamanese is in that remarkable collection of early Arab notes on India and China (851 A.D.), which was translated by Eus. Renaudot and again in our own time by M. Reinaud. It accurately represents the view entertained of this people by mariners down to our own time. "The inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful * * * they go naked and have no boats. If they had they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are wind-bound and have exhausted their provision of water touch here and apply to the natives for it. In such cases the crews sometimes fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

This traditional charge of cannibalism still persists, though it is now, and almost certainly has always been, entirely untrue. Of the massacre of shipwrecked crews up till quite recent times there is no doubt : but the policy of conciliation, which has been unremittingly pursued for the last forty years before 1901, has made the coasts quite safe for the shipwrecked, except at points where the Jàrawas touch the coast and the wilder Önges reside,—the south and west of Little Andaman, the North Sentinel Island, south of Rutland Island and Hut Bay on its western coast, Port Campbell and some few miles to the north of it on the west coast of the South Andaman. Everywhere else shipwrecked mariners would find the people not only friendly and helpful, but likely to give notice to Port Blair at once of their predicament. The charge of cannibalism seems to have arisen from three observations of the old mariners. The Andamanese attacked and murdered without provocation every stranger they could on his landing : they burnt his body (as they did in fact that of every enemy) : and they had weird all-night dances round fires. Combine these three observations with the unprovoked murder of one of themselves and the fear aroused by such occurrences in a far land in ignorant mariners' minds, century after century, and a persistent charge of cannibalism is almost certain to be the result

The tribe occupying the shores of the Harbour of Port Blair and its islands at the British occupation in 1858 was, in its own tongue, the Akà-Beâ-da, which became extinct in 1920. Its language was the first to be studied and its customs the first to be ascertained. It may still, however, be called the tribe that is the best known and understood.

Every tribe has its own name for itself and its neighbour , and it is therefore necessary for the present purpose to adopt one set of names only throughout, the set most convenient is naturally that of the Akà-Bêa-da. In this language *âkà* is a prefix, with small variations, to nearly all tribal names and *da* is a suffix used with almost every isolated noun. For the sake of brevity I shall, as throughout the *Census Report*, discard both these affixes and use the roots only of tribal names. But it must be understood that in actual speech an Akà-Bêa would, in answering such a question as " what is your tribe ? ", reply " Akà-Bêa-da : " and in using his tribal name in the course of a sentence he would say " Akà-Bêa." In this way the full and abbreviated forms of the Andamanese Tribes as named by the Akà-Bêa Tribe are as under :—

The Andamanese Tribal Names according to the Akà-Beâ Language.

Full.	Abbreviated.
Akà-Châriâr-(da)	Châriâr.
Akà-Kôra-(da)	Kôra.
Akà-Tâbô (da)	Tâbô.
Akà-Yère (da) (also Akà-Jàro-da)	Yère.
Okô-Jûwai-(da)	Jûwai.
Akà-Kôl-(da)	Kôl.
Akà-Bôjigyâb-(da)	Bôjigyâb.
Akà-Balawa-(da)	Balawa.
Akà-Bêa-(da)	Bêa.
Önge	Önge.
Jàrawa-(da)	Jàrawa.

Below is given a table of the names given to themselves and each other by the five South Andaman Tribes or Bôjigngîji Group, traditionally sprung from one tribe. It brings out the following facts :—in each language of the Group the prefixes and suffixes differ much and the roots remain practically the same throughout for the same sense. These facts strongly indicate one fundamental tongue for this group of languages.

Table of the names for themselves and each other used by the five South Andaman tribes or Bôjigngîjî group.

Sense.	Tribe.	Bêa.	Balawa.	Bôjigyâb.	Jûwai.	Kôl.
Fresh-water .	*Bêa*	..Akà-Bêa-da.	Akat-Bêa	..Ô-Bêa-da	..Ôko-Bêye-lekîle.	Ô-Bêa-che.
Opposite-side	*Balawa*	..Akà-Bala-wa-da.	Akat-Bâle	..Ô-Pôle-da	..Ôko-Pole-lekîle.	Ô-Pole-che.
Speak the language.	*Bôjigyâb*	..Akà-Bôji-gyâb-da.	Akat-Bô-jigyuâbnga.	Ô-Pûchik-wâr-da.	Ôko-Pûchi-kyâr-lekîle.	Ô-Pûchik-wâr-che.
Patterns cut on bows.	*Jûwai*	..Akà-Jûwai-da.	Akat-Jûwai	.Ô-Jûwai-da.	Ôko-Jûwai lekîle.	Ô-Jûwai-che.
Bitter or salt taste.	*Kôl*	..Akà-Kôl-da.	Akat-Kôl	..Ô-Kôl-da	..Ôko-Kôl-lekîle.	Ô-Kôl-che.

So too Yère, Jèru or Jàro for the Akâ-Yère Tribe means a (sort of) " canoe " in all the languages and Önge means " a man " in its own language.

An Andamanese individual, as the people themselves recognise, belongs to a family, which belongs to a sept, which belongs to a tribe, which belongs to a group of tribes or division of the race. The first two of these, without being specifically named, are recognised; the last two have specific names.

The Census proved the existence of twelve tribes of the Andamanese, each with its clearly defined locality or rather " run," with its own language, and to a certain extent its own separate habits. The tribes are from north to south : Châriâr, Kôra, Tâbô, Yère, Kede, Jûwai, Kôl, Bôjigyâb, Balawa, Bêa, on the Great Andaman. The Önge-Jàrawa occupies, with its Jàrawa division, the interior of the South Andaman, the North Sentinel, and parts of Rutland Island ; with its Önge division parts of Rutland Island and the Little Andaman. In the Archipelago is the Balawa tribe. Portman in his *History* divides the Andamanese into twelve tribes, necessarily omitting the Kôra and Tâbô, but dividing the Jàrawas into three tribes according as they inhabit South Andaman, Rutland Island, and the North Sentinel. It is to that painstaking and accurate observer, Mr. E. H. Man, that we are indebted for the true differentiation of the tribes.

In their present depopulated condition the friendly tribes have amalgamated, as so many savages have done before them elsewhere in other parts of the world in similar circumstances. Thus, though the Kôra, Tâbô and Yère still in 1901 kept more aloof than the rest in the jungles of the North Andaman, the whole of the remainder are thoroughly mixed up at the Home and practically throughout the Great Andaman and the Archipelago. This is a matter of the generation now passing away, and I well recollect about 1876, though the Bôjigyâb were then known to us, the " coming in " of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Châriâr from the extreme north, and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics : the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated : Northern or Yèrewa Group, Châriâr, Kôra, Tâbô, Yère, Kede ; Southern or Bôjigngìjì Group, Bêa, Balawa, Bôjigyâb, Jûwai, Kôl : Outer Group, Önge-Jàrawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

(1) *Tattooing.*—Bôjigngîjî: women are the tattooers, cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yèrewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads; short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Önge-Jàrawa; no tattooing.

(2) *Hair.*—Bôjigngîjî: partial to complete shaving of head. Yèrewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Önge-Jàrawas; head closely cropped to a mop. Önge-Jàrawa women are not shaved.

(3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bôjigngîjî women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front; Yèrewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Önge-Jàrawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bôjigngîjî women are most particular as to clothing: Yèrewa women careless. Jàrawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bôjigngîjîs and Yèrewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Önge-Jàrawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Önge-Jàrawas wear no bone ornaments.

(4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bôjigngîjî and Yèrewas, slight: Önge-Jàrawas delicate and elaborate.

(5) *Pots.*—Bôjigngîjîs, pots with rounded bottom: Önge-Jàrawas and Yèrewas with pointed bottom.

(6) *Implements.*—Bôjigngîjîs and Yèrewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Önge-Jàrawas, often delicate and neat.

(7) *Baskets.*—Bôjigngîjîs and Yêrewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Önge-Jàrawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

(8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bôjigngîjî, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yèrewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Önge-Jàrawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes; long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.[4] Önge-Jàrawas and Yèrewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bôjigngîjîs and Yèrewas: none among the Önge-Jàrawas.

(11) *Canoes.*—Bôjigngîjî and Yèrewa, same pattern canoe; Önge-Jàrawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bôjigngîjî has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

(12) *Huts.*—Bôjigngîjîs and Yèrewas have temporary huts. Önge-Jàrawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

(13) *Dancing.*—Bôjigngîjîs and Yèrawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Önge-Jàrawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees; also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

(14) *Beds.*—Jàrawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Önges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

(15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Önges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryôto or long-shore men, and the Eremtâga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tâbô, Jûwai, Kôl, and the

4 As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

South Andaman Jàrawas, are entirely Eremtâga, while the Balawa, the Châriâr, and the Jàrawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryôto. The Aryôto holds himself to be better than the Eremtâga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them, and an Aryôto will marry or adopt an Eremtâga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryôto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jàrawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Önges have them and so have the Jàrawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jàrawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And in 1902 it was ascertained that the young men, brought up at the Dûratâng (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening, could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every twenty miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

The tribal feeling is expressed as follows : friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group : hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryôto and Eremtâga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child, and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

The Andamanese are bad fighters and never attack unless certain of success. During hostilities they never take any precautions as to their own safety by sentries, works, armour, or ruses of any kind, nor in the attack beyond taking advantage of cover. The only ideas of protection yet met with are among the Jàrawas, who use trunk-armour consisting of a wide belt of bark and well devised sentry stations on the paths round their permanent communal huts.

The Jàrawas and some Önges kill every stranger at sight, but the Jàrawas only are in these days (1901) entirely hostile, and on the whole the Önges are friendly, the friendliness dating from the capture and subsequent judicious treatment of 24 men, women and children on the Cinque Islands in January 1885. The only positively dangerous people are thus the Jàrawas, and this is to be accounted for in this way. The ancient (as proved by old separate kitchen-middens) incursion from the Little Andaman through Rutland Island of that section of the Önge tribe, which is now known as the Jàrawas, into the South Andaman set up an implacable tribal hostility between them and the Bêas, its other occupants, which has been extended to the foreign settlers in Port Blair, and has nowadays become an undying distrust of all strangers and an hereditary hostility towards them.

Colebrooke, however, reporting in 1790, gives a vocabulary of a people, now identified with the Önge-Jàrawa tribe by its speech, and as theories have been built up on this fact, it is as well to see carefully when and where Colebrooke met the natives and who they were. He (*Asiatick Researches*, 1794) left Diamond Island (Cape Negrais) on December 20th, 1789, and reached Port Cornwallis (*now* Port Blair) on December 23rd. On the 24th he went up the harbour and saw some natives (Jàrawa Tribe) on Dundas Point. On the 26th he went up the harbour with Commodore Cornwallis (brother of the Governor-General), accompanied by a native who had been wounded in a skirmish with his tribe, found to be very hostile by the people of the snow *Viper*, and was kept on board the *Ranger*, Cornwallis's ship. He is described as " very cheerful and quite reconciled to his captivity." They went up the Bumlitân Creek as far as Bumlitân and met another native (Jàrawa) who ran away. They dined (lunched) on " Mount Pleasant," a hill on the harbour near Viper Island, and met another Jàrawa who exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife. On the 27th the wounded native, who had been on the *Ranger* three weeks, was put ashore by the Commodore, who uniformly treated the savages with extreme consideration. On the 28th they met the Jàrawa on Dundas Point whom they had seen before, with a woman and a girl and found him again friendly. On the 29th there was trouble with the Bêa Tribe at Phœnix Bay and with the Jàrawas at Ariel Creek.

Colebrooke then went to the Nicobars and returned to Port Blair on February 20th, 1790, starting up north on 21st February. On the 23rd March at Port Meadows he saw some of the Bêa Tribe leaving Entrance Island and saw some more hostile Bêas, whom the party frightened off, coming from the North. On the 26th he went to the Archipelago, and met some hostile Balawas. On the 27th he went into Colebrooke Passage and saw some Bôjigyâb huts and some more of the tribe, who ran away in Elphinstone Harbour on the 29th. On the 30th they met some hostile Kôls in the east entrance to Homfray's Strait and some more on the 31st off the north end of Long Island. On the 3rd and 4th April they found the Yère Tribe in Stewart Sound extremely hostile. On the 6th Blair himself met some Kôras at the foot of Saddle Peak, who ran away. On the 7th Blair discovered the present Port Cornwallis and Colebrooke left for India.

It is clear from this that the only native from whom Colebrooke could have procured his *Vocabulary* was the wounded man on the *Ranger* and that man, as the *Vocabulary* shows, was a Jàrawa. The tribes of all sorts—Jàrawa, Bêa, Bôjigyâb, Balawa, Kôl, Yère, Kôra, whom Colebrooke met, except in the case of one Jàrawa and his family, exhibited either extreme fear or hostility. The first word in Colebrooke's *Vocabulary*, the first ever made of any Andaman tongue, is Mincopie for " Andaman Island or native country," whence Mincopie has become a persistent book-name for the Andamanese. It has been a great puzzle to scientific men, though it has now to be identified with "Möngebe, I am (an) Önge,"[5] which was perhaps pronounced, or at any rate sounded in Colebrooke's ear, as " Minggobie." His informant in using it, apparently meant to explain that he was an Önge, or as the Jàrawas seem to pronounce the name, an Inggo.

The distribution of the Tribes at the time of the Census about the Islands may now be explained thus with the help of the accompanying maps.

I. The Northern or Yèrewa Groups.

(1) The Chârîâr : islands off the northern coasts of the North Andaman.

(2) The Kôra : the coasts of the northern half of the North Andaman.

(3) The Tâbô : the interior of the North Andaman.

(4) The Yère : the coasts of the southern half of the North Andaman, except the extreme south-west corner.

(5) The Kede : two-thirds of the Middle Andaman, the extreme south-west corner of the North Andaman, and adjacent islands and Interview Island.

[5] See *ante*, vol. LII, p. 155.

II. The Southern or Bôjignîjî Group.

(6) The Jûwai : a wedge of the Middle Andaman, towards the south of it on the west coast.

(7) The Kôl : a wedge of the Middle Andaman to the east of the Jûwai, towards the south-east with adjacent islands.

(8) The Bôjigyâb : south-west corner of the Middle Andaman, Bâratâng coasts and the adjacent islands.

(9) The Balawa : Ritchie's (or Andaman) Archipelago.

(10) The Bêa : coasts of the northern half of the South Andaman : the outskirts of the Penal Settlement, the Labyrinth Islands and the coasts of Rutland Island except to the south.

III. The Outer or Önge-Jàrawa Group.

(11) The Önges : Little Andaman and the islands in Duncan Passage.

(12) The Jàrawas : the North Sentinel Island, a spot on the west coast of the South Andaman and interior of the northern half of the South Andaman to Bâratâng and across to the interior of Bâratâng.

The following table gives the actual distribution of the Tribes by encampments as found at the Census :—

Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands in 1901.

Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese Name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.
East Island	Tàu-kàt	Chàriàr [6]	The following islands off the north and north-west coast of North Andaman, *viz.* :—East Island, Landfall Island, West Island, Whitecliff Island, Thornhill Island, Reef Island, Paget Island, Point Island and Sugar-loaf Island.
Landfall Island	Têbi-chîroh	,,	
Cleugh Passage	Làu-chîroh		
West Island	Tàu-râ-mîku		
Thornhill Island	Tar-bôlo		
Whitecliff Island	Kareng-mêo		
Reef Island	Bâ-pong		
Paget Island	Tanmo-tàt		
Paget Island (encampment on)	Kâra-bôronga		
Point Island	Mâra-bâlo		
Sugar-loaf Island	Châ-ôlo		
Temple Sound	Tarâ to lo-chîroh		
Cape Price	Pâro-jûe	Kôra	From bay opposite Craggy Island (east coast of North Andaman) to Cape Price and thence along the north and west coast to the north side of Casuarina Bay, together with all the islands off the coast except Craggy Island and those constituting the territory of the Châriâr tribe.
Pocock Island	Kòi-cho	,,	
Cadell Bay	Kôto-par	,,	
Excelsior Island	Tàu-râ-mîku	,,	
Port Cornwallis	Tôlobu-tòng		
Do. (Ross Island at mouth of)	Po-chumbo (also Bo-pung)		
Chatham Island (Port Cornwallis)	Têbi-chiro		
Trilby Island	Cho-â-pông		
Encampment on NE. of N. Andaman near Reef Island.	Tì-kô-dung		
Island encampment between Port Cornwallis and Temple Sound	Bôl-pôli		The interior is occupied by the Tâbô tribe.
Craggy Island	Ròth		

6 The Coco Islands are known to this tribe by the name Dik-i-raichené.

Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese Name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.
Casuarina Bay	Kârate-tàt-chìro	Yère	*E. Coast.* From shore opposite Craggy Island in North Andaman to Stream situated between Cooke Point and Kinserley Point in Middle Andaman, together with the islands of the coast including Craggy Island.
Snark (? Shark) Island	Chîro-mêo	,,	
Casuarina Bay (encampment on N. side of)	Tôrop-tot-chêto	,,	
South extremity of Lamia Bay	Rengo-to-tîa	,,	
Point between Yulik and Lamia Bay	Ko-po	,,	
Do. north of Tara-lait	Yulik	,,	
Eileen Bay	Pârô		*W. Coast.* From North side of Casuarina Bay in North Andaman to Mâramîka-bôliu in the sameisl and, together with the islands of the coast.
Cadell Point, north of	Tâ-burongo		
Do. (Territory within a radius of few miles of).	Mêo-pong	,,	
Do. Point (Bay W. of)	Chaka-mit-kòito	,,	
Camp Bay	Lau-tîche	,,	
Wreck Point	Chôlop-râ	,,	[This tribe has the Kôra tribal territory on its north side and the Kede on the south with the Tâbô in the interior.]
Dot Island	Anâto	,,	
Kwangtung Island	Karâne-têo	,,	
Pembroke Bay	Tàu-kàt-chîro	,,	
Encampment at SW. of Pembroke Bay	Ina-ta-râ-jôle	,,	
Latouche Island	Âr-kôl	,,	
N. Reef Island	Têbi-chîro	,,	
Saddle Peak	Pâroto-mîku	,,	
Do. (Adjacent hill on N. side of)	Jîre-mîku	,,	
Stewart Island	Miriti-râ-pong	,,	
Sound Island	Tàul'ar-mîku	,,	
Austin Strait	Pôròng-chîro	,,	
Do. (encampment at E. end of)	Tâu-chàu	,,	
Brown Point	Iltomata	,,	
Bacon Bay	Târa-chîro	,,	
Aves Island (also Berkeley group)	Tàkla	,,	
Casuarina Bay (encampment on S. side of)	Chàubalo-râ-chêto.	,,	
Interview Island	Tàu-tara-mîku, also Tî-tara-mîka, or in Bêa dialect, Tàu-l'ar-mûgu	Kede	*E. Coast.* From southern border of the Yère territory (Middle Andaman) to Emej-l'âr-tet. (Middle Andaman).
Sea Serpent Island	Târa-belo	,,	
Do. (Island adjacent to)	Tâla-bucho	,,	
Boudeville Island	Jara-bôroîn	,,	
Bennett Island	Chûrul-tong	,,	*W. Coast.* From Mara-mika-boliu (North Andaman) to stream opposite NE. point of Flat Island (Middle Andaman) with all islands from Interview to Flat Island inclusive (as shown on map).
Anderson Island	Tôro-tarâ-chôu	,,	
South Reef Island	Ti-pu-tâ	,,	
Encampment on south extremity of Interview Island opposite Reef Island	Renge-l'un-tô	,,	
Tuft Island	Buruin	,,	
Hump Island	Lurwa	,,	
Flat Island	Têba-chîra	,,	

Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese Name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.
Island between Middle Andaman and Long Island	Pôr-lob	Kôl	*E. Coast.* From Emej-l'âr-
Long Island	Maî-î-tâng	,,	tet to Homfray Strait
Do. (Encampment on)	Îga-tông-tâ	,,	with intervening islands
Encampment in Yot jig	Burka-chong	,,	(as shown in chart).
Do. Boroīn-jig	Pili-orônga	,,	
Guitar Island	Tôli-tâle	,,	
Kwangtung Harbour (Encampment on N. side of)	Môt-kûnu	Bojigyâb.	N. side of Homfray Strait with Bâratâng
Encampment on N. side of Homfray Strait	Tôli-chôrat	,,	and the islands bordering the east and west coasts of that island. [Jàrawas have occupied
Site of ancient kitchen-midden near NE. point of Bâratâng opposite North Passage Island	Wòt-a-emi	,,	the interior of Bâratâng at intervals.]
Large island between Homfray Strait and Middle Strait.	Bâratâng	,,	
North Passage Island	Toba-êrema	,,	
Colebrooke Island	Pich-l'âka-châkan	,,	
Do. (Encampment near NW. point of)	Tàra-chûlnga	,,	
Do. (Encampment in S. Bay of)	Pâr-l'on-tâ	,,	
Do. Passage (Encampment near S. end of)	Ôropa-chûlnga	,,	
Strait Island	Gereng kaicha	,,	
Diligent Strait	Boroīn-jûru	,,	
Homfray Strait	Châra-jûru	,,	
Andaman (or Middle) Strait	Godam-jûru	,,	
Barren Island	Taili-châpa	,,	
Narcondam	Châto-l'ig-bang	,,	
Duncan (or Entry) Island	Kaichawa	Bêa	The whole of South Andaman and Rutland Island
Islet at mouth of Luru-jîg inlet	Châr-tot-kaicha	,,	except where occupied
Kwangtung Harbour	Karang-tông-tâchîra	,,	by Jàrawas (*vide* map) also the Laby-
Do. (Encampment near W. mouth of)	Lekerâ-l'on-tâ	,,	rinth Island, Spike Is-
Kyd Island	Dura-tâng	,,	land and S.-W. corner
Port Campbell	Kuro-pòng	,,	of Middle Andaman, as shown in map.
Do. Mouat	Gerengl'âka-châ-ti-jûru	,,	
Rutland Island	Tôko-pàt (Bêa) Gatin-a-Kwe-(Ònge)	,,	
North Button Island	Chàuga-l'on-jīng	Balawa	The Archipelago and the
Middle Button ,,	Kaicha-wa	,,	three Button Islands.
South Button ,,	Âga-l'ot-baraij	,,	
Outram Island	Târ-mûgu	,,	
Henry Lawrence Island	Chârka-êrema	,,	
John Lawrence Island	Parkit-êrema	,	
East (or Inglis) Island	Jila-êrema	,,	
Wilson Island	Bôroīn-êrema	,,	
Nicholson Island	Kaichawa-êrema	,,	

Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese Name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.
Havelock Island	.. Pûluga-l'âr-mû-gu-êrema.	Balawa	..
Sir W. Peel Island	.. Tâ-êrema ..	.. ,,	..
Neill Island ..	.. Teb-jûru ..	.. ,,	..
Sir Hugh Rose Island	.. Kòichowa-bar	.. ,,	..
North Sentinel ..	.. Pâtâng ..	.. Jàrawa	.. North Sentinel and the interior of the northern half of South Andaman and Bâratâng and Rutland Island, as shown in map.
Little Andaman	.. Wilima-târa (Bêa) Gwâbe-l'önge (Önge).	Önge	... Little Andaman and the islands between that island and Rutland, also South Sentinel.
Bumila Creek (north of Little Andaman).	Kawâte-nyâbo (Önge).		..
South Brother ..	.. Gwaicha-nâkwe (Önge).		..
North Brother ..	.. Tê-ta-lê (Önge) ..		..
Sister Island (small)	.. Badgi-l'ar-râm (Bêa) Ta-joma-da (Önge).		..
Do. (large)	.. Pâtla-châng (Bêa) Ga-ta-kwâte (Önge).		..
Passage Island ..	.. Alaba-châng (Bêa) Chôgoda (Önge).		..
Cinque Island (North)	.. Jêr-tîa (Bêa) Gwalu (Önge).		..
Do. (South)	.. Jêrtîa (Bêa) Ga-ta-kwe (Önge).		..
South Sentinel ..	.. Yâdi-l'ig-bâng (Bêa) Inâng-go-gwe (Önge).		..

Before parting with the question of the distribution of the Andamanese Tribes at the time of the Census, it will be of interest to give the following list of places visited by the Census parties for the purpose of enumeration, and of the places where they found Andamanese actually living :—

List of Places visited by the Census Party.

English Name.	Andamanese Name.
Kyd Island	Dura-táng.
Colebrooke Island S. Bay	Pâr-l'on-tâ.
,, ,, N. Coast	Târa-chûlnga.
Havelock Island	Pûluga-l'âr-mûgu-êrema.
,, on N. W. Coast of	Pûlu-l'untâ.
,, Strait between Sir W. Peel and John Lawrence Islands.	Tadma Jûru.
	Parkit-êrema.

List of Places Visited by the Census Party—*contd.*

English Name.	Andamanese Name.
Kwangtung Strait	Gereng-lêbar.
Outram Harbour	Târ-mûgu.
Bacon Bay	Târa-chiro.
Stewart Sound	Miriti-râ-pong.
Austin Strait	Pôrong-chîro.
Camp Bay	Làu-tíche.
Cadell Point (W. Bay)	Chaka-mit-koito.
,, ,, (N. Bay)	Tâ-burongo.
Lámia Bay, S. extremity of	Rengo-to-tía.
Port Cornwallis	Tõlobu-tong.
,, ,, Chatham Island	Tébi-chíro.
Turtle Island	Koto-par.
Cadell Bay	Tébi-chíroh.
Landfall Island	Tàu-râ-míku.
West Island	Kareng-méo.
Whitecliff Island	Tar-bôro.
Thornhill Island	Bâ-pong.
Reef Island	Tí-kô-dung.
,, ,, N. E. Encampment	Taumo-tàt.
Paget	Kárate-tàt-chíro.
Casuarina Bay	Tôrop-tot-chéto.
,, ,, N. E. Encampment	Tébi-chíro.
North Reef Island	Ina-ta-râ-jóle.
Pembroke Bay W. Coast	Renge-l'un-tô.
Interview Island S. Encampment	Karang-to'ng-tâ-chira. Lékerâ-l'on-tá.
Kwangtung Harbour	Kuro-pòng.
Port Campbell	Târa-châng.
,, Mouat, "Home" at	Gereng-l-âkachâti-jûru.
Cinque Island	Jertía.
Little Andaman	Wilima-târa.

It may well be asked how could the actual facts as to number and distribution by locality, sex, age, tribe and so on, as disclosed in the Census, be arrived at even approximately in the case of a population in so low a state of civilisation as the Andamanese? The answer is that, besides the usual methods of domiciliary visits, the following method of interesting the people themselves in the matter and utilising them was adopted with success. It was found that several of the civilised Andamanese of the Home for them in the Penal Settlement took an active interest in the proceedings and a great deal of trouble in going into places where Europeans could not follow; at Port Cornwallis traversing the jungles from the east to the west coast. One or two were of the greatest assistance. Of the people met with on the tours of the Census officers none showed the least objection to delivering up the names of their relatives and friends and their probable abode at the time, *i.e.*, so far as their treacherous memories and innate mental carelessness and haziness permitted. They could of course never give us numbers, as the wild untrained Andamanese cannot count at all, nor does his language include numbers.

A plan was tried, for checking names ascertained and numbers assumed for the people of the interior not seen by the Census parties, of giving coloured beads to an intelligent man, Bôya *alias* Snowball, and using these for enumeration thus. He was a Chàriâr, the tribe of the extreme north, and at the end of the first tour he was started up the east coast above Homfray's Strait to traverse the interior of the Middle Andaman and North Andaman and note every person he met, who had not been seen during the tours, by means of the beads. There were four distinct colours of beads, and each colour was shown him, respectively for

men, women, boys and girls. These beads were in one bag, and he had an empty one also; and he was to transfer from the full to the empty bag a bead, colour by colour, for each person he met. After a little practising he was sent off, and as he had been a long while at the Home and took an absorbing personal interest in the Census, much was hoped from the plan and the parties were not disappointed.

It will be understood that the actual enumeration proceedings with the people were as informal as possible, and they were humoured in every practicable way. Thus they were fed with what they consider luxuries,—rice, sugar, biscuits, tea, tobacco, pipes and so on. Archery matches, games, fish-shooting (with arrows), pig-hunting, photographing, anything they fancied were got up on the spur of the moment, and the Census tour necessarily took the form of a tour of amusement and sport; but in the midst of the fun the Census officer was ever present with his note-book and his apparently casual questions. Although the procedure enabled the officers to collect all the information procurable from a wild but friendly and happy population on the points required, it had one drawback. Canoe loads of Andamanese would follow from anchorage to anchorage, knowing from experience where the parties were likely to stop, and quite innocently give the same names again and again to the Census enquirers. A sifting of the notes and recognition of faces, however, prevented any practical harm accruing from this source.

The aged, the sick, those engaged in pig-hunting in the interior (a matter of great practical importance as well as of sport to the Andamanese) were not seen—nor were any children except those who could accompany their parents. In the case of the absent adults it is likely that most of the names were delivered up, but it is probable that a good many children in the North Andaman at any rate, and especially of the "new" Tribes, were not enumerated.

Since the establishment of the Penal Settlement in 1858, an Andamanese Home has been created in Port Blair for the use of the aborigines, and several attempts have been made to civilize some of them and to bring up the children to a Christian education. These attempts have met with no reasonable success, the "civilized" returning to their original savagery at the first opportunity, the children deserting the schools and except in an instance here and there, retaining nothing of their early education in after life. The use of the Home at the time of the Census was that of a free asylum to which every Andamanese that liked was admitted. He might stay as long as he pleased and go when it suited him. While there he was housed, fed and taken care of, and for the sick there was a good and properly maintained hospital. From the Home, too, were taken such little necessaries and luxuries as the people desired to friends at a distance, and during the many tours taken round the coasts by the officials similar presents were made. In return, the Andamanese of the Home were employed to help in catching runaway convicts, in collecting edible birds' nests and trepang and other natural produce, and in making "Andamanese curios," from which a small income was derived for the Home and expended on it. But the inmates never succeeded in acquiring any true idea of money for themselves, and all their savings had to be administered for them. It was indeed against local rules to give them money, as it was at once spent in intoxicants. The general policy, in short, was to leave them alone and to do what was possible in the conditions to ameliorate their lives. The administrative objects gained by establishing friendly relations with the tribes were the cessation of the former and much too frequent number of shipwrecked crews, the external peace of the Settlement, and the creation of a jungle police to prevent escapes of convicts, and the recapture of runaways.

In the days of Blair and Kyd, 1789—1796, the tribes showed themselves to be practically uniformly hostile, despite the conspicuous consideration these early officials exhibited, and they remained continuously so after the commencement of the re-establishment of the Settlement in 1858, attacking the working parties of convicts, just as the Jàrawas do still, for iron and articles suitable to them, and robbing the gardens started for food supplies.

These practices had to be repressed by force, and efforts towards friendly relations had to be postponed until respect for the settlers was established. The procedure officially then adopted and carried out with such success in the end by Messrs. Corbyn, Homfray, Man, Godwin-Austen, and Portman in succession, was the simple one of providing the Home and visiting the people in their own haunts, as opportunity arose, with suitable presents.

Jàrawa raids on the Penal Settlement have been continuous since 1872, when they were first differentiated. In the thirty years between that date and the Census they attacked convicts, usually at their work, on 20 occasions and friendly Andamanese Camps on 12 occasions. In these attacks 27 convicts and 4 friendly Andamanese were killed; 7 convicts, 2 police constables, and 5 friendly Andamanese were wounded. In counter-expeditions and searches for the raiders 3 Jàrawas were killed, 9 wounded, and 20 captured. Of the captured, 18 were released in a short time and 2 died in captivity. It will thus be seen that the hostility of the tribe is towards all strangers, including their own people, and that the policy of capture, kindness in captivity, and release with presents had not up to the Census borne any good fruit whatever. This is a very different story to that of their almost equally wild congeners, the Önges.

An abstract of the Jàrawa raids is given in the following table:—

Jarawa Raids.

1872. Convicts robbed of tools and clothes between Aberdeen and McPherson's Strait.

1875. Four convicts killed on Kyd Island. [One convict killed and 2 captured (all runaways) at Lêkerajôinga by the Bêas for stealing their canoe].

1878. Attack on Brigade Creek Andamanese Home; 1 man killed.

1880. Camp of friendly Andamanese attacked at Port Campbell.

1882. Andamanese skirmish with Jàrawas at Goplâkabang, but friendly signs at Kâlatâng.

1883. Five converts killed at Ranguchâng; 1 Jàrawa woman captured.

884. A police constable wounded at Mai-îlitilek; 1 Jàrawa killed, 2 captured (1 wounded). Bird's nest boat attacked at Ranguchâng; 4 Jàrawa women, 1 man (Habîyo) captured and released. Jàrawa huts found in the Jàrawa Khârî (Creek) Valley.

1885. Two convicts murdered at Ograbaraij; 2 Jàrawa women captured and released.

1887. Andamanese camps at Chànal (north-west corner of South Andaman) attacked; 1 boy wounded.

1888. One convict killed and 1 escaped at Tusonabad, and 1 killed at Muttra; 1 runaway killed; convict boat attacked at Tytler's Ghat in Port Mouat.

1889. Andamanese camp at Port Mouat attacked; 1 man wounded.

1890. Andamanese camp at Port Campbell attacked; 1 man wounded. One Jàrawa child captured. Andamanese attacked at Môtkûnu in the Middle Strait. Three convicts attacked at Cadellganj; 1 killed, 1 wounded. Two Jàrawas killed at Tâlaluntâ.

1891. One convict wounded at Bindraban.

1892. Andamanese camp at Bâjajâg attacked; 1 girl killed.

1893. Andamanese camp near Homfray's Strait attacked; 1 man killed, 1 wounded.

1894. An Andamanese, turtle hunting, was killed at Port Mouat.

1895. Two convicts killed at Cadellganj. Two Rutland Island Jàrawas captured and released.

1896. One Jàrawa wounded by an Andamanese at Bluff Island (Port Anson). Attack on Andamanese camp at Goplâkabang. Jàrawa communal hut discovered at Constance Bay.

1897. One convict killed at Târachâng Home. Jàrawa village found at Tôrabî Hill, Port Campbell; 3 Jàrawas and 1 woman wounded. Three convicts at Cadellganj wounded.

1898. Ration boat in Shoal Bay attacked at Jîrkatâng; 1 convict and 1 police constable wounded.

1899. Jîrkatâng temporary convict barrack attacked; 2 convicts wounded; 1 Jàrawa wounded; 1 friendly Andamanese wounded.

1901. Three convicts killed; 2 wounded at Cadellganj and Jâtâng.

1902. Two convicts killed at Jâtâng; 1 Jàrawa child captured at Tâlaluntâ and 2 women, 2 children and 2 boys captured at Wîbtâng; Mr. Vaux killed at Wîbtâng.

(ii) Physical Characteristics.

The physical characteristics of the Andamanese have been considerably studied by Mr. M. V. Portman and Major W. S. Molesworth, and as their work has never been published, the following account thereof may serve to draw attention to it. It is to be found in 15 volumes, copies of which are deposited at the India Office, the Home Department Library in Calcutta, and the British Museum. Volumes 10, 11, 14 and 15 contain anthropometric measurements, and medical details of 200 Andamanese: thus—volume 10 of 50 South Andaman males, volume 11 of 50 South Andaman females, volume 14 of 50 North Andaman males, and volume 15 of 50 North Andaman females. The remaining volumes are platinotype photographs of Andamanese with explanatory letterpress. Volumes 1 and 2 typical heads: volume 3, heads, full face and profile: volume 4, adze and bow-making: volumes 5 and 6, bow and arrow-making: volume, 7, rope-making and hut-building: volume 8, eating and drinking, packing and carrying bundles, utensils, attitudes, torch-making; greeting: volume 9, painting, tattooing, counting: volume 12, full length, full face and profile, view of males: volume 13, of females.

The following table summarises the results of this elaborate enquiry for general information:—

Andamanese Averages.

	Height in inches.	Temperature Fahr.	Pulse beats per minute.	Respiration per minute.	Weight in lbs.
Men	58½	99°	82	19	96 lbs. 10 oz.
Women	54	99°·5	93	16	87 lbs.

From this table and also from a long series of round and length bodily measurements it can be said that the relative physical qualities of the sexes of the adult Andamanese do not vary greatly, except that the women are generally somewhat smaller and physically weaker than the men.

In addition to Portman's and Molesworth's measurements there are those taken by Man about (1875) of 48 men and 41 women, which give the following average results of much interest:

Average weight of 40, and body and limb measurements of 48, Andamanese males.

1.	Weight	98·12 lbs.
2.	Height	58·73 inches.
3.	Size round head	21·00 ,,
4.	,, .. neck	12·30 ,,
5.	,, ,, chest	27·94 ,,
6.	,, ,, waist	27·08 ,,
7.	,, ,, buttocks	31·98 ,,

8.	Size round thigh	18·36 inches.
9.	,, ,, calf	12·09 ,,
10.	,, ,, ankle	7·19 ,,
11.	,, ,, biceps	10·60 ,,
12.	,, ,, arm	9·59 ,,
13.	,, ,, forearm	9·05 ,,
14.	,, ,, wrist	5·53 ,,
15.	Length of spine	17·44 ,,
16.	,, of arm and hand	24·64 ,,
17.	,, from shoulder to elbow	12·47 ,,
18.	,, from shoulder to wrist	21·98 ,,
19.	,, from ankle to knee	15·65 ,,
20.	,, from ankle to hip	30·66 ,,
21.	,, of foot	9·29 ,,

Average weight of 37, *and average body and limb measurements of* 41. *Andamanese females.*

1.	Weight	94·08 lbs.
2.	Height	55·40 inches.
3.	Size round head	19·96 ,,
4.	,, ,, neck	10·86 ,,
5.	,, ,, chest	28·84 ,,
6.	,, ,, waist	27·23 ,,
7.	,, ,, buttocks	33·82 ,,
8.	,, ,, thigh	19·33 ,,
9.	,, ,, calf	11·88 ,,
10.	,, ,, ankle	7·14 ,,
11.	,, ,, biceps	9·96 ,,
12.	,, ,, arm	9·50 ,,
13.	,, ,, forearm	8·41 ,,
14.	,, ,, wrist	5·35 ,,
15.	Length of spine	16·58 ,,
16.	,, of arm and hand	25·53 ,,
17.	,, from shoulder to elbow	11·80 ,,
18.	,, from shoulder to wrist	20·80 ,,
19.	,, from ankle to knee	15·06 ,,
20.	,, from ankle to hip	30·32 ,,
21.	,, of foot	8·29 ,,

The high bodily temperature may be an indication of the low vitality characteristic of the race. The cause is obscure, unless it is to be traced to their largely carbonaceous diet or to saturation with malaria producing a condition of masked fever. It has been observed that they do not feel themselves to be otherwise than quite well when the temperature is over 100° Fahr., and that that condition does not affect their appearance or actions.

In view of the experiments made in European countries and the United States as to the relative breathing of the sexes, it is of interest that the breathing of both sexes among the Andamanese is abdominal or upper abdominal, the women showing scarcely any indication of their breathing, though the men show it well. In the healthy younger Andamanese the breath is sweet and there is no distinctive smell from the body when clean, though they perspire freely. The older people with decayed teeth and tissues, have foul-smelling breath and bodies, partly due to a mild form of scurvy, caused by absence of vegetable food at certain times of the year.

The Andamanese male matures at about 15, attains full growth at about 18, and marries at about 26. He begins to " age " at about 40, and lives on to about 60 to 65 if he reaches

"old age." Except as to marriage at an earlier age, about 18, these figures apply fairly to the women also, who, however, live somewhat longer than the men, retaining in old age both health and mental faculties. The marriages are now infructuous, though barrenness is uncommon, a couple rarely producing families of even moderate size and many none at all. The child-bearing age is from 16 to 35; weaning is much delayed.

Left to themselves the Andamanese go stark naked and with head uncovered, except that the women wear, as clothing and not ornament, one or more leaves in front and a bunch of leaves tied round the waist behind, or a tassel of leaves all round. Jàrawas, however, of both sexes have been seen entirely naked. They dislike and fear cold, but not heat, though they avoid exposure to the sun; and being accustomed to gratify every sensation as it arises, they endure thirst, hunger, want of sleep, fatigue and bodily discomfort badly. Want of sleep, such as occurs at their dances for occasionally as much as four days and nights, exhausts them greatly. A man's load is 40 lbs. and his distance 15 miles for a day or two only. After that he will rest, whatever the urgency.

The food consists of fish, pork, turtle, iguana, "wild cat" (*paradoxurus sp.*), shell-fish, turtle eggs, certain larvæ, and a great variety of fruit, seeds, roots, and honey, and is plentiful both by sea and land. They never starve, though they are habitually heavy eaters. The food is always cooked and commonly eaten very hot. As much as possible of an animal is eaten, and the Andamanese, like most hunters, have found out the dietary value of tripe. The Andamanese are expert cooks and adept at preparing delicacies from parts of animals and fish.

The skin, which is smooth, greasy and satiny, varies in colour from an intense sheeny black to a reddish brown on the unexposed parts and also on the collar bones, cheeks and other prominences of the body. Its general appearance has been likened to a "black-leaded stove." The scalp, the lips and nostrils are black, and there are black patches on the palate. The soles of the feet are brownish yellow. The Bôjigngîjî Group (South Andaman) are the darkest, and among the Önges parts of the face are a light reddish-brown. The Jàrawas are distinctly fairer than the rest, the general colour being a deep reddish brown. Leucoderma occurs on the fingers and lips.

The hair varies from a sooty black to dark and light brown, yellowish brown and red. The general appearance of it is sooty black or yellowish brown. Except on the head the hair is scanty, but not absent: on the head it grows in small rings, which give it the appearance of growing in tufts, though it is really closely and evenly distributed over the whole scalp. Limited baldness is unknown, but temporary general baldness after disease occurs with a weak growth of the hair afterwards. The hair is not shaved, except on the head and eyebrows, and each tribe has, with many fantastic individual variants, its own method of wearing it. It turns grey at about 40, but white hair is not common. Shaving is "woman's work," and was performed by small flakes of quartz, but nowadays flakes from the kicks of glass bottles are substituted. It is effective and close, but a painful operation on an European's face, as I proved by personal experience many years ago.

The mouth is large, the palate hard and highly arched, the lips well formed. The hands and feet are small and well made. The ears are small and well shaped, the eyes are generally dark, to a very dark brown, bright, liquid and clear, but prominent with slightly elevated outer angles and become dulled with age. The teeth, in the young, except amongst the Önges, are white, good and on the whole free from disease. Those of the Önges are irregular and discoloured. As age advances the teeth generally lose their whiteness and become worn, but without much caries. The teeth are roughly used without any care whatever. Dentition is early.

The muscular strength of the Andamanese is great, but their vitality is nevertheless low, and the apparently robust quickly die after sickening or severe injury. However, like many of the lower mammals, they recover quickly from illness when they overcome it.

An unintentional artificial depression of the forehead and sides and top of the skull is produced in some women, chiefly among the Önges, by using a strap to carry loads on the back when young. No parts of the body are intentionally pierced, injured or deformed for the wearing of ornaments and other purposes, though the skin is extensively tattooed.

Idiocy, insanity and natural deformities are rare among them. Epilepsy is, however, recognised, and homicidal mania occurs sometimes with concomitants of insanity, such as eating raw flesh or earth and drinking the blood of the victim.

Statements at my disposal as to the relative prevalence of diseases among the Andamanese and their relative fatality are unsatisfactory, but so far as I can make out the following is a fair statement of the case in order of importance :—

I.—Fevers	45	per cent. of all cases.
II.—Respiratory organs	35	,, ,, ,,
III.—Digestive organs	18	,, ,, ,,
IV.—Other diseases	2	,, ,, ,,

These classes may be further divided up more specifically thus :—

I.—Malaria	40	per cent. of all cases.
Other fevers	5	,, ,, ,,
II.—Chronic bronchitis	20	,, ,, ,,
Pneumonia	12	,, ,, ,,
Other chest diseases	3	,, ,, ,,
III.—Diarrhœa	15	,, ,, ,,
Other abdominal diseases	3	,, ,, ,,
IV.—Other diseases	2	,, ,, ,,

Without placing too much reliance on the above table, it serves to bring out the fact that among the Andamanese, as among the alien immigrants, malarial fever is the overwhelming prevalent cause of sickness. As also in the case of immigrants, malarial fever is not nearly so fatal in proportion to cases as the diseases of the respiratory and digestive organs. Thus I make out that deaths from malarial fevers occur in 8·5 per cent. of the cases, while those from diseases of the respiratory organs in 90 per cent., and of the digestive organs in 74 per cent. These considerations prepare us for the old statement that the prevalent diseases among the Andamanese are climatic and the same as those of the foreign immigrants.

Going a little further into detail, it has been noticed that malarial fevers are commonest in June, at the commencement of the monsoon and during heavy bursts of rain thereafter. Malarial fever commences as usual in the intermittent form and proves fatal as remittent fever. Other zymotic fevers are uncommon, though the Andamanese will drink the filthiest water. A short rainfall in the Andamans is usually accompanied by high dry winds and then is the high time of the chest diseases. But though the Andamanese are susceptible to bronchial catarrh, and though chronic bronchitis is common, it is not fatal ; pneumonia is, however, extremely fatal. Pleurisy, hæmoptysis and phthisis are comparatively rare. Abdominal diseases, though comparatively uncommon, are very fatal ; diarrhœa, including probably dysentery, claiming most victims. Dyspepsia and colic are both common. In health the stools are regular, but inclined to looseness. They have been likened to those of the lower mammals when in good health.

Of other diseases sunstroke is dreaded and always fatal. The brain and spinal cord are not often affected, though curvature of the spine is occasionally seen. Scurvy occurs at the seasons when vegetable diet, *i.e.*, such as fruits and roots afford, is too scanty. Elephantiasis occurs among the Önges, but is limited to the Little Andaman. Chronic muscular rheumatism occurs among the older people, leading to loss and withering of limbs. Ulcers, generally the result of wounds in the jungles, are common and, as with the immigrants, slow to heal. Abscesses are also common. Considering that personal uncleanliness is often extreme, skin diseases are curiously infrequent, except ringworm and exfoliated dermatitis, sometimes leading to destruction of finger and toe nails, due either to scurvy or exposure.

Excluding malaria, endemic disease has not been recognised among the Andamanese, and the only epidemics that had been known to attack them up to 1901 are imported pneumonia (1868), syphilis (1876), measles (1877), and influenza (1892), in that order : unhappily with disastrous effect. Exposure to the sun and wind in the cleared spaces, the excessive use of tobacco and over-clothing, as results of contact with civilization, are also said to have undermined their health as a body of human beings. Intoxicants are forbidden to them by local rules and are not easily or commonly procured by them.

The diseases which the Andamanese distinguish by name are malarial fever, catarrh, coughs and rheumatism. Phthisis and heart disease are recognised, but are believed to be spirit caused and so are all internal maladies, which of course are not understood.

Medicine and surgery are almost absent from the Andamanese purview. They will bleed on the forehead for fever and headache and round abscesses to alleviate pain. They scarify for rheumatism and internal pain as a last resort. Red ochre and various herbal concoctions are both swallowed and applied as all-healers, in which they have great faith. Certain leaves are sometimes applied to local affections and beds made of them for the sake of their supposed medicinal odour. Cinctures, sometimes of human bones, are used to alleviate pain, but no other charms are employed. Occasionally the diet is slightly changed to relieve illness, and they are quick to avail themselves of the hospital provided for them. They are extremely afraid of European surgery and will tremble violently at the sight of the operating knife. They smear themselves with white clay and water against the heat of the sun, and with red ochre and oil after dark as a protection against cold.

The sick are sympathetically and very kindly, but superstitiously, treated. There are no pregnancy customs and those at childbirth are sensible and without superstition, difficult delivery being practically unknown.

Snakebite is uncommon and seldom fatal. Ligatures above the bite and scarifying are applied, both operations showing observation and common sense. Bites of centipedes, scorpions, leeches and ticks cause little inconvenience to the Andamanese, though very much to immigrants.

The figures of the men are muscular and well formed and generally pleasing ; often a young man is distinctly good looking, for, though there is a tendency to prognathism, it is not commonly pronounced, while a straight and well formed nose and jaw, accompanied by superior intelligence and an irritable temper indicating a nervous temperament, are by no means rare. The natural good looks of many of the people are injured by the habit of shaving and smearing themselves with greasy red and white pigments.

The pleasing appearance of the men is not a characteristic of the women, whose habits of completely shaving the head and profusely smearing themselves, with an early tendency to stoutness and ungainliness of figure and sometimes to pronounced prognathism, frequently make them unattractive objects to Europeans. They are, however, bright and merry even into old age and are under no special social restrictions, have a good deal of influence, and in old age are often much respected. They, nevertheless, readily and naturally acquiesce in a position of subordination, slavery and drudgery to the men, and are apt to herd together in parties of their own sex. Variation from type is much commoner among the men than the women.

(*iii*) Mental Characteristics.

The nerve development of the Andamanese is low, pain is not severely felt and wounds quickly heal. The sense development is normal, and instances of unusual acuteness observed are the result of personal training in certain directions and not of heredity, *e.g.*, they will recognise one of themselves at a great distance, but not an unaccustomed object such as a European : they can smell a fire or hear the sound of dancing also at a great distance, but this is because they are always on the look-out for these things and their discernment is a matter of habit and of much consequence to themselves. They can, in short, do well such things as they pay particular or habitual attention to.

The Andamanese are naturally far sighted, and any near sight observed will be found to be due to leucoma or other disease. In respect to sight, however, they are not more highly gifted than civilized mankind. The colour sense is hardly developed at all and they are what would be called in Europe colour-blind to most colours. Black, white and red are distinguished, but green and blue are not. This is due apparently to want of observation only, as they distinguish between white paint and the white European skin. A good deal of blindness was caused by imported epidemic ophthalmia in 1877. Hearing is not abnormally acute, but is highly trained in matters pertaining to jungle craft. Touch seems to be undeveloped. The sense of smell is highly developed in matters necessary to their existence, but they have no appreciation of artificial scent or of that of flowers which do not denote food, nor can they distinguish by smell that which they cannot see unless it be an object of food. Taste is strongly developed as to honey, distinguishing that deposited from different flowers. They care nothing for scenery and do not decorate themselves with flowers.

In childhood the Andamanese are possessed of a bright intelligence, which, however, soon reaches its climax, and the adult may be compared in this respect with the civilised child of ten or twelve. He has never had any sort of agriculture, nor until the English taught him the use of dogs did he ever domesticate any kind of animal or bird, nor did he teach himself to turn turtle or to use hook and line in fishing. He cannot count and all his ideas are hazy, inaccurate and ill-defined. He has never developed unaided any idea of drawing or making a tally or record for any purpose, but he readily understands a sketch or plan when shown him. He soon becomes mentally tired and is apt to break down physically under mental training.

He retains throughout life the main characteristics of the child : of very short but strong memory; suspicious of, but hospitable to, strangers, ungrateful; imitative and watchful of his companions and neighbours; vain and under the spur of vanity industrious and persevering; teachable up to a quickly reached limit; fond of undefined games and practical jokes; too happy and careless to be affected in temperament by his superstitions; too careless indeed to store water even for a voyage; plucky but not courageous; reckless only from ignorance or inappreciation of danger; selfish but not without generosity, chivalry or a sense of honour; petulant, hasty of temper, entirely irresponsible and childish in action in his wrath and equally quick to forget; affectionate, lively in his movements and exceedingly taking in his moments of good temper. At these times the Andamanese are gentle and pleasant to each other, considerate to the aged, the weakly or the helpless and to captives, kind to their wives and proud of their children, whom they often over-pet; but when angered, cruel, jealous, treacherous and vindictive; and always unstable. They are bright and merry companions, talkative, inquisitive and restless; busy in their own pursuits; keen sportsmen and naturally independent, absorbed in the chase from sheer love of it and other physical occupations; and not lustful, indecent or indecently abusive.

As the years advance they are apt to become intractable, masterful and quarrelsome. A people to like but not to trust. Exceedingly conservative and bound up in ancestral custom; not amenable to civilization, all the teaching of years bestowed on some of them having introduced no abstract ideas among the tribesmen, and changed no habit in practical matters affecting comfort, health, and mode of life. Irresponsibility is a characteristic, though instances of a keen sense of responsibility are not wanting. Several Andamanese can take charge of the steering of a large steam launch through dangerous channels, exercising then caution, daring and skill, though not to an European extent; and the present (1901) dynamo-man of the electric lighting on Ross Island is an Andamanese, while the wire-man is a Nicobarese, both of whom exhibit the liveliest sense of their responsibilities, though a deep-rooted unconquerable fear of the dynamo and wires when at work. The Nicobarese shows, as is to be expected, the higher order of intellect. Another Andamanese was used by Portman for years as an accountant and kept his accounts in English accurately and well.

The intelligence of the women is good, though not as a rule equal to that of the men. In old age, however, they frequently exhibit a considerable mental capacity which is respected. Several women trained in a former local Mission Orphanage from early childhood have shown much mental aptitude and capacity, the "savagery" in them, however, only dying down as they grew older. They can read and write well, understand and speak English correctly, have acquired European habits completely, and possess much shrewdness and common sense: one, Topsy, herself taught her Andamanese husband, the dynamo-man above mentioned, to read and write English and induced him to join the Government House Press as a compositor. She writes a well expressed and correctly spelt letter in English, and has a shrewd notion of the value of money. In later years she visited England as an "aya," and took naturally to civilised life. Such women, when the instability of youth is past, make good "ayas," as their men-kind make good waiters at table. The highest general type of intelligence yet noticed is in the Jàrawa tribe.

The Andamanese divide the day by the position of the sun and can roughly divide the night, though they have no idea of steering by the sun or stars. The year is known by the three main seasons of the climate and the months rudely by the flowering and fruiting of trees of economic value to them. Tides are understood and carefully noted, a necessary accomplishment to a people largely living on shell-fish and navigating shallow tidal creeks and shores. They are aware of the connection of the phases of the moon with the tides and have names for the four phases of each lunation. They know the four quarters of the compass in reference to the daily position of the sun and have names for the four chief winds that blow (N. W., N. E., S. E., S. W.) They differentiate three kinds of clouds :—Cumulus, stratus, nimbus. The only constellation they have distinguished is Orion and they have discovered the Milky Way for which they have a name, and also call it "the way of the angels" (*môrowin*, the daughter-messengers of Puluga).

The social emotions are not generally expressed. The Andamanese have no words for ordinary salutations, greeting or for expressing thanks. On meeting they stare at each other for a lengthened period in silence, which the younger breaks with a commonplace remark and then follows an eager telling of news, which an Andamanese always delights in hearing. Relatives, however, sit in each other's laps, huddled closely together at *meeting*, weeping loudly and demonstratively, and after a long separation this may last for hours. The Önges are less demonstrative, and on such occasions shed a few silent tears only and caress each other with their hands. At *parting* they take each other by the hand and blow on it, exchanging sentences of conventional farewell.

Undemonstrative though they are, the Andamanese are readily roused to emotion, finding that difficulty in separating the real from the assumed observed in other savages. At Government House, Calcutta, in 1895, when a party was told to sit down and weep to show the custom at meetings, in a few moments the weeping became genuine, and when after a short time they were told to stop and get up, tears were streaming down their faces.

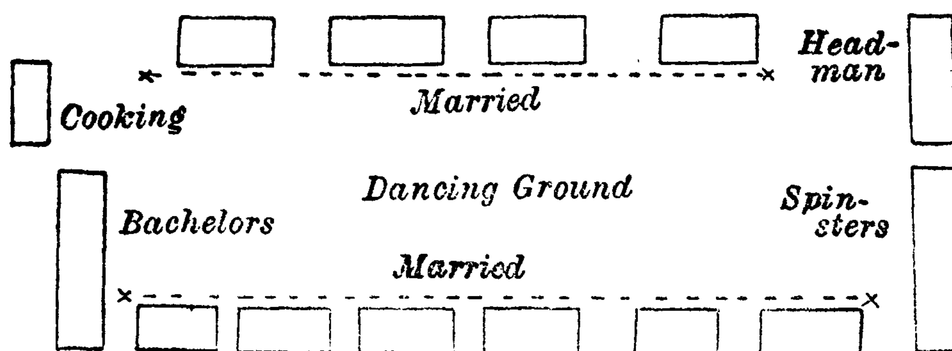
The Andamanese are good climbers, and rapid walkers and runners, moving with a free and independent gait, and can travel considerable distances at a time. The Jàrawas turn their toes in, due to the necessity of stooping to pass along their paths through the tangled jungle. The Eremtâga, jungle-dwellers, are good but not remarkable trackers. The Aryôto, longshoremen, are good swimmers and are much at home in the water. The Andamanese generally show a dexterity in getting about their thick and tangled jungles which baffles all immigrants, though in this respect the Eremtâga quite out-distance the Aryôto, and the Jàrawas apparently all the others. In the jungles all shooting with arrows is necessarily at very short distance, and generally the Andamanese are good shots at short distances only, judging direction very well but distance hardly at all. They can, however, at the very short distance required for shooting fish, allow accurately for refraction in moving water, and will

shoot their fish successfully even in the surf, in a manner that is inimitable: this is really due to accurate judgment of direction.

The Andamanese are unadventurous seamen, poling and paddling their canoes with small spade paddles at considerable speed, faster than that of an ordinary ship's boat for a little distance, though they could not paddle away from one in even a short chase; but they never go out of sight of land; have never been even to the Cocos (30 miles), nor to Narcondam and Barren Island, nor had they ever any knowledge of the existence of the Nicobars till our arrival. Mr. Man has a legend from Car Nicobar, doubtfully going to show that the Önges from the Little Andaman once made raids on that island: but if this were true they would do so still.

(iv) Habits and Customs.

Except in the Little Andaman and among the Jàrawas there are no fixed habitations, the search for easily obtained food and insanitary habits obliging the people to be nomads, for they have no practice of cultivation and domesticate no animal whatever, except dogs obtained from the English. They thus dwell in various customary encampments, situate within their respective territories. At these encampments, usually fixed in sheltered spots, they erect about 14 temporary huts capable of holding up to 50 to 80 persons, arranged facing inwards on an oval plan always more or less irregular, thus—



The central space is the dancing ground. A hut is merely a thatch about 4 feet long by 3 feet wide, sloping from 8 inches behind to 4½ feet in front, placed on four uprights and some cross-pieces without walls. In unsheltered spots and at the headquarters of septs large circular huts are built with a good deal of ingenuity, having eaves nearly touching the ground. These will be as much as 15 feet high and 30 feet in diameter. For hunting purposes mere thatched shelters are erected for protection from the wind. Close to every hut is a very small platform for surplus food about 18 inches from the ground, and in it at least one fire is carefully preserved. This is the one thing that the Andamanese are really careful about, for they do not know how to make fire, though they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend, that fire was originally stolen from their deity, Puluga, and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

In the Little Andaman and among the Jàrawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jàrawa's hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is among men, and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath.

Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire. A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without, however, there being any fixed boundaries.

The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a corporeal resurrection in a religious sense. There is much active faith in dreams, which sometimes control subsequent conduct and in the utterances of "wise men," dreamers of prophetic dreams, gifted with second sight and power to communicate with spirits and to bring about good and bad fortune. These practise an embryonic magic and witchcraft to much personal profit, by means of good things tabued to themselves, as these people appreciate. There are no oaths, covenants and ordeals, nor any forms of appeal to supernatural powers.

Puluga, who is fundamentally with some definiteness identifiable with the storm (*wuluga*) mixed up with ancestral chiefs, has so many attributes of the Deity that it is fair to translate

the term by "God." He has a wife and a family of one son and many daughters. He transmits his orders through his son to his daughters, who are his messengers, the Môrowin. He has no authority over the evil spirits and contents himself with pointing out offenders against himself to them. The two great evil, *i.e.*, harmful, spirits are Erem-chàuga of the Forest and Jûruwin of the Sea. Like Puluga, both have wives and families. The minor evil spirits are Nila and a numerous class, the Chôl, who are practically spirits of disease. The Sun is the wife of the Moon and the Stars are their children dwelling near Puluga, but there is no trace of sun-worship, though they twang their bows and "chaff" the moon during an eclipse, and a solar eclipse frightens them, keeping them silent.

The Andamanese idea of the soul arises out of his reflection in water and not out of his shadow which follows him about. His reflection is his spirit, which goes after death to another jungle world, Chai-î-tân, under the earth, which is flat and supported on an immense palm tree. There the spirit repeats the life here, visits the earth occasionally and has a distinct tendency to transmigration into other beings and creatures. Every child conceived has had a prior existence and the theory of metempsychosis appears in many other superstitions, notably in naming a second child after a previous dead one, because the spirit of the former babe has been transferred to the present one, and in their recognising all Natives of India and the Far East as *chàuga*, or persons endowed with the spirits of their ancestors.

The superstitions and mythology of the Andamanese are the direct outcome of their beliefs in relation to spirits. Thus, fire frightens Erem-chàuga, so it is *always* carried. They avoid offending the Sun and the Moon by silence at their rise. Puluga shows himself in storm, and so they appease him by throwing explosive leaves on the fire, and deter him by burning bees'-wax, because he does not like the smell. Earthquakes are the sport of the ancestors. There are lucky and unlucky actions, but not many, and a few omens and charms. Animals and birds are credited with human capacities, *e.g.*, convicts murdered by Jàrawas have been found with heavy stones placed on them and stones have been found placed along their pathways. Every Andamanese knows that this is a warning to the birds not to tell the English that the men had been murdered and that the murderers had passed along the path in front.

The great bulk of the Andamanese mythology turns on Puluga and his doings with Tomo, the first ancestor, to whom and his wife he brought fire and taught all the arts and for whom he created everything. This line of belief is still alive, and everything natural that is new is attributed to Puluga. Thus, when the Andamanese were introduced to the volcano, Barren Island, on seeing the smoke from the top, they at once christened it Molatârchona, Smoke Island, and said the fire was Puluga's.

The next most important element in the mythology is in the story of the cataclysm, which engulfed the islands and was of course caused by Puluga. It separated the population and destroyed the fire, which was afterwards stolen by Lûratût, the kingfisher, and restored to the people. The population previous to the cataclysm became the *chàuga* or ghostly ancestors. Other stories relate the origin of customs, *e.g.*, tattooing and dancing, of the arts, articles of food, harmful spirits, and so on.

An important ethnological item in these stories is the constant presence of the ideas of metempsychosis and of metamorphosis into animals, fish, birds, stone and other objects in nature. Indeed the fauna chiefly known to the Andamanese are ancestors changed supernaturally into animals.

There are rudimentary initiatory customs for both males and females, connected with arrival at puberty and marriageability and pointing to a limited tabu. On reaching puberty or thereabouts, between 12 and 16 years of age, abstention from about six kinds of food, each in turn, is voluntarily commenced and continued for some years. At the end of each abstention there are a few ceremonies and some dancing, and the youth of both sexes then become "grown up." There is nothing else to mark this period beyond the application of an honorific

name while it lasts, no secret to be communicated, no religious ceremony. In after-life, however, men who have gone through the initiatory period together will not fight, quarrel, nor call each other by name. They will assume great friendship, while avoiding each other with a mutual shyness. The women also practise a limited tabu as to food during menstruation and pregnancy. The idea of tabu does undoubtedly exist as to food and every man has his own tabued articles through life, which is, however, usually something observed to disagree with him in childhood or to be unpalatable.

There are also limitations as to sexual family relations. Only husband and wife can eat together. Widows and widowers, bachelors and maidens eat with their own sex only. A man may not address directly a married woman younger than himself or touch his wife's sister or the wife of a younger relative, and *vice versâ*.

The tattooing is partly ceremonial, as a test of courage and endurance of pain, and so is painting the body with clays, oils, etc. By the material and design is shown sickness, sorrow or festivity and the unmarried condition.

The great amusement of the Andamanese, indeed their chief object in life after the chase, is the formal evening or night dance, a curious monotonous performance accompanied by drumming the feet rhythmically on a special sounding board, like a Crusader's shield and mistaken for a shield by several observers, singing a song more or less impromptu and of a compass limited to four semitones and the intermediate quarter tones, and clapping the hands on the thighs in unison. The dance takes place every evening whenever there are enough for it, and lasts for hours and all night at meetings of the tribes or septs for the purpose. It then becomes ceremonial and is continued for several nights in succession. Both sexes take allotted parts in it. This and turtle hunting are the only things which will keep the Andamanese awake all night long. There are five varieties of the dance among the tribes: that of the Önge-Jàrawas being an entirely different performance.

The Andamanese appreciate rhythm and time, but not pitch or tune. They sing in unison, but not in parts, and can neither sing in chorus nor repeat or even catch an air. The key in which a solo or chorus is started is quite accidental. They can be readily taught any dance step and can teach it themselves from observation.

Every man who respects himself is a composer of songs, always consisting of a solo and refrain, and sings without action or gesticulation and always to the same rhythm. The songs relate only to travel, sport and personal adventures, never to love, children and the usual objects of poetry, and very rarely to beliefs and superstition. The wording is enigmatic and excessively elliptic, the words themselves being in grammatical order, but shorn of all affixes as a rule. As in all poetry unusual words are employed. But clipped as the wording is and prosaic as the subjects are, the Andamanese are far from being unable to give a poetic turn to their phraseology and ideas. The women have lullabies for their babies.

The Andamanese are childishly fond of games and have an indigenous blind-man's-buff, leap-frog and hide-and-seek. Mock pig and turtle hunts, mock burials, and "ghost" hunts are favourite sports. Matches in swinging, swimming, throwing, skimming (ducks and drakes), shooting (archery), and wrestling are practised.

Every child is named for life after one of about twenty conventional names by the mother, of course without reference to sex, immediately upon pregnancy becoming evident, to which afterwards a nickname, varying occasionally as life proceeds, is added from personal peculiarities, deformities, disfigurements, or eccentricities and sometimes from flattery or reverence. Girls are also given "flower names" after one of sixteen selected trees which happen to be in flower at the time they reach puberty.

The "womb-name" is called the *teng-l'âr-ula* and on the child being born, the words distinguishing sex by the genitals, *ôta*, male, and *kâta*, female, are prefixed to it in babyhood. The women's "flower name" precedes the *teng-l'âr-ula* till motherhoood or advancing years, but is often used alone. As the "flower names" are of much interest, the following list of

them is given in the Bea language. There are eleven of them and flowers, regarded as identical by the Andamanese, belong to trees sometimes of quite different species : a mistake that is made by peoples of much higher mental development.

Flower name.		Tree.	Flowering month.
Môda	(1)	Semecarpus (Sp.)	March.
	(2)	Odina Wodier	
Ôra		Chickrassia tabularis	March.
Jîdga	(1)	Unidentified	April.
	(2)	Croton argyratus	
Yèrî		Sterculia (Sp.)	April.
Patâka	(1)	Meliorma simplicifolia	May.
	(2)	Terminalia procera	
Rêche	(1)	Eugenia (Sp.)	June.
	(2)	Rubiaceæ	July.
Châgara		Pterocarpus dalbergioides	August.
Chârapa		Unidentified	September.
Chenra		Leea sambucina	October.
Yûlu	(1)	Unidentified	November.
	(2)	Eugenia (Sp.)	
Chilip		Diospyros densiflora	November, December, January and February.

The people are now ignorant of the origin of the flower names or of the cause of the selection of the trees above mentioned. The honorifics *maia* and *mâm* are prefixed out of respect to the name of elderly males and *chàna* to all names of married women. Girls are addressed by the flower name and the elders by the honorific. Names are not much used in addressing, but chiefly for naming the absent or in calling.

The Andamanese are monogamous, and by preference, but not necessarily, exogamous as regards sept and endogamous as regards tribe or more strictly group. Divorce is rare and unknown after the birth of a child ; unfaithfulness after marriage, which entails the murder of both the guilty parties, if practicable, is not common ; and polyandry, polygamy, bigamy, and incest are unknown. Marriages are not religious, but are attended with distinct ceremonies. Marriage after death of one party or divorce is usual. Before marriage free intercourse between the sexes within the exogamous limits is the rule, though some conventional precautions are taken to prevent it.

Portman tersely describes the marriage ceremony thus : "When the elders of a sept are aware that a young couple are anxious to marry, the bride is taken to a newly made hut and made to sit down in it. The bridegroom runs away into the jungle, but after some struggling and pretence at hesitation, is brought in by force and made to sit in the bride's lap. This is the whole ceremony. The newly married couple have little to say to, and are very shy of, each other for at least a month after marriage, when they gradually settle down together."

Marriages are the business of parents or guardians, and they have a right of betrothal of children, the betrothal being regarded as a marriage. Marital relations are somewhat complicated and quite as strictly observed as among civilised communities. Old books on this point generally ascribe bestiality and promiscuity to the race, but quite wrongly.

Deaths occasion loud lamentation from all connected with the deceased. Babies are buried under the floor of their parents' hut. Adults are either buried in a shallow grave, or, as an honour, tied up in a bundle and placed on a platform in a tree. Wreaths of cane leaves are then fastened conspicuously round the encampment, and it is deserted for about three months. Burial spots are also sufficiently well marked. Mourning is observed by smearing the head with grey clay and refraining from dancing for the above period. After some months the bones of the deceased are washed, broken up and made into ornaments, to which great importance is attached, as mementos of the deceased, and as they are believed to stop pain

and cure diseases by simple application to the diseased part. The skull is worn down the back tied round the neck, usually, but not always, by the widow, widower or nearest relative. Mourning closes with a ceremonial dance and the removal of the clay. The ceremonies connected with the disposal of the dead are conventional, reverential and by no means without elaboration in detail.

(v) **Arts.**

The only stone cutting implement known to the Andamanese is the quartz flake chipped off, never worked, and held between the fingers for shaving and tattooing; and shells and fish bones are used for the small blades of the peculiar adze of this people, and for arrow points, scraping and cutting. A *cyrena* valve is the ordinary knife and scraper. Hammers, anvils, hones, and oven-stones consist of natural stones. They have never made celts.

The ends of glass bottles for some years, and iron from wrecks for a long time past, have been substituted for the indigenous implements, when and where procurable. The object of the long series of murderous raids made by the inland Jàrawas on the outlying parts of the Penal Settlement has now been proved to have been in search for iron. The implements on the whole are coarsely and roughly made.

The weapons of the Andamanese are bow and arrow, harpoon, fish spear, pig spear, and they have never had any notion of poisoning the blades, which however sometimes inflict dangerous septic wounds from dirt, though as a rule they are kept bright as a matter of pride. Barbed arrows and harpoons with loose heads are used for catching and pulling up game in the jungles and marking where turtle or large fish are sinking.

Excellent information with illustrations on the domestic and other arts of the Andamanese is to be found in a minutely accurate work, Man's *Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands.* String for nets and all purposes is twisted, often neatly, from the inner bark of creepers. Large nets of this string are made for driving turtle and hand-nets for prawns and small fish, and for wallets. Stout cord is made from the inner bark of the *Melochia velutina.* Whole, split and scraped canes are used as binders. The weaving is good, neat and stout, and baskets and mats are thus well made from strips of canes.

The unglazed circular clay cooking-pots with rounded or pointed bottoms, to the Andamanese very valuable, are built up by hand, sundried and then baked, but not thoroughly, in the fire. They are often encased in basket work for safety. Their manufacture, form and ornament are typical of the Stone Age generally. Buckets are hollowed out of wood or cut from the joints of the bamboo. Canoes are hollowed out of whole trunks of light, soft timber by the adze without the use of fire, do not last long and are only fair sea boats. They are however capable of holding many people and a good deal of light cargo.

The personal ornaments made are—bunches and strips of fibres and leaves scraped, cut and hammered, fringes of dentalium shells and straw-coloured wreaths of hammered and roasted dendrobium bark. The bones, skulls and jawbones of deceased relatives are also used whole, or broken and scraped to fancy or requirement, as ornaments, besides necklaces of the bones of animals. Tattooing and painting the body are only ornamental to the extent that, in the latter case especially, deviations from the conventional designs are due to personal taste. The only ornaments to dwellings and huts are the heads of turtle, pigs, iguana, or paradoxurus killed in hunting. These are hung up partly as ornaments and partly as trophies but not with any idea of record.

Every manufactured article has its own customary conventional line ornament in one or more of three colours and in one or more of eleven patterns, approximately achieved only. The colours are red, white and brown from natural earths. The patterns are (1) chevrons, (2) close cross-hatch, (3) wide cross-hatch, (4) parallel lines, (5) parallels and chevrons combined, (6) lozenges, (7) plait or guilloche, (8) herring-bone, (9) cross cuts, (10) loops, (11) vandyke with scalloped bands and cross lines.

VI.

Extracts from Mr. M. V. Portman's Reports on the First Dealings with the Onges in 1886.[7]

I left Port Blair with a party in the steamer *Ross* on the 27th October 1886, having No. 1 lighter, and a 10-oared boat in tow. Six convicts and 27 Andamanese accompanied me, and I had rations for three months for the entire party.

I arrived at the Little Andaman Island on the 28th October, and anchored in Bumila Creek. For the next three days we were engaged in making a small clearing on the East bank of the Creek, and housing the party. The Little Andamanese from the neighbouring huts came down daily to visit me, and were very friendly. I heard with regret that the little boy Api I had left with the Ekûdi tribe in April 1886 was dead, but the remainder of those people who had lived with me in Port Blair, all came to my camp. Women and children now came fearlessly to the camp, and the first difficulty I met with was that of preventing the savages from looting the camp of everything they fancied. By making an example of one of the first cases that occurred, and treating the delinquents somewhat roughly, I soon got them to understand that they were only to have what we gave them, not all they saw, and from that time, with two exceptions to which I shall refer later, I have had no trouble. I have been very lavish of presents to all the people.

Very stormy weather began just after my arrival, and I therefore confined my work to going about amongst the neighbouring villages and endeavouring to gain influence over the people, and to learn their language. The Andamanese I had brought with me were occupied in turtling, canoe cutting, etc., and I encouraged the Little Andamanese to go amongst them and associate with them. They soon took to swimming off on board the steamer or coming in their canoes to visit me, and occasionally brought me baskets of dried fish as presents. On November 3rd three men, whom I afterwards found belonged to the south coast of the Island, paid me a visit, and were very pleasant.

On the 12th November I tried to go down the coast in the *Ross* and cross to the South Sentinel Island, but the weather was so bad that I was obliged to put back. The Little Andamanese with me gave me the name of the South Sentinel Island as Kelâgageai, but said that they had never been there. On the 13th I coasted down to Tokaini and saw all the people there. They received me in an unconcerned way and appeared to take little interest, even in the presents we had brought. I learnt that the man captured at Jackson Creek in January 1885, who afterwards died in Port Blair, was from the Tokaini village, and that his real name was Tâleme.

On the 14th very heavy rain commenced, and on the 15th a cyclone set in, which lasted till the 20th. With the exception of the loss of her side-curtains the *Ross* sustained no damage. I had both anchors down and hawsers passed outside all. Until the 18th I was unable even to get ashore on the bank of Bûmila Creek, where we were anchored, and the convicts and Andamanese suffered very much. The clearing was 18 inches under water, and the people were living on raised *machâns* [wooden platforms] they had made. All the Andamanese huts had been blown down, but the tents, being more sheltered, had stood. It would have been dangerous to have gone further into the jungle, owing to the falling branches of trees, and on the sand one could not stand up to the wind, but had to crawl along. Much damage was done in the jungle, quantities of dead fish were washed up on the coasts, and many birds and bats seem to have been killed. The Little Andamanese seem to have suffered much from the cold and want of food, and several sick whom I had seen at Tokaini on the 13th had died. As soon as the cyclone was over many people came to me for food. The rain was so heavy that the creek was running with fresh water down to the mouth. After

7 The Önges have since become as friendly as any other tribe except the Jàrawas.

this storm the place seemed to become unhealthy, and from that time onward there has been a great deal of sickness amongst the Andamanese and convicts. I did not suffer much myself until January.

Owing to the heavy sea outside I was unable to go anywhere until the 24th, and the Andamanese continued cutting [out logs for] boats and catching turtle. On the 24th I visited Jackson Creek. The landing here was very difficult owing to the surf, and our boat was swamped. It is impossible to enter the creek as the sand has now silted up so much, and I landed on the north side of it. Several people met us and were given presents. I walked along the shore with them for some distance, and visited some sandstone caves, in which were the grass variety of edible birds'-nests. All the water here contains much lime, and stalactites are formed in the caves.

On the 26th I was visited by Her Majesty's Indian Marine S. *Kwangtung*, the Commander supplying me very kindly with such rations, etc., as I required. On the 29th I walked down the coast from Jackson Creek to Api Island and went some way into the interior. The people received us in a friendly manner, but were very greedy for presents, taking every thing they saw, not only out of the boats but even from the persons of my Andamanese, and seizing many articles which could be of no possible use to them. This behaviour I checked with the help of the interpreters I had brought down from Bûmila Creek, and the people soon began to obey my directions.

Much sickness having now set in, I returned to Port Blair with the worst cases on the 1st December. There was a heavy sea and the *Ross* had a good opportunity of showing what a fine sea boat she is. Two Little Andamanese from the Ekudi village accompanied me, one of whom, Kogio Kai, had been in Port Blair before as a captive in 1885. On the 4th December I returned to the Little Andaman (arriving there on the 5th) with some fresh convicts and Andamanese. The weather on the way back was even worse than what we had coming up. My absence, leaving a small party of convicts and Andamanese on the Island, had been a good test of the work done, and I found on my return that the Little Andamanese had been living with the party in my camp in the most friendly manner.

I was kept in the creek by bad weather until the 12th December, during which time the crew of the *Ross* were employed in cutting firewood in order to save coal, and the convicts and Andamanese went about with me inland and on the coast to the various villages. I also commenced a coast line survey of the Island with prismatic compass and chain. The Little Andamanese or Önges, as they call themselves, were constantly in camp and began to pick up a little Hindustani.

On the 12th and 13th I worked along the coast, surveying down to Tochângêdu, where my work was stopped by the heavy surf, so I began on the 15th to work E. and S. from the North Point of the Island. A curious incident occurred on the 17th which will illustrate the influence I had already acquired over the neighbouring people. Kôjio Kai, an Önge, told me that a man of his own tribe had stolen some knives belonging to us. I sent for the man, admonished him and forbade him to come to the camp. Tahlai, one of his own tribe, then escorted him to Tâmbe Ebui, and he has not since been allowed to visit us. The Ekûdi people on another occasion behaved in a similar manner to some Pâlâlankwes, who had stolen some turtle spears, refusing to allow them to land near the clearing or visit us for several days.

By the 19th of December I had surveyed as far as Titaije, meeting many people of all sizes and sexes, who were very pleasant and friendly, and I then returned to Bûmila Creek, beached the *Ross*, cleaned and painted her. Her Majesty's I.M.S. *Nancowry* called on the 21st, and on the 22nd I proceeded to Port Blair with the sick from my camp, and with nine

Önges picked from the following tribes:—Ekûdi, Pâlâlankwe, Tokaie, Tâmbe, Ebui and Titaije.

I remained in Port Blair until the 27th, when I crossed over with the party to the North Sentinel Island. The Önges gave me their name for it as Chirtâkwêkwe, and appeared well acquainted with it. They walked fearlessly about in the jungle, but, on catching some of the inhabitants on the evening of the 27th, it was found that they talked an entirely different [*i.e.*, unintelligible] language. On the 28th I visited Port Mouat, returning to Port Blair on the 29th, and on the 2nd January 1887, I returned to the Little Andaman.

During their stay in Port Blair the greatest care was taken that the Önges should not suffer in health, and they were shown everything I thought would interest them, including the athletic sports and the military parade on the 1st January, and were also given quantities of presents, being allowed to have almost everything they fancied, and they appeared so delighted with their visit that, on the way back, they said they would come up to Port Blair in their canoes in the fine weather.

On the 3rd January I started down the East Coast surveying. In addition to my party I was accompanied by Tômiti, Tahlai and Kôjio Kai, who were of the greatest assistance. People came out to meet us at each village, and every one was quiet, friendly and pleasant. On the 4th I anchored in Daugule Bay, having been accompanied by nearly fifty people all along the coast. On the 5th I met at Toi-balêwe, Nâtûdêtôtali Kêgê, one of the women who was captured on the Cinque Islands in 1885. On the 6th I met at Ingòie, on the South Coast, the three men who had visited me at Bûmila Creek on the 3rd November last. I completed the survey on the 7th, closing on Api Island, and then returned to Bûmila Creek.

The weather now got stormy again, and I began to suffer very much in health. The survey being finished, I having visited all the villages round the Island and being on the best terms with all the people, and our stores being nearly exhausted, I returned to Port Blair on the 19th January with the entire party. The work I was sent down to do has, I think, been accomplished, and we are now on as friendly terms with the Little Andamanese as we are with the inhabitants of the North Andamans.

From what I can learn, I am of opinion that, while the whole of the Little Andaman Island is peopled by one race calling themselves Önges, the people are subdivided into tribes who adhere more or less to their own country, and appear to quarrel and fight among themselves. What little I have learnt of their language I have embodied in my work on the languages of the Andamanese, written at your request, but the amount is small. It differs almost totally from any language with which we are acquainted, except that of the Jârawa tribes. The people appear to be healthy, their principal diseases being chest complaints, coughs and colds, fever and itch. There is no syphilis amongst them, and in physique they compare favourably with the inhabitants of the great Andaman.

Their manners and customs differ somewhat from those of the Great Andaman, the principal differences I have noticed being the following :—The large circular huts built by them; the raised charpoys [platform beds] on which they sleep ; their habit of cooking, drying and storing in baskets a small fish similar to a sprat ; the difference in the shape of their canoes at the bow and stern ; the difference in their ornaments, and the absence of bone necklaces and broad tasselled belts amongst them ; the women wear a tassel of a yellow fibre in the place of the leaf worn in the Great Andaman ; the difference in the shape of the bow, which is of the European pattern. The arrows used for fish frequently have four heads of different lengths fitted into one shaft.

They are by no means expert in the use of a canoe in rough water, and are unable to harpoon turtle. They paint their hair only with red earth, and not their entire bodies, and they do not allow their hair to grow long ; the women do not keep their heads clean shaved. Their staple food appears to be the seed of the mangrove, boiled, as that article of

diet is always to be seen in their huts, supplemented of course by whatever else they can get. I may here mention that, after close and continued observation of their habits, I entirely disbelieve the legend that they were formerly in the habit of visiting Car Nicobar Island.

It was very pleasant to see the numbers of healthy children of both sexes in the various villages ; the people seem to marry later in life than do the Great Andamanese, but the same system of monogamy prevails. The music of their songs is different and more pleasing, and it is not accompanied by clapping of hands, or the striking of a sounding board. Their dance is peculiar and unlike that of the other Andamanese. They have no religion of any kind, and I learnt nothing of traditions or superstitions from which they seem even freer than the people of the Great Andaman.

In conclusion I may say that the people are by no means fierce, being if anything of a milder disposition than the other Andamanese, and I became very much attached to them, which attachment is, I think, returned. They are easily silenced or frightened, and are in great dread of a gun.

The Island at the north end appears to consist of mangrove swamp, and low belts of sandy soil on which the aborigines live. On the west and south-west coast the land rises into low hills of a coarse sandstone, running more or less north and south. The timber appears to be much the same as that of the South Andaman, and the rocks are chiefly lime and sandstone with a good deal of actual coral rock on the east and south coast. In one place on the point south of Daugule Bay I noticed an outcrop of igneous rock. There appeared to be no minerals.

The products of the sea appear to be the same as at the Great Andaman, but the Tubiporine family of coral, particularly *Tubipora musica*, occurs in profusion. Dugong and turtle abound in the sea, and I captured two of the former, one being a remarkably fine specimen, and many of the latter. The Önges are very fond of turtle, but they are unable to get them with the facility with which our Andamanese catch them, as they are ignorant of the use of the harpoon ; turtle always formed a great part of my presents to them.

In rough weather landing is almost impossible on most of the coast, and in calm weather there are heavy ground swells and tide rips. The following are the best anchorages for small vessels :—Bûmila Creek ; Ekêti Bay, just inside the north end of Nâchuge Point ; Gîjege, opposite Ingòie, about half a mile from shore ; Hut Bay ; Daugule Bay and Obâte. Landing is difficult in most places and I always used an Andamanese canoe.

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With regard to their (the Önges) behaviour to shipwrecked crews, I am of opinion that the crew of any native vessel wrecked there would still be liable to be massacred, and though a European, if wrecked on the north coast might be well treated, I should not like to guarantee his safety. Shipwrecked sailors are rarely diplomats and would be extremely likely to resent the looting of their ships or persons in a manner which would certainly lead to their being shot. This looting cannot be prevented, the temptation being too great for any savage, however tame, and the general education of the Önges will take some years. It is quite safe for any Settlement official to visit the Island and land. I would advise him first to land at Bûmila Creek and take on board either Kôjio Kai, Tômiti or Tahlai, or else one of the following :—Wâna Luège of the Ekûdi tribe or Kôjio Kôkele of Pâlâlankewe village, who would act as interpreters at any other part of the island, where he wished to land.

The presents which the Önges most appreciate are hoop iron, rod iron, files, sleeping mats, cocoanuts, plantains, beads, and specimens of the articles used by our Andamanese ; also turtle, which can easily be got at the South Sentinel Island. The Önges are, I believe, quite willing to come to Port Blair in their canoes in fine weather, but great care should be taken that they do not contract any disease, particularly syphilis, if they do come up. They will take to smoking kindly, but I have not encouraged this, as my aim is to keep them in

their healthy primitive state, and I believe this can be done, and they can still be brought to obey our orders and remain on friendly terms with outsiders. We require very little of them, and a close intercourse with these savages means death to them.

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On the 4th March 1887 the Chief Commissioner [Colonel T. Cadell, V.C.], accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, 7th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry, Mr. Portman, on special duty at the Little Andaman Island, Mr. Metcalfe, Officer in charge of the Andamanese, and a number of Andamanese, left Port Blair in the steamer *Ross* at 6 A.M., and arriving in Bûmila Creek, north end of the Little Andaman at 2 P.M. Some of the Önges, as the natives of Little Andaman Island call themselves, visited the party at once, and our old friends Tômite, Tahlai, Wâna Lûege and Kôjio Kôkele were taken on board as interpreters.

On the 5th we proceeded along the north coast, taking on board Kôjio Kai off Kuaie-chikuâda Creek. After inspecting the Ariel Ledge, we anchored at 10-30 A.M. off the mouth of the Tiyai Creek on the East Coast. Several Önges of both sexes were on the shore, and we landed amongst them, giving then presents. They were quite friendly, and we visited their hut at Titaije. In the evening we rowed up the Tiyai Creek, which is one of the most beautiful in this group of islands and had not been before explored. All our Andamanese remained on shore for the night with the Önges and had a feast of turtle.

On the 6th none of the Önges were seen, although we landed in two places, and we anchored for the night in Hut Bay on the East Coast. On the morning of the 7th two men appeared and were given presents, and we then went on to Tòibalôwe, a large hut on the south-east corner of the Island, measuring 60 feet in diameter and about 35 feet in height. Shortly after we landed, a number of Önges made their appearance and were given presents. I walked to a village of 14 lean-to huts a little way in the interior, and my party were regaled with pig and honey. As usual amongst these people, there were a few ill-tempered, conservative old men, who refused to be pleased with us. Our interpreters decided to walk on round the coast, and meet us at Ingòie on the South Coast, and I brought on board two new men, sending them on shore again when we reached Ingòie that afternoon. There is a good landing place here, the reef being broken in one place, just opposite the hut. The best anchorage is in 8 fathoms, about half a mile from the shore.

In the evening we visited the rock where Lieutenant Much's expedition landed in 1867, and the Önges appeared to have some remembrance of it. My Andamanese slept ashore as usual with the Önges, a number of whom had followed us round. On the 8th Her Majesty's I. M. S. *Kwangtung* arrived with Lieutenant-Colonel Strahan and his survey party, and Mr. E. H. Man, Officer in charge, Nicobars. The survey work was at once commenced. The Önges were rather troublesome, trying to steal the metal of the instruments, but no fracas took place, and with the presents we had given them they were quite pleased.

On the 9th the Chief Commissioner, with Lieutenant-Colonel Strahan, Mr. Man and Mr. Metcalfe, went to the north end of the Island for the day in the *Ross* to observe for latitude, and Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts and I remained behind in the *Kwangtung*. Mr. Senior, Assistant Surveyor, with his party landed at 8-30 A.M. at Ingòie, and attended by the Andamanese, our Önge interpreters, and two canoes with presents, proceeded to survey the coasts round to Ingotijâlû on the south-west Coast. The canoes with the presents were swamped in the surf, and one canoe and all the presents were lost. The Önges, however, beyond being greedy for such metal as they saw, gave no trouble, and Mr. Senior, having completed his work, came off at 4 P.M. to the *Kwangtung*, which vessel after looking for the shoal marked in the chart as being about 4 miles south-west of the south-west end of the Island, and finding that it did not exist (the broken sea being really caused by a tide rip), had anchored off Ingotijâlû. Mr. Eldridge and Mr. Baynes had been ashore bathing from a Nicobarese canoe, and some Önge women had joined them in the water and seemed quite friendly.

At 5 P.M. I landed with Captain Pryce, I. M., Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, and Mr. Murray, Chief Engineer of the *Kwangtung*. I had with me as an interpreter Kôjio Kai, and two of the Great Andamanese, Rêâlâ and Dûklâ. Unfortunately I had no presents, they having been lost in the canoes. We were received on the shore by about 25 people, among whom were many women and children, and they were all unarmed except two men who had adzes. They were very greedy for presents and tried to loot the boat, but were prevented by Kôjio Kai and myself. Mr. Murray, however, gave them an iron bucket, which they had taken and I had recovered from them. They embraced Kôjio Kai, and we all walked along the shore together taking two *khalâsîs* [Indian messengers]. After we had proceeded about 200 yards, Captain Pryce drew our attention to some fish on the beach, and he with Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts and Mr. Murray stopped to look at them. I was a few paces behind talking to the Önges by whom we were surrounded. Suddenly I heard a thud, and Mr. Murray cried out 'I am killed.' I turned and saw Mr. Murray on his knees on the sand, the blood streaming from a wound on the back of his head, and a tall Önge standing just behind him with a large adze in his hands. The attack was quite an unprovoked one, and from the fact that the women and children were present and none of the other Önges were armed, I consider it to have been unpremeditated and without the approval of the others, who immediately began to retire. Kôjio Kai called to me to shoot the Önge, but none of us had any arms, and we all went off to the boat, Captain Pryce and a *khalâsî* supporting Mr. Murray, and Colonel Roberts waiting in the rear to see if the man was going to attack us again. He did not attempt to do so, and the Önges all went and sat down at the landing-place. We returned to the *Kwangtung*, and I asked Captain Pryce to arm all the Europeans and place them at my disposal. He did so and ordered away two boats. I also took with me Tômiti, Tahlai, and Kôjio Kai. On nearing the shore, I sent Tômiti and Tahlai to see if the man who hit Mr. Murray was still there. Colonel Roberts, who kindly consented to take charge of the armed party, covered them from the boat.

They talked to the women for a minute, and then called out to me that the man had run away. I, however, saw a man with an adze in his hand sitting on the right, away from the others, and I asked Kôjio Kai if this was the man. He said it was and called out to Tômiti, who with Tahlai seized the man and dragged him into the boat, having first snatched the adze out of his hand. None of the other Önges attempted to rescue him or to offer any resistance. Our prisoner was secured and taken on board the *Kwangtung*. The Chief Commissioner, who had meantime returned in the *Ross*, directed me to have the man secured and taken to the *Ross*. Mr. Murray, under the charge of Mr. Jackson, apothecary of the *Kwangtung*, was also taken on board the *Ross* for the purpose of being conveyed to Port Blair for medical treatment, his wound being a serious one, the *Kwangtung* returning to the Nicobars. On the following morning six Önges appeared on the beach, and I sent Tômiti and Tahlai ashore with some presents for them, and to explain that we intended to take him to Port Blair.

We then proceeded to Jackson Creek on the West Coast, where the Chief Commissioner and Mr. Metcalfe landed and gave some presents to the Önges, and we then went on into Bûmila Creek where we anchored for the night. Our interpreters were landed here and loaded with presents, and on the 11th we returned to Port Blair, bringing with us the prisoner whose name proved to be Kobêdâ Râtê, an inhabitant of Gajêgê, a village on the south-west coast of the Little Andaman. Until the interpreters left he did not seem to realize his position, but during the night of the 10th after they went away, he twice managed to free his hands from the handcuffs, and once, although his feet were manacled together, slipped overboard and tried to swim on shore, but was at once caught by one of the other Andamanese. He went to live under the Chief Commissioner's house guarded by Andamanese and seems fairly well. It would, in my opinion, be advisable, should he continue in good health, to keep him for some months in Port Blair, until he has learnt to obey our orders and appreciate our power.

VII.

These papers contain the only valuable record of proceedings in connection with the Jàrawas and their country that existed up to 1901. They show the difficulties and dangers that attended those who ventured into the interior of the Andamans as lately as that date.

I.

Port Blair, the 26th February 1902.

The Chief Commissioner, Sir R. C. Temple, Bt., announces with the greatest regret the death of Mr. Percy Vaux, Seventh Assistant Superintendent, who was killed by the Jàrawa Tribe on the night of the 24th February 1902. The Commission loses in him a most promising officer.

The distressing circumstances under which this officer suddenly lost his life renders his loss all the more deplorable. He was killed during a struggle with the hostile tribe of the Jàrawas, just as he was about to complete what had otherwise been a most successful series of operations, in which he had exhibited much courage, endurance and skill. The circumstances which caused his death are as follows :—

The marauding parties of Jàrawas that almost every cold season make raids on the outskirts of the Penal Settlement, this season, in November 1901 and January 1902, raided the Forest Department gangs working at Jâtâng, about 25 miles north of Port Blair, killing and wounding convicts at their work.[8] A party was organised in consequence to try and discover their haunts in the jungles and to put a stop to further raiding, but on a somewhat larger scale than usual, as the two last raids appeared to be more purposeful than hitherto. The officials detailed for the duty were Mr. Percy Vaux, Officer in charge of the Andamanese, with Mr. Bonig, Assistant Harbour Master, and Mr. C. G. Rogers, Deputy Conservator of Forests. Men from the Andaman Military Police Force and picked Andamanese trackers accompanied them.

Mr. Vaux proceeded up the West Coast of the South Andaman on 25th January 1902, and was successful in the very difficult operation of discovering the camps and paths of the Jàrawas in the hills above Bilap Bay, about 8 miles north of Port Campbell. He then, on the advice of the Andamanese with him, proceeded northwards to Port Anson and thence to Pôchâng in the South Andaman at the southern extremity of that harbour. Here, with much skill and difficulty he discovered the main Jàrawa track running southwards from the harbour, and also the chief place of residence of the Jàrawas during the rains. Having accomplished this, Mr. Vaux returned to Port Blair and brought with him a much fuller report upon this practically unknown tribe than had hitherto been made. Mr. Rogers meanwhile was endeavouring to work his way direct from Jâtâng on the east across the South Andaman to Ike Bay on the West Coast, right athwart the country believed to be occupied by the Jàrawas.

Mr. Vaux was then directed to join with Mr. Rogers and make further investigations at Pôchâng, and after ascertaining that the main Jàrawa path led southwards beyond Pôchâng indefinitely, the party returned to Port Blair. This expedition accomplished part of the objects aimed at, in that it showed where the Jàrawas started from on their raids, and proved that the object of their unprovoked murderous attacks on parties from the Settlement working in the jungles was to procure iron and iron implements, and not to procure water and food as hitherto supposed.

On 17th February 1902, the party was reorganised thus :—Mr. Vaux with Mr. Bonig, 12 Police and Andamanese ; Mr. Rogers accompanying them. The general object was to discover the southern termination of the main Jàrawa path and to drive the Jàrawa marauders northwards along it and away from the neighbourhood of the Penal Settlement. The party started as before along the West Coast and, on the advice of the Andamanese,

[8] For a list of the Jàrawa raids on the Settlement, see *ante* pp. 27-28.



searched the jungles about Island Bay, some 10 miles north and north-east respectively of the outlying villages of Templeganj and Anikhet. This was a task of much difficulty, and in the course of the search, in three parties under Messrs. Vaux, Rogers and Bonig, Mr. Vaux came in the evening upon a hunting camp of the Jàrawas. Judging from its position and distance from the chief home of the tribe at Pôchâng, he inferred that the party's real object was a raid on the Settlement villages. He successfully rushed the camp by moonlight and discovered, among other things, a large new Forest Department adze, which had been taken from a convict wounded in the Jàrawa attack on Jâtâng in November 1901. This confirmed him in his suspicions as to the reason of the hunting party's presence so close to the Settlement. None of Mr. Vaux's party was hurt in this attack, the Jàrawas being too startled to shoot.

In their flight the Jàrawas left in the camp a baby and a small girl. This circumstance, and also the advice of the Andamanese as to further proceedings, determined Mr. Vaux to proceed to Port Anson, to the Andamanese Home there, where the children could be taken care of. Adopting generally the advice of the Andamanese, Mr. Vaux then proceeded again to Pôchâng and followed the main Jàrawa track southwards steadily, which proved, beyond Pôchâng, to be an exceedingly difficult affair. The party proceeded about 15 miles march beyond Pôchâng in a south-east direction to Wîbtâng, a point about 6 miles west of Port Meadows and some 18 miles from Jâtâng : thus showing that the chief Jàrawa haunt is the jungle between the mouth of Shoal Bay and Port Anson. At Wîbtâng an occupied hunting camp was found to block the way further and Mr. Vaux judged it necessary to rush this camp at night as he had the previous one. For this purpose he selected one Police Constable and 16 Andamanese ; and there were besides these himself, Mr. Rogers and Mr. Bonig and three servants : altogether 23 men.

The camp was rushed about 10 P.M. on the night of the 24th February after the moon had risen. Mr. Vaux went in first, followed by Messrs. Rogers and Bonig, the Andamanese coming up immediately behind. There was no real resistance, but as Mr. Vaux was stooping down in a hut grappling with two Jàrawas, his foot disturbed the smouldering embers of a fire, which blazed up, exposing him to the view of a man in another hut, who shot two arrows at him, and decamped. These were the only two arrows shot in the affair, but one of them, a barbed iron-headed arrow, entered Mr. Vaux on the left side between the ninth and tenth ribs with great force, killing him almost immediately. Next morning, as soon as it was possible to see, Mr. Rogers carried back the body with many difficulties through the jungles to Pôchâng and Port Anson, reaching that harbour in the evening, whence the body was conveyed in the steam launch *Belle* through Middle Strait to Port Blair arriving about midnight on the 25th February. Two women and six children were found in the camp after the attack, who accompanied Mr. Rogers' party to Port Anson and onwards quite cheerfully, and it has been ascertained that the children found in the first camp rushed are closely related to one of these women. European iron implements were found in this camp also. These facts prove that the men in both camps were of the parties which actually attacked the Forest Department convicts at Jâtâng in November. A number of implements of offence were found in both camps and have been removed. In fact these particular bodies of marauders have been deprived of means of offence for some time to come.

Mr. Rogers deserves the greatest credit for his rapid march back through the jungles, during which one of his party was slightly wounded by a couple of Jàrawas, who however decamped on being fired on. So also does Mr. Bonig for his skilful management of the steam launch *Belle* through so narrow a passage as Middle Strait at night. The conduct of the Police on the return march was exemplary.